

RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

CHRONICA

MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE.

EDITED

BY

WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF MODERN HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,
FELLOW OF ORIEL COLLEGE, AND SOMETIME LIBRARIAN
TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

VOL. I.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON:
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

1868.

Printed by
EYRE and SPOTTISWOODE, Her Majesty's Printers.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE.

PREFACE.

Of the several schools of English Mediæval History, the most ancient, the most fertile, the longest lived, and the most widely spread was the Northumbrian. Notwithstanding the greater antiquity and the dignified pre-eminence of the Southern Churches, it was in the North that the newly-planted learning first became fruitful. In its first bearing it rivalled the maturest productions of the whole middle age; and its first and most lasting production was the work which forms the basis of English history. The Norththumbrian school of Historians.

The name of the Venerable Bede stands at the head of our roll of historians. His education was gathered no doubt hardly and painfully from the instructions of the professors both of the Roman and of the Irish learning, from Trumbert the disciple of Saint Chad, and Acca the disciple of Saint Wilfrid;[1] his life was spent chiefly in the home of piety and learning which Benedict Biscop had provided at Jarrow, on the model of the monasteries of Lerins and Rome. Both the instruction and the discipline were bestowed most fortunately. Eminent in every branch of science then explored, he was most eminent in this. The Ecclesiastical History of Bede is not indeed the oldest historical work on England, The Venerable Bede.

[1] "Frater quidam de eis qui me in "scripturis erudiebant, et erat in "monasterio ac magisterio illius "(sc. Ceaddæ) educatus, vocabulo "Trumberct." Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 3. For Acca, Cf. *H. E.*, iii. 13; iv. 14, &c.

Eddius.

for the life of Wilfrid by Eddius,[1] also a Northumbrian book, takes precedence of it in date ; but it is the basis of all that follow. No one ever dreamed of superseding or improving upon it; with a wonderful rapidity it circulated throughout western Christendom, and drew for a time the eyes of the learned world on the monasteries of Deira. The schools of York were the result of the general learned movement originated by Bede, and the schools of York produced Alcuin, in his turn the light of the western world.

The schools of York.

It was by attempts at continuation of the Ecclesiastical History that our existing chronology of the latter half of the eighth century and the early part of the ninth was made possible. From Bede and his continuators it was that when the original project of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was devised, its authors drew nearly all the information they could find for the ages preceding their own. Alfred translated his book into the native tongue as the foundation of a native literature. And when the time came again for Latin to be the language of history, to Bede and the annalists who had followed him the later mediæval historians turned with one accord.

Bede's History the foundation of English History.

Of these continuators the two whose works have survived with the most integrity have left the result of their researches, or the jottings down of their memoranda, in the few pages known as the Appendix to the Ecclesiastical History,[2] and in that original work, possibly composed at Hexham, which formed the basis of the first portion of Simeon of Durham's Chronicle. These two fragments bring down the history of the North only to the year 802. Who the writers were we have no

The Appendix to Bede.

The Northumbrian Annals used by Simeon.

[1] "Æddi cognomento Stephanus " . . . invitatus de Cantia, a reve- " rentissimo viro Vilfrido." Bede, *H. E.*, iv. 2.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. Smith, 223, 224 ; ed. Hussey, 313–315 ; ed. Stevenson, ii. 256. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 288. See also Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for British History*, i. 485. The earliest copy of these memoranda is a MS. of the twelfth century.

means whatever of judging: nor is it easy to say whether the one work is an expansion or continuation of the other. It is not improbable that Alcuin was instrumental in a remote way in the composition of the later work; the references to events of European rather than domestic interest, and especially to the history of the great emperor, seem to imply it.[1] It ends too about the time of Alcuin's death, as if the writer had not thought it worth while to continue it. There is, however, no distinct trace of Alcuin's hand in it,[2] for it contains few allusions and no direct references to the historical events that are mentioned in his existing letters.

The authors unknown: but possibly in communication with Alcuin.

It is probable that the publication, if I may speak of it so, of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, had the same effect upon the previously existing materials and schemes of history, that the publication of Higden's Polychronicon had in the fourteenth, and the invention of printing in the fifteenth centuries. It stopped the writing of new books and ensured the destruction of the old. That the learned school of York continued to exist until the ruin brought by the Danes, we know from the letters of Lupus to Altsig and Wigmund;[3] but if any distinctly Northumbrian history for the ninth century

Publication of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

[1] Especially the years 754, 768, 771, 772, 792, 795, 799. Yet the annals which are ascribed to Alcuin himself are of the most meagre order, being nothing more than memoranda of the places where the emperor kept Easter from 782 to 797. See Pertz, *Scriptores*, iv. 2. Migne's edition of Alcuin, ii. 1415.

[2] It does contain notices of events known to and mentioned by Alcuin, and not merely in connexion with France: the accession of Ethelred of Northumbria, who was raised from the prison to the throne in 790; Alcuin (epistle in MS. Cotton, Vesp. A. 14): the destruction of the Northumbrian monasteries in 793; Alc., ep. ix., xii., xiv.: the murder of Ethelred in 796; ep. xlvii.: the accession of Egferth in Mercia; ep. l.

[3] Lupus of Ferrieres, ep. 61. Ad Guigmundum archiepiscopum Eboracensem; a second letter, ep. 62, to Altsig abbot of York, asks for books, especially S. Jerome, Bede, and Quintilian, to be sent by Lantramm to the cell of S. Judoc. Lupus flourished from about 805 to 861. Wigmund was archbishop 837–850. See Raine's *Lives of the Archbishops of York*, i. 111, 112.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle incorporated existing annals.

survived, it was probably embodied in the Chronicle; and if any distinctly Northumbrian edition of the Chronicle existed, it is to be sought for, most likely, in a few fragmentary notices of events which may have been incorporated from it by Simeon.

Simeon of Durham incorporates large portions of Florence of Worcester: and continues the annals.

Upon the foundation then of Bede and his continuators, Simeon the precentor of the monastery of Durham began at the opening of the twelfth century to raise a lasting compendious work on the history of his country; he incorporated with it a large portion of the work of Florence of Worcester, and himself continued the chronicle for ten years further. It is possible that Simeon was not the compiler of the work known by his name, but merely the continuator; for the compilation, up to the beginning of his continuation, is common to two distinct branches of the Northumbrian historians.

The Hexham continuators.

On Simeon's continuation the Hexham historians, Richard and John, successively priors of that ancient church, have founded their contributions to the history of the century.

The Durham continuators.

On the compilation without Simeon's continuation was founded the Chronicle which was the immediate foundation in its turn of the work before us.

Other continuators; Newburgh, Hemingburgh, Holyrood, Melrose.

The relation of William of Newburgh's famous history to Bede is that of imitation rather than continuation. Walter of Hemingburgh, however, while incorporating much from William, begins from the Durham compilation. The Chronicle of Holyrood[1] starts, of course with a long break, from Bede himself; the Chronicle of Melrose[2] from the more ancient continuator;

Chronicle of Lanercost.

the Chronicle of Lanercost from the full-grown work of Hoveden. There are no more valuable

[1] Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. 152; edited in 1828 by Pitcairn for the Bannatyne Club; and by C. W. Bouterwek from a Durlach MS., at Berlin, in 1864

[2] *Chron. Mailros*, edited by Fulman in his *Scriptores*, and since by Stevenson for the Bannatyne Club, in 1835.

and authentic writings than these in the whole body of English history. It is, however, in the Chronicles of Hoveden that we have the full harvest of the labours of the Northumbrian historians.

Roger of Hoveden.

Of the life of the compiler, editor or author of this work, Roger of Hoveden, but few facts are known, and to these I am sorry to confess that I cannot add a single one. All that is to be said is simply this.

Howden a possession of Durham.

The manor and church of Howden, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, with all their appurtenances, were conferred by William the Conqueror on William of Saint Carileph bishop of Durham. These appurtenances included the liberty of Howden and the jurisdiction of the several townships extending to the size of a wapontake, and known as the wapontake of Howdenshire, which lie between the wapontake of Ouse and Derwent and that of Harthill; with the feudal and territorial superiorities, lay and ecclesiastical, of the district. Bishop William divided his acquisition with his cathedral church, retaining to himself the manor, with the civil rights over Howdenshire, and bestowing on the priory of Durham the church of Howden, with those of the several parishes of Howdenshire that looked to it as an ecclesiastical centre.[1] Out of this ecclesiastical centre the bishops of Durham at a later period constituted the collegiate church of Howden, turning some of the dependent parishes into the corpora of seven prebends. For this body was built the magnificent, now unfortunately ruined, church, which disputed with Beverley the palm of architectural beauty in the Riding, until its final fall.

Roger of Hoveden.

Roger of Hoveden, the compiler or editor of these Chronicles, was either a native of Howden or a member

[1] Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, vol. iii. pp. 445–491. "The "wapontake of Howdenshire is not "co-extensive with the liberty." Skaife's *Kirkby's Survey*, p. 241. Cf. pp. 316: and for the character of jurisdiction, pp. 68, 69.

His connexion with Howden.

of a family which had taken its name from the place.[1] We may imagine him the son of a well-to-do tenant of the monastery, and sent for his education to the monastic school at Durham. There he would become acquainted with the mighty bishop Hugh de Puiset, who governed that church for forty-two years, and who was greater as a warrior and politician than as a churchman. Amongst the chaplains of bishop Hugh was one

William of Howden.

William of Howden,[2] whom we may suppose to have been a brother of Roger; he was in pretty constant attendance on the bishop, and seems to have been possessed of a small estate and the advowson of a

Bishop Hugh de Puiset.

church at Clinton.[3] Bishop Hugh had in his manor-house at Howden a convenient resting-place in his journeys to and from London and Normandy. There he spent Christmas at least on one memorable occasion, and there it was that he died. Here accordingly he may have found our author and helped to advance his fortunes.

Roger becomes a clerk of the king.

Roger of Hoveden was destined to a more distinguished service than his hypothetical brother. He became one of the clerks of king Henry II., a member of the household of the most business-like prince of his time,

---

[1] There are several persons named Howden concerned with the history of Durham and Northumberland: John Howden died about 1371; Surtees' *Durham*, ii. 362. Stephen Houeden was sub-prior of Durham in 1435; *Scriptores Dunelmenses*, ccxxxix. Robert Houeden had owned a messuage in Hartlepool in 1446; ibid. ccxcvi. There is a John Howden at Hexham in 1479; *Black Book of Hexham*, p. 57.

[2] "Willelmus de Houeden capel-"lanus" attests several charters of bishop Hugh de Puiset; Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, II. iii. 93; Hutchinson's *History of Durham*, i. 179. He witnesses an agreement with R. de Fishburne, March 25, 1184; Surtees' *Durham*, i. 282; also the foundation deed of Sherburn hospital, *ibid.* p. 284.

[3] Hodgson's *Northumberland Pipe Roll*, p. 38, for 1185. "Willelmus "de Hoveden reddit computum de "duobus marcis ut redigatur in "scriptum quod Petrus de Humez "clamat eum de clamio suo quietum, "de advocatione ecclesiæ de Clin-"ton, et unius bovatæ terræ ibidem. "In thesauro liberavit, et quietus "est."

a school of future statesmen, and a school in which work was expected of every man. It is in the year 1174 that we find Roger employed in the king's service. At that time he would meet at court and in the king's chapel some of the most eminent statesmen of that and the following period: the future justiciar Ranulf Glanvill; the treasurer Richard FitzNeal, the author of the Dialogus de Scaccario and the lost Tricolumnis; Richard of Ilchester, the energetic man of business in the exchequer; Peter of Blois and Thomas le Brun,[1] who could tell of their Italian and Sicilian experiences; Hugh of Nonant, who was ambassador to Germany, and had the credit there of writing a book on the history of the times;[2] Joseph of Exeter, the poet of the Antiocheis; Giraldus Cambrensis, the geographer, historian, poet and libeller. In such a society we can imagine him learning to take a very lenient view of Henry's sins, and combining the fashionable veneration for the new martyr, with a conscientious wish to acquit his master of any share in the guilt of the murder.

His contemporaries at Court.

Historically, we first strike on him in attendance on the king in France in the autumn of 1174. Henry was at this time employed in the pacification of the provinces which had revolted at the instigation of his sons and wife. It is possible that Hoveden had been with him during the negotiations for peace that preceded the English campaign in the autumn of 1173; for we find

Roger in France in 1174: or perhaps earlier.

---

[1] *Dialogus de Scaccario*, p. 17.

[2] The work is, "*Historia Univer-" salis, ad ann.* 1197," and it is printed from a MS. at Fulda, by Hess in the *Monumenta Guelfica*, p. 55. The author is said to be Hugo Novant, Normannus; the information about Henry V., according to Dr. Potthast, p. 381, is good; but so far as I can see, the history is very meagre, and there is no internal evidence of authorship. Still, as Hugh certainly visited Germany in 1184, Ben. Pet. i. 322, we may give him the benefit of the doubt. He moreover could write, and that pretty sharply when he chose.

His story of the conference at Gisors, Sept. 26, 1173.

him adding to the account of the conference of Gisors some particulars which are not to be found in the chronicle known as that of Benedict, from which most of the details are taken.[1] Earl Robert of Leicester, according to his story, used most violent language to the king, and even laid his hand upon his sword, and would have drawn it upon him had he not been prevented by the bystanders. This circumstance, which is somewhat difficult to reconcile with the exact chronology of the events, is however the only one that can be regarded as evidence of Roger's presence with the court at the time : he adds nothing more to his predecessor's account.

Roger nowhere mentions himself.

It is curious that what little we know of Hoveden is derived from portions of his predecessor's chronicle, which either his own modesty, or some other feeling which we cannot conjecture, caused him to omit in his own record of these events. The occasion of the first of these notices is this.

He is employed in Galloway.

The district of Galloway, inhabited by a fierce, independent and turbulent race, had since the beginning of the century been governed by a chieftain named Fergus, whose origin is unknown, and whose very nationality is a matter of question. He had fought on the Scottish side in the battle of Standard,[2] and was connected, by marriage with an illegitimate daughter of Henry I.,[3] with the royal family. In the year 1160 the principality of Fergus[4] fell under the victorious arms of Malcolm the Maiden ; he himself retired into Holyrood abbey, and his sons Gilbert and Uhtred succeeding to his title and estates waited for the time which was sure to come, when they might take advantage of a quarrel between Scotland and England to recover their inde-

---

[1] Hoveden, 306 v°. (ed. Savile).

[2] Richard of Hexham, ap. Twysden, 316, 330.

[3] Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 357.

[4] Chron. S. Crucis, 1160. Fergus died in 1161. *Ibid.* ad ann.; Hoveden ; Chr. Mailr.

pendence. That time came when William the Lion in 1174 was taken at Alnwick. Immediately upon the news the lords of Galloway expelled the servants of the Scottish king from their territories, and placed their own dependents in the offices of trust and jurisdiction. The forts by which the king had hoped to keep them in check they took and destroyed. This done, they began to quarrel with one another, and Gilbert, the elder, attacked his brother Uhtred in arms. Malcolm, the son of Gilbert, besieged and took the island fortress in which his uncle had taken refuge. The wretched prisoner was blinded and so cruelly mutilated that he soon after died of his wounds.[1]

Story of Galloway.

Before this horrible story was brought to Henry he was inclined to look on his wild cousins of Galloway as hopeful allies, and took measures to induce them to accept him as their lord instead of the king of Scots. The negotiator of this transaction was Roger of Hoveden,[2] whom he sent from France immediately after he had made peace with his sons, giving him as a coadjutor Robert de Vals, who was then the warden of Carlisle, and was appointed in 1176 a justice itinerant [3] for the northern counties. The two envoys immediately on Hoveden's arrival proposed a conference with the lords of Galloway, which Gilbert, eager to obtain a protector against the time when his brother's death must be inquired into, gladly attended. About St. Clement's day, November 23, the meeting was held, and Gilbert offered, if the king of England would accept him as a vassal and deliver him from his subjection to the crown of Scotland, an annual payment of 2,000 marks of silver, five hundred cows, and five

Henry's interest in Galloway.

Roger of Hoveden sent to the sons of Fergus.

He confers with Gilbert.

---

[1] Ben. Petr. i. 67, 79, 80.

[2] "Dumque hæc fierent, dominus "rex misit in Angliam unum de "clericis suis, Rogerum de Hoven-"dun nomine, ad Robertum de Vals, "ut illi duo Huctredum et Gille-"bertum filios Ferregus conveni-"rent et allicerent eos ad servitium "ejus." Bened. Petr. i. 80.

[3] Ben. Pet. i. 108.

The envoys hesitate about the terms of alliance.

hundred swine. Hoveden and his companion, appalled probably by the news of the death of Uhtred, did not venture to accept the offer without reporting it to the king. Henry, who most likely would have been glad that the negotiation should have been concluded on the spot, did not choose to outrage the opinion of his subjects by an alliance with a fratricide, the murdered man being his own cousin. He declined to make any peace on any condition with the men of Galloway.[1] The alliance thus broken off, was however subsequently completed, although under different circumstances. In 1176 William the Lion brought Gilbert to Henry's court at Feckenham,[2] where he did homage to the English king, and satisfied him as to the death of his brother, purchasing his goodwill with a present of one thousand marks. He then returned to Galloway, and by way of testing the strength he had acquired by the new connexion, expelled all the foreigners, officers, and vassals of William, who held any tenement in Galloway, giving them the choice between death and banishment.[3]

The mission cannot be said to have been successful.

Hoveden's diplomatic expedition cannot have been a pleasant one, and taken as a piece of management may be termed unsuccessful. He returned to court and waited for another turn of work. During this time he either witnessed or received intelligence of a final concord made between archbishop Roger of York and bishop Hugh of Durham, by which the churches belonging to the see and convent of Durham, situated in the diocese of York, one of the chief of which was Howden, were to be relieved from the synodal fees payable to the archbishop: and the inhabitants of the district, although not relieved from the jurisdiction of the archbishop in matters spiritual, were to be

News from Howden.

[1] Ben. Petr., i. 80.
[2] Ben. Petr., i. 126.
[3] Ben. Petr., i. 126.

punished for ecclesiastical offences only on proper notice being given to the bishop, that he or one of his officials might be in attendance.[1]

Further question as to Roger's interest in Howden.

From the fact that the subject here adverted to occupied so large a part of Hoveden's thoughts, that some of his longest additions to his predecessor's work concern this point, we might almost suspect that he himself held the living of Howden. He quotes for instance at length the act of archbishop Thomas I. of York,[2] by which in his gratitude to St. Cuthbert he exempts from customary payments all the churches within the diocese of York which the church of Durham either at the time possessed or at any future time might acquire. It is questionable into which of these classes the church of Howden would fall, but by our author's time it had become entitled to all the privileges of the older property of St. Cuthbert, which, after some discussion apparently, were secured to it by the agreement of 1174. A few years later they became one of the subjects of serious contention between bishop Hugh and archbishop Geoffrey.[3]

Roger is employed again in 1175, in the monastic elections.

In 1175 Hoveden was again actively employed. Henry kept his court at Whitsuntide at Reading; and while there, it would seem, determined to proceed in the filling up of the vacancies which had taken place in the course of several years in the headships of the religious houses. Besides the cathedral monastery of Norwich, which had lost its bishop, the abbeys of Abingdon, Grimsby, Crowland, Thorney, Holm, Westminster, St. Augustine's Canterbury, Hyde at Winchester, Abbotsbury, Shrewsbury, and Michelney were without abbots. To our author was entrusted the errand of inviting all these houses to send a deputation

[1] At the end of his own account of the year 1174.

[2] Hoveden, i. 137, 138; *Scriptores Dunelmenses*, App. v.

[3] Ben. Pet., ii. 226; and Hoveden, ad ann. 1191 (fo. 406, ed. Savile).

He visits the vacant monasteries in company with Robert Hinglisham.

of their monks to Oxford, or rather perhaps to Woodstock, on the octave of St. John the Baptist, then and there to choose their new rulers in the king's court.[1] As the companion of his expedition he had a clerk of the archbishop, Robert Hinglisham, afterwards archdeacon of Gloucester, who was to use his master's influence whilst Hoveden used the king's. If they really visited all the monasteries mentioned, the time allowed for the journey was very short. Between the 1st of June and the 1st of July they would have to go round great part of the south of England; and Hoveden would scarcely have time, even if he got so far north as Grimsby or Crowland, to visit the place from which he took his name.

Character of the business.

It was of great importance to the king that these elections should be conducted with due regard to canonical form; but it was scarcely less necessary that they should fall upon persons in whom he had confidence. The charge intrusted to Hoveden and Hinglisham was thus a matter of some delicacy; they had, in fact, to manage the several monastic societies so adroitly, that the men who should be sent to represent them would be likely to lend themselves to the king's designs. In this

Its result.

they seem to have succeeded fairly well; the king was not thwarted, although it was only by begging on all sides for votes — a brisk canvass for the court candidates—that he obtained the election of his friends.[2]

From the date of this transaction we find no trace of Roger of Hoveden for thirteen years. In the last year

[1] "Et inde (from Reading, June "1) misit rex unum de clericis suis, "Rogerum de Hovedene nomine, ad "ecclesiam Norwicensem, quæ tunc "vacabat, defuncto pastore suo, et "ad abbatias quæ tunc vacabant "per Angliam cum litteris suis." Ben. Pet., i. 91.

[2] "Vacantium abbatiarum priores "cum magna parte conventuum sub "edicto vocati sunt apud Wdestoc, "viii. idus Julii. Rex igitur habito "tractatu cum archiepiscopo, cum "episcopis, sic in abbatibus substi- "tuendis canonum observavit cen- "suram, ut emendicatis aliunde "suffragiis uteretur, &c." R. de Diceto, 587.

of King Henry and the first of Richard he was employed as a justice in itinere for the forests in the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland and Yorkshire.[1] This appointment flowed naturally from his employment in the royal chapel. In the year 1184 Henry had adopted a new scheme for carrying out the forest law, and issued a new set of articles for visitation, which were embodied under the name of the Articles of Woodstock.[2] For the due carrying out of the visitation he divided the kingdom into districts, to each of which he sent four justices, two clerks and two knights. Owing to the jealousy with which the forest jurisdiction was viewed, both by the nobles and by the lower classes, the former of whom it limited in their chief pleasure, whilst the latter it restricted from a tempting source of livelihood, the administration of these judicial visitations required much tact and experience. Roger of Hoveden had as his companion knight on this occasion Ernis de Nevill, a member of a great family which furnished many ministers to Henry, and a relation probably of Alan de Nevill, who had been chief justice of the forests from 1166 to 1176.[3] The amount of business transacted by these justices was not very great, but apparently tedious ; for it was not until the sixth year of Richard, 1194,[4] that the fines imposed by them were finally accounted for, although there is no reason to suppose that Hoveden went a second circuit after 1189. We probably have a monument of his industry in acquiring the information necessary for the discharge of his duties,

Roger of Hoveden Justice Itinerant for forests, in 1189.

Character of the forest jurisdiction.

[1] "De placitis Forestæ de Euer-"wicsire per Ærnisium de Nevilla, "et Rogerum de Houedene." Pipe Roll, 1 Rich. I. p. 89 ; also in Cumberland, p. 140, and in Northumberland, p. 244.

[2] Ben. Petr., i. 323 ; ii. App. to Pref. clix.

[3] Madox, *History of the Exchequer*, 84–102. Ernis was father of Hugh de Nevill, who was master forester a few years later.

[4] Pipe Roll of 6 Ric. I., quoted in Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for British History*, ii. 255. "Euerwic-"scire. De placitis forestæ per "Ærnisum de Neville et Rogerum "de Houeden."

His records of Forest Assize.

in the copy of the Articles of Assize and Regard of the Forest, which are found, together with a copy of Glanvill's work on the Laws, appended to the collection of laws inserted in his Chronicle at the end of the year 1180.[1] When a new forest assize was published by Richard in 1198, and the office of justice was entrusted to Hugh de Nevill, Hugh Wake, and Ernis de Nevill, Hoveden notices the points in which the king had increased the severity of his father's assize, and had returned to the barbarity of the practices allowed by Henry I.[2]

Nothing is heard of Roger after 1189.

With this scanty mention of his name in the Pipe Rolls we lose sight of Hoveden altogether. It is most probable that upon king Henry's death his household was dispersed; his great ministers were made bishops, or otherwise displaced to make way for new men. Ranulf Glanvill's school of administrators disappears before that of William Longchamp. As the records of public business increase in bulk and minuteness of detail regularly from this time, and no mention of Hoveden in any capacity is discoverable in them, we may fairly conclude that he retired from public life at his master's death. And it is to this period that we shall be warranted, I think, in fixing the date of his commencing the compilation of his Chronicle. It is not improbable that Howden was the place of his retirement, and that there, either as parson of the church or as a proprietor on his own estate, he lived whilst he drew up the latter portion of the Chronicle before us. There we can imagine him witnessing the bishop's arrival in 1190, when having returned from Normandy with the commission of justiciar, he found himself completely overreached by Longchamp, and was glad to be suffered to retire quietly

Possibly he lived at Howden.

---

[1] Printed in the Appendix to the Preface to Ben. Petr., II. clix.

[2] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 445, 446.

to his manor at Howden.[1] There perhaps he shared the doleful festivity of the Christmas, which John spent with Hugh in 1191, incurring, by his acceptance of the excommunicated bishop's hospitality, the risk of receiving a like sentence from his brother, archbishop Geoffrey.[2] There, or even at York where, considering the minuteness with which he relates the quarrels in the chapter, he may have been a canon, he would have abundant opportunities of hearing the details of the great suits carried to Rome by the contending prelates. It was to Howden that Hugh de Puiset was brought to die, when, having on Ash Wednesday 1195, excommunicated the enemies of the York chapter, he fell sick at Doncaster: and at Howden on the 3rd of March, he closed one of the longest and most turbulent lives that English history has kept in record.[3]

Events at Howden recorded by him.

Death of Hugh de Puiset.

Philip of Poictiers, his successor, a companion of Richard on the Crusade, and at home a clerk of the exchequer, would most likely be an old acquaintance of our author's. He, like bishop Hugh, found his manor house at Howden a convenient resting place between home and court. At Howden, on the 11th of October 1198, he performed the ceremony of the benediction of two abbots, Adam of Salley and Hamo of Byland, at the request of the diocesan Geoffrey.[4] In 1201 John made a hurried journey into the North, staying some days at Beverley,[5] and although not entering Howdenshire, doubtless making his arrival heard and felt; he had granted to the bishop the privilege of having a fair here in the year 1200.[6]

Philip of Poictiers bishop of Durham.

---

[1] Ben. Pet., ii. 109.

[2] Ben. Pet., ii. 235.

[3] Hoveden, 427 v°., ed. Savile. Hugh was taken ill at Craik, but managed to ride on horseback to Doncaster; thence he was brought by boat to Howden, where he died, Mar. 3, 1195. Geoffrey of Coldingham, *Scr. Dunelm.* 15.

[4] Hoveden, 448, ed. Savile.

[5] Itinerary of John, Jan. 1201. (Hardy, *Intr. to Patent Rolls*); Hoveden, 464.

[6] Charter Rolls, ed. Hardy, p. 37.

Roger is deep in the York quarrels at the close of the book.

At the close of the Chronicle, which is somewhat abrupt, in 1201, we find the author more than ever engrossed in the York quarrels. It seems probable that his life was not protracted much after this date; the last pages of the Chronicle itself, consisting of a few unconnected letters, seem to show that he was, to the last moment spent on the work, employed in collecting materials for its continuation.

Roger's learning.

The title of magister, which is given to Hoveden in the heading of one of the earliest copies of his book, may possibly imply that he was a scholar of one of the rising universities, and Bale accordingly infers that he was an Oxford man:—"Rogerus de Houeden, Anglus natione, "sacerdos vulgaris, ut vocant; et Oxoniensis Academiæ "supremæ classis Magister."[1] As this explanation of his title rests on no better evidence than that which would prove him to have been a reader of Plato,[2] which Bale also asserts, it must, I fear, be considered simply conjectural. Antony Wood makes but a faint claim to him, and there is no clue in his work to lead to this conclusion.[3] Bale ascribes to him, besides his Annals, a volume of Divinity Lectures, on the strength of which Antony Wood is inclined to regard him as a theologian of importance. Leland, on the contrary, was led by arguments which for the sake of brevity he omits,[4] to believe that he was a lawyer, and having first given himself to the study of the civil law, had afterwards become a canonist. This conclusion may not improbably have been derived from a perusal of the Chronicle; but it is not likely to be literally true. Leland is clearly nearer the mark when he supposes that the compilation of the work was begun after the death of Henry II.

Other works attributed to him.

Leland's account of him.

It will be seen, however, without recourse to con-

---

[1] Bale, *Scriptores* (ed. Ipswich, 1548), fo. 94.

[2] "A Platone enim philosophorum "parente instructus." Bale, 94.

[3] *Antiquitates Oxonienses* (ed. 1674), p. 58.

[4] *Scriptores* (ed. Hall. Oxford, 1709), p. 229.

jecture, that the life and experience of Roger of Hoveden had been such as to give him both a knowledge of and an interest in public affairs. He had opportunities of intercourse with the leading men of the time; he had access to records and letters on national business; he had travelled over a good part of his native country, and had been in France in attendance on the king. His family or their original home put him in relation with the most stirring politician of the day, after Henry himself; and his ecclesiastical as well as his clerkly character threw him into positions where he could learn much of what was going on in the high places of the church. The result, so far as it is an addition of original information to that already on record, is not very abundant. To the portions of history which he borrows or re-writes from the older historians, he adds very little of his own, until he takes the pen, we may presume, into his own hands, and lays down the scissors. But as it is impossible to estimate the debt we really owe to him without previously analyzing the composition of this great work, I shall postpone any discussion on the former point until I have disposed of the latter.

His opportunities for gaining information.

I will divide the work before us into four distinct divisions. These will not be found to coincide with any artificial divisions in the following text, for none such are made in the MSS. I have retained from Savile the separation into two parts, Prior and Posterior, because the book is sometimes quoted according to it, but it has no manuscript authority, and does not agree with what is the more natural division.

Division of the work into four parts.

I. The first of these divisions ends with the year 1148. II. The second with 1169. III. The third extends from 1170 to 1192. IV. The last from 1192 to 1201.

Of these, the second and fourth alone have any claim to be regarded as the genuine composition of Hoveden himself: the first is an exact copy from an older original; the second is an awkward compilation from

Character of these divisions.

Only the second and fourth have claim to originality.

several sources, clothed apparently in the compiler's language; the third is a rewritten and annotated copy of the work known as the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough; the fourth is a continuation of the third, but supplied by the pen and experience of Hoveden. At the risk of some amount of repetition, I propose to give an account of the sources of information handed down in these several divisions, and to discuss their structure and date.

I. The foundation of the Chronicle.

I. When Hoveden began to entertain the idea of incorporating his own recollections of public business in the body of the history of his country, it would be in strict accordance with the practice of the time that he should seek some authoritative and well-known work on which his own might be superadded as a continuation or supplement. He had no pretension to that scholarship which tempts men to write history merely to exhibit their own style of composition or to illustrate their political or poetical views of life. His own facts are neither obscured nor lighted up by any reflexions, and his reproduction of the works of his predecessors is marked by very scanty comments indeed.

The Durham compilation; "Historia post Bedam;"

The book which would seem naturally to a scholar of Durham, or to any one connected with the North, to be the best basis for a new work on history, was doubtless the compilation known in the monastic world as the "Historia Saxonum vel Anglorum post obitum "Bedæ."

drawn up between 1148 and 1161.

This compilation, of which there are at least two good copies existing in MS., was drawn up between the years 1148 and 1161, by a very careful and elaborate compiler. These dates are easily ascertained; the current of the history runs on to 1148; and the abbot Severinus of Saint Mary's York is spoken of as still alive.[1] He died in the year 1161.[2] Hoveden adopted this com-

[1] Vol. i. p. 129, where see note [3].

[2] "Obiit iii. nonas Aprilis, 1161." Simon of Warwick, quoted in *Mon. Angl.* iii. 569.

pilation, which almost to a certainty was originally made at Durham; and inserted it nearly litteratim in his own book. The title stands in one of the earliest manuscripts of his complete book, "Historia Anglorum "sive Saxonum post venerabilem Bedam edita a Magistro "Rogero de Houedan."[1] He certainly makes a few additions to the text of his predecessor, which will be noticed directly. As in the present edition, this portion of Hoveden's compilation is treated, as the rest of the work is, simply on the principle of distinguishing by the use of large and small type the portions of the text that are original and derivative respectively, I should say here that I have preferred to treat it as I should have done were I to have edited this earlier compilation apart from the work of Hoveden. The passages in small type are those which the compiler who preceded Hoveden took from the earlier authorities; the portions in large, are those which the compiler added on his own authority, or which Hoveden added to him. To determine which of these passages belongs to Hoveden, and which to his predecessor, involves a reference on each occasion to the notes. I confess that the plan is not so complete as it might have been if I could have used three different types; but the only alternative would have been to print the whole in small type as derived from the earlier compiler only, and not to have taken the trouble of reference to the original authority. Such a plan, I cannot but think, would have been to sacrifice to symmetry, what is a very important matter in the eyes of literary as well as historical investigators.

Hoveden incorporates this.

How treated in this edition.

This "Historia post Bedam," in its turn resolves itself into two elements; the compilation known as the "History of Simeon of Durham," and the "History of "Henry of Huntingdon." To go further back, the History of Simeon of Durham resolves itself, in its turn,

Analysis of the "Historia post Bedam."

---

[1] MS. Arundel, 150.

Analysis of Simeon of Durham.

into Simeon's own work, his extracts from Florence, and his copy of the Northumbrian Chronicle,[1] which is known only through it, and through certain passages common to it and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. This Chronicle, so far as we can see from its remains embedded in Simeon, reached from the death of Bede to the year 802.

Growth of the original compilation: 1. The Northumbrian Annals.

This Northumbrian Chronicle, as the original nucleus of the whole collection, deserves particular notice. It is most probable that it was the source of the entries referring to northern affairs, in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; and as it was avowedly written as a continuation of Bede, it was probably composed in Latin. It is so much more circumstantial than the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle on northern events, and its chronology, as I shall hope to show presently, is so much sounder than that of the Chronicle, that we can hardly be wrong in making it the original store.

The Northumbrian Annals based on the Appendix to Bede.

Upon the foundation then of the scanty notes which appear as an Appendix to Bede, some northern writer, early in the ninth century, drew up a chronicle extending over about seventy years. Whether he was a scholar of York, Hexham, or Lindisfarne, we cannot peremptorily decide; but he was clearly in relation with those in each ecclesiastical centre who could give him accurate information. From York he learned not only the pious lives and edifying deaths of the successive ex-kings of Northumbria, but the movements of the Frankish kings, and the details of the rising fortune of Charles. Alcuin kept up a brisk correspondence with York, and from his letters, we can have little doubt, some news filtered through to his native kingdom. Amongst the memoranda preserved in this Chronicle which are not incorporated in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may be adduced, besides the dates of the consecrations of the Hexham, Lindisfarne, Whithern,

[1] Probably the true title of the work was "*Gesta Veterum North-*"*anhymbrorum*," as it appears to be called by Richard of Hexham: ed. Raine, p. 60.

and Mayo bishops,[1] the action taken by Charles and Alcuin [2] in regard to the image controversy, the destruction of cities in the year 764, and the death of the abbot,[3] whoever he may have been, in the year 799. As we possess no other version of this early Chronicle than that which forms the first part of Simeon of Durham, and as Simeon, or an intermediate writer, had a fancy, as we can discern in other parts of the work, for interlarding his annals with quotations from the Latin poets, we may safely conclude that the extracts from Boetius de Consolatione Philosophiæ, with which this portion is garnished, are due to another pen. Relieved from these, and from the special details relating to the lives, deaths, and translations of some few saints, which may or may not have been introduced by Simeon, this early and most interesting monument of our history is reduced to about the proportion in which it appears in the

Details peculiar to the Northumbrian annalist.

Probable interpolations of a later writer.

---

[1] See under the years 768, 773, and 786, the consecrations of Hadwin, Leuthfert, and Aldulf: this Aldulf was present at the legatine council of the North, held in 786 or 787 by George and Theophylact. His see was Mayo of the Saxons, or Innis Bofinde, on the west coast of Ireland, where Colman, once bishop of Lindisfarne, had retired with an English colony in 664. The intervening bishops were Baithan, 674–712; Gerald, 712–732; Aidan, 732–768. Cf. *The annals of the four Masters* at those dates; and Spelman's *Concilia*, i. 301. The little settlement was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth century.

[2] There are of course several matters in common to Alcuin and this fragment: besides the references to continental politics, which may or may not have been derived from Alcuin, we may compare the notice of the hermit Balthere, under the year 756, with Alcuin's verses on him in his poem on the archbishops of York, (ed. Gale, *Script. XV.*, p. 726, vv. 1319–1387); and the mention of the death of the hermit Etha, under the year 767, with Alcuin's verses upon him in the same work (vv. 1388–1395).

[3] The words of the notice must have been run up together by a very early scribe: the earliest form is that of the MS. a., "Abbas vocitatus "More Athiltegno præfecto suo "lugubri morte interemptus est;" but MS. A. reads Altilthegno. Moroald, abbot of Farfa, was a correspondent of Alcuin, but I know no such tragic story in connexion with him. See Alcuin, ep. cxciv., and Mabillon, *Annales Ordinis S. Benedicti* ii. 296, 297, 358.

"Historia post Bedam," and thereafter in the History of Hoveden and the Chronicle of Melrose.

2. The Northumbrian annals are incorporated in a Chronicle which ends in 978.

The next development from the original nucleus, we have in the earlier of the two Chronicles which are known as parts of the work of Simeon of Durham. It consists of a continuation of the Northumbrian Chronicle, after a leap from 803 to 830, and thence to 849; from the latter year to 978. The annals 849 to 888 are copied from Asser's life of Alfred, garnished by the editor with scraps of classical poetry. The remaining years contain very scanty notices of events in general English History, and are almost all of them to be found in the later histories of Simeon and Florence of Worcester.

3. This Chronicle incorporated by Simeon of Durham, with extracts from Florence and additions.

The third stage of growth is marked by the ascription of the work to a distinct editor, Simeon, precentor of Durham; but it may be doubted whether the whole work known under his name would be owned by him as an original compilation. All that we can state positively is this, that, about the year 1120, a monk of Durham incorporated in one book, (1) the chronicle just described and extending from 734 to 978; and (2) another extending from 848 to 1121, and taken almost entirely from Florence of Worcester and his continuator; although not without distinct traces of the study of the earlier authorities which Florence himself had used, Asser, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles, and Eadmer. This compilation was continued, so far as manuscript evidence would show, by Simeon himself from the year 1120 to the year 1129, where it ends. Whether Simeon put these two chronicles together, or wrote the continuation only, or did both, I dare not attempt to decide. Two points, however, are of importance; first, the two chronicles were combined before the continuation was composed, for the compiler of the "Historia post Bedam," as I venture to call Hoveden's immediate predecessor, knew the conjoined chronicle

Simeon's continuation to 1129.

Puzzling questions about Simeon himself.

although he did not know the continuation by Simeon; secondly, as we have no manuscript of Simeon earlier than the year 1161, we cannot decide whether it was by himself or by his copyist that the extracts from William of Malmesbury were introduced between the two chronicles as we find them in Twysden's edition of Simeon.[1] There is no indication, I think, that the editor of the "Historia post Bedam," had ever seen William of Malmesbury's work, or those extracts which appear in Simeon.[2] As he certainly had seen the conjoined chronicles, we must infer, either that these extracts were inserted by a transcriber, or that the editor of the conjoined chronicles was a different person from Simeon. Until we can discover more certainly the dates of Simeon's life,[3] we must he content to leave this undecided.

4. The Historia post Bedam, based upon Simeon and Henry of Huntingdon; itself the basis of Hoveden's work.

We are now come to the "Historia post Bedam" itself. This very valuable compilation is not a mere copy of Simeon or of the conjoined chronicles, but an attempt at a reduction of them to a reasonable chronological sequence, with the aid of frequent extracts from Henry of Huntingdon. Briefly analyzed, the composition of this work is as follows:—(1) A.D. 734 to 802, it is the earlier of the two conjoined chronicles, which

---

[1] c. 115–118.

[2] The life of S. Aldhelm, however, the fifth book of the *Gesta Pontificum,* he must have known through the extracts from it in Florence and Simeon.

[3] The only indication other than such as are discoverable from internal evidence in his compilation, is found in the fact that Simeon addressed a letter on the history of the archbishops of York, to Hugh dean of York. Hugh as dean attests acts of the years 1130 and 1132. The best text of this letter goes down no further in the list of archbishops than Thurstan, who died in 1139. If we fix 1130 for the approximate date, on these grounds, there is no difficulty in supposing Simeon to have been both the compiler and continuator of the work that bears his name. On the other hand, the compiler of the *Historia post Bedam* knew Simeon's compilation, but not his continuation; this looks rather as if only the continuation from 1120 were his.

Analysis of the Historia post Bedam.

I have called the Northumbrian Chronicle, and which may be the work known to Richard of Hexham as the Gesta Veterum Nordhumbrorum; but this the compiler knew apparently under the treatment of that poetical editor whom I have mentioned as possibly, but not probably, Simeon. (2) Having brought the history down to the reign of Egbert from this source, the editor turns to Henry of Huntingdon, and extracts the history of the kings of Wessex, verbatim from him, down to the reign of Ethelbert, from the year 752 to the year 866. (3) He next takes up the conjoined chronicles, combines the details of the two, and whilst employing Asser, Eadmer, and Florence to compare with them, uses the words of the compilation, from the birth of Alfred to the year 1121. (4) From 1121 to 1148 he follows Henry of Huntingdon with perfect fidelity. In 1148 the first edition of Henry of Huntingdon ended, with the account of the capture of Lisbon by the crusading army. The Arundel MS. 48, which contains this edition of Henry of Huntingdon, adds two or three lines on the appointment of Robert de Chesney, the new bishop of Lincoln, which the copyist has omitted; otherwise they both would end with the same words.

It ends at the same point with first edition of Henry of Huntingdon.

Additions of the Historia post Bedam, to earlier authorities.

The additions made by the compiler of the "Historia "post Bedam" to the matter drawn directly from Simeon of Durham and Henry of Huntingdon are chiefly these:—(1) The list of West Saxon kings which is inserted before the account of the birth of Alfred (vol. i. pp. 34, 35). (2) The list of the gifts of Copsi, earl of Northumberland, p. 58, to the church of Durham, which is extracted from the work of Simeon on the history of that church; with the account of the death and burial of Cospatric on the following page, which is not derived, so far as I can discover, from any earlier work. (3) P. 72, a few lines on the wickedness of Eadric Streone, strengthening the language used

by Florence of Worcester. (4) The story of the sacrilege committed on the crucifix by the Normans at Durham, p. 120, which is an abridgment of another passage in Simeon's History of Durham. (5) That of the search of William the Conqueror for the relics of S. Cuthbert, p. 127, which seems to be derived from the same work. (6) The account of the burial of William of S. Carileph, and prior Turgot, p. 151. (7) The story of the death of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, is inserted in language more resembling that of the Continuator of Florence, than that of Henry of Huntingdon from whom the context is taken.

Additions of the Historia post Bedam, to Simeon of Durham.

These are all the passages of any importance in which this compilation adds to its original authorities; they are evidence sufficient, if evidence were wanting, for the composition of the work in the monastery of Durham. It is unnecessary to specify the omissions which it makes from the earlier authors; it is sufficient to say that it prunes the somewhat ambitious language of the first of the conjoined chronicles, and on the same principle leaves out the poetical effusions which are found in Henry of Huntingdon: on almost every page will be found some instance of verbal retrenchment, or some attempt at harmonizing the accounts given of the same events by the two conjoined chronicles existing under the name of Simeon.

Inference from these as to the compilation of the work at Durham.

The corresponding question with regard to Hoveden is more important. The additions made by him to the "Historia post Bedam," are these:—(1) The account of the miracles of Edward the Confessor, pp. 108–111. This is not necessarily original, but I have not been able to trace the actual words employed in any legendary life of Edward. (2) The abstract given at p. 127 of the charter by which the Conqueror granted Hemingburgh and Brackenholm to Durham. Hemingburgh lies on the borders of Howdenshire, separated from it by the Derwent, and both as a possession of

Hoveden's additions to the Historia post Bedam, up to the end of that work.

Additions made by Hoveden to the Historia post Bedam.

Durham, and as a neighbouring town to Howden, would have an interest for Roger.

(3) The copy given, at p. 137, of the charter by which Thomas I., archbishop of York, releases the churches belonging to Durham, which are in the diocese of York, from customary payments due to the archbishop. This act, as I have mentioned already, although it might not affect Howden at the time, had a prospective effect, and would operate in that as well as in other cases in Hoveden's time. It is, however, an act of considerable importance in itself, and the clue to the disputes between Hugh de Puiset and archbishop Geoffrey which our author later on describes at length. (4) The list in French of the warriors who took part in the siege of Nice (p. 152). This was most likely drawn up by Hoveden himself from Albert of Aix.

Addition on the history of the emperor Henry V.

(5) At pp. 163 and 181, are two passages on the history of the emperor Henry V., which not only are not taken from any earlier authority, but are of late fabrication. The first makes Henry IV. fall by his son's hand, and the second relates the consequent remorse of the parricide, his desertion of his wife and empire, and his disappearance. The story can hardly have been taken from Giraldus Cambrensis, who gives further imaginary details in his book "De Instructione Prin-"cipum;"[1] but both writers may have derived it from the same popular gossip. It has been regarded as a story got up, with what view it is not easy to say, to throw doubt on the legitimacy of Henry II. The only period at which such an invention could have been useful was the troublous reign of Stephen. An impostor claiming to be Henry V., is said by Robert de Monte,[2] to have appeared in Germany in 1138, asserting that he had lived in the meantime in retire-

[1] Ed. Brewer, p. 153.

[2] R. de Monte, ap. Pistor., i. 877. Cf. Struve, *Corpus Hist. Germ.*, i. 355.

ment at Solothurn. After giving a good deal of trouble he was made a monk at Cluny. This story is very different from those of Hoveden and Giraldus, but these were possibly a popular adaptation of it, to the purpose of the anti-Angevin party. (6) The story of the sickness and death of archbishop Thomas II. (p. 169), which is also told, but in different language, by Richard of Hexham,[1] and William of Newburgh.[2] (7) The name given to the rocks on which the White Ship struck (p. 177), 'Chaterase,' is peculiar to Hoveden. (8) The story of Matilda's return from Germany with the arm of S. James (p. 181), and the consequent foundation of the abbey of Reading. (9) The curious confusion of the relationship between Fulk of Anjou and his son Geoffrey (p. 184), appears in a different form in Hoveden and his authorities. Henry of Huntingdon[3] and the compiler of the "Historia post Bedam," who borrowed from him, both speak of Geoffrey as the Crusader, and as "rex futurus," the future king, I suppose, of Palestine, although it may possibly refer to Geoffrey's claim to the English crown in right of his wife.[4] Hoveden, however, knew that Geoffrey never was king, but that Fulk was: he corrects the mistake of his predecessors by another, and makes Fulk the brother instead of the father of Geoffrey. In this he was probably misled by the authority whom he used in the later part of the Chronicle, whom we know under the name of Benedict.[5] (10) At p. 186 is another passage also referring to the history of Palestine, repeating the mistake about Fulk, and continuing the succession of the Latin kings down to

Additions by Hoveden to his authorities.

The mistake about Fulk and Geoffrey of Anjou.

---

[1] R. Hexham, Twysden, c. 306.

[2] W. Newb., lib. i. cap. 3.

[3] H. Hunt., ed. Savile, 220.

[4] See the Appendix to Florence of Worcester, *M. H. B.*, 643, note 7.

[5] Ben. Pet., i. 330, 331. Geoffrey is there made uterine (probably meaning full) brother of Fulk.

Hoveden's additions to his predecessor.

Baldwin the Leper and his sisters, written therefore as late as the year 1184. (11) At p. 187 is another addition, containing the fact that Henry I., in the year of his death, caused his prelates and barons to swear fealty to the empress and her son Henry, whom he appointed as his successor. (11) At p. 198 is the account of the disputed election to the see of York on Thurstan's death, when the votes of the chapter were divided between Saint William and Henry Murdac. (12) At pp. 205 and 208 are a few lines taken apparently from the Chronicle of Melrose, on which I shall remark hereafter.

These additions imply a northern authorship.

So few are the contributions which on the most liberal estimate we can suppose to have come from the hand of Roger of Hoveden. It would be rash to draw any conclusions from them except that they point distinctly to a northern origin, and in a measure confirm his hypothetical claim to the authorship. In other respects the impression they leave on the mind is that their writer was a devout man, of strong local attachments, and by no means beyond the general run of his contemporaries in his treatment of legendary miracles.

It may be as well, in order to avoid confusion, to describe in this place the manuscripts of the earlier compilation. They are two in number.

Manuscripts of the Historia post Bedam. 1. MS. Reg. 13 A. 6.

1. The Royal MS. 13. A. 6., is a very beautiful manuscript written on vellum, about the year 1150. It is in quarto, written in long lines, 26 lines to the page, and rubricated carefully throughout; and contains 107 folios. It has a title on the first folio, "Historia Saxonum vel "Anglorum post obitum Bedæ;" in a hand of the fifteenth century; and below this another title in a hand considerably later: "Incipit Historia Anglorum sive Saxonum "post venerabilem Bedam edita a Magistro ——." This title was probably copied from the Arundel MS. 150, which will be described hereafter as a MS. of Hoveden. To this the note is added in another hand, "Simon

"Dunelmensis claruit A.D. 1164; tempore Henrici II." The manuscript might easily be regarded at first sight as a portion of the Chronicle of Hoveden, or as a copy of Simeon of Durham, as all three begin in nearly the same words. It concludes with the words "venerat ex "Anglia," that is, with the concluding words of the first edition of Henry of Huntingdon. The hand is the same throughout; but there is a brief continuation bringing down the history to the death of Stephen, added in a hand of the thirteenth century.[1] A much later scribe has inserted the rest of Stephen's reign from Henry of Huntingdon's completed chronicle. The rubrics are in some places important as throwing light on the identification of some of the obscurer names in Northumbrian geography. In particular the monastery of king Egfrith at Donemuth, which has been sometimes, and especially by Mr. Petrie, identified with Wearmouth,[2] is explained to be Tynemouth; an account which is certainly not impossible, and may throw light on some earlier obscurities.[3] Wherever this is the case I have preserved the rubric in a note; but I have not thought it desirable to encumber either text or notes with all the rubrics, which Hoveden apparently rejected when incorporating the chronicle in his compilation. The text of the MS. has been carefully collated with Hoveden's version, and the various readings noticed under the signature of "a." Of the history of the volume I can add nothing but that it probably was once the property of Durham or some kindred monastery; and that before it reached the royal collection it had been the property of John Theyer of

Account of the MS. Reg. 13. A. 6.

History of the MS.

[1] See Appendix to Preface.

[2] *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, 338, note c.

[3] Especially the letter of pope Paul I. to Eadbert, king of Northumbria, ordering the restoration of three estates, Staningrave, Cuchewalda and Donemuth, to abbot Forthred. Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 144. Mr. Surtees, (Hist. Durham, ii. 66,) gives the name of Done to the stream on which Jarrow stands, and identifies Donemuth with Jarrow, and the haven of Egfrith with Jarrow Slake.

History of the MS. Reg. 13. A. 6.

Cowper's Hill, near Gloucester. From him it descended, with the famous library of eight hundred MSS., to his grandson, whose note "Liber Caroli Theyer de Cowper's "Hill juxta Glouc:" remains on folio 22.

By Charles Theyer, on his grandfather's death in 1673, the MSS. were sold to Robert Scot of London, bookseller, from whom they were bought by king Charles II. for the library at St. James's, which was presented to the nation in the next century by George II.[1] The text has been annotated in several places by Elizabethan scholars.[2]

2. The S. John's MS. 97.

2. The second manuscript is the property of the President and Fellows of S. John's College, Oxford (No. 97 in Mr. Coxe's catalogue), who have most kindly entrusted it to me for the preparation of the present edition. This has been collated also, and the various readings noted under the signature "b." It is a fine MS. written on vellum, not much later than the Royal MS.; and apparently a faithful copy either from it or from a common original: in two or three places it supplies a word casually omitted in the Royal MS., and occasionally is indebted to it in the same way. It begins and ends with the same words. It is contained in ten quires of eight leaves each; there are thirty-four lines in each page; and there are no rubrics.

Unfortunately this MS. not being rubricated has no contemporary title; to supply the place several efforts have been made by antiquaries of different centuries, whose notes show at least their curiosity on the question. I give them in the order of their apparent age. (1) "Cronica regum Northanhymbrorum de communi "libro monachorum Dunelmensium;" in a hand of the fourteenth century. (2.) "Cronica Rogeri Houedene;"

[1] Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses*, ii. 380. The collection was made by John Theyer, grandfather of the John mentioned in the text; this person had married the sister of Hart, the last prior of Lantony, near Gloucester, and many of the MSS. came from that monastery. There is nothing about the MS. in question to show that it was one of these.

[2] See Appendix to this Preface.

sixteenth century. (3) "Cronica non Rogeri Houedeni qui "claruit anno Domini 1210, sed Simeonis Dunelmensis, "qui vixit tempore Severini, 4[ti] abbatis Monasterii "Sanctæ Mariæ in Eboraco, ut apparet folio 52;" seventeenth century. (4) "Extant autem sub nomine Rogeri "Hovedeni;" seventeenth century. (5) "Non est hic "Simeo Dunelmensis qui scripsit Historiam Ecclesiæ "suæ et extat in bibliotheca publica Cantabrigiæ, sed "pro Simeone tamen citatur ab eo qui scripsit Antiqui-"tates Britannicas, ca. 27;" also in a hand of the same date. (6) "This book is by Stowe called 'Liber Dunel-"'mensis.'" (7) "This booke was printed in 1596." (8) "Liber Sancti Cuthberti." The last three are in various hands of the reign of Elizabeth or the beginning of the seventeenth century. Titles of the MS. S. John's, 97.

The whole MS. has been carefully annotated in different hands varying from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. The most modern of the annotators, unquestionably one of the Oxford antiquaries of the sixteenth century, perhaps Brian Twyne himself, has not only written on the margins, and between the lines of the text, parallel passages from other authors, but has continued the history by transcribing Henry of Huntingdon down to the death of Stephen. He concludes with the account given by John of Hexham of the election of Hugh de Puiset to the see of Durham.[1] I should not omit to mention that this MS. is provided with an index of 25 pages, written in the sixteenth century, with great care and exactness, and ending with the note "factus "die 29 Novembris 1532, per fratrem T. Swalwell."[2] Annotations of the S. John's MS.

The Harleian MS. 54 contains part of this compilation. It is on vellum, and written probably in the thirteenth century. It is however rather a fragment, or the beginning of an intended copy of Hoveden, than a tran- Account of the Harleian MS. 54.

---

[1] John of Hexham, ap. Twysden, c. 282.

[2] The surname is nearly illegible.

The Harleian MS. 54.

script of the earlier compilation. It breaks off suddenly in the year 1121, in the account of the second marriage of Henry I. It contains 37 folios, double columns, 59 lines to the page, and is not rubricated.

II. The second portion of Hoveden's Chronicle.

II. We now come to the discussion of the second part of the Chronicle of Hoveden, which extends from A.D. 1148 to A.D. 1170. This, although the shortest, is perhaps of more literary importance than any other part of the work. It cannot as a whole be referred to any previously existing authority, and yet the probability is strong that Roger of Hoveden's share in the authorship is confined to a few occasional memoranda, and is not larger here than in the preceding and following divisions.

Scarcity of English Historians for the period, 1148 to 1170.

It is almost superfluous to remind the reader that the latter years of Stephen and the early ones of Henry II. are more scantily illustrated by contemporary historians than any portion of our national history. It is more difficult to ascertain the exact chronology of these years than that of any period of equal length since the ninth century. The history of Henry of Huntingdon, extremely meagre for the whole reign of Stephen, ceases altogether at his death. William of Malmesbury ends in 1143; Ordericus Vitalis the same year; the continuators of Florence of Worcester in 1151; the Hexham historians in 1153. The latest entry in the latest continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is of 1154. Supposing, moreover that Hoveden began his work about 1195, he would not have any of our existing chronicles to refer to for information; all these, with the exception of that known by the name of Benedict, being composed or published as late as, if not later than, his own. Our own conceptions of the sequence of events at this very important crisis in the

The existing Chronicles written too late, to be of use to Hoveden.

history of England are drawn from William of Newburgh, Ralph de Diceto, and Gervase of Canterbury; but none of these can be strictly termed contemporary. William of Newburgh was born only in 1135 at the earliest;[1] Ralph de Diceto is for many years a mere copyist from Robert de Monte; and Gervase wrote so much later than the events of this part of his history that it is quite certain that he got his knowledge of them at second hand.[2] It is clear, I think, that Hoveden knew the works of none of these writers, as might easily be the case if we suppose, as I have done above, that he retired from the royal household soon after the death of Henry II. And there is no reason to believe that he knew the Chronicle of Robert de Monte, which may not improbably have been published to the world about 1186, soon after the death of its author. The other chroniclers of the period are as ignorant of Hoveden as he is of them.

Our existing authorities not contemporary, for this period.

None of them known to Hoveden.

For this period then, 1148 to 1170, it would seem that our author found himself obliged to attempt original arrangement and composition. The result is meagre in the extreme, and as we might expect confused in the best known points of the chronology, and in the obvious sequence of the best known events. Not to mention the repeated mistake as to the relationship of Fulk and Geoffrey of Anjou, I may specify in illustration of this the misdating of the capture of Edessa, p. 209; of the death of Eustace of Boulogne, the son of Stephen, p. 211;

Hoveden an original writer on this period.

[1] William of Newburgh was born in the first year of Stephen; his history ends in 1198. Ralph de Diceto ends in 1200, and Gervase in 1199. But Hoveden's later history is contemporaneous, and clearly written as a continuation of the earlier compilation, which must therefore have been completed before he began to continue it, before 1192 that is, at least eight years before any of the three works could be before the world.

[2] Gervase had the tonsure from Becket in 1162; and the portion of his work which can be referred to original memoranda begins later.

Instances of Hoveden's inaccuracy during the period 1148 to 1170.

of the appointment of Thomas Becket to the chancellorship, p. 215; of the coronations at Lincoln and Worcester, p. 216; of the marriage of Henry the Lion with Matilda of Anjou, p. 220; of the council of Westminster in 1163, p. 220; and of a great majority of the letters which he inserts in illustration of the controversy between the king and the archbishop. The only dates for this part of the work on which any reliance can be placed, are derived from a somewhat jejune source, but that probably the only one available, the Chronicle of Melrose.

The Chronicle of Melrose.

This chronicle is one of the Durham family, based upon the work of Simeon down to the year 1121, and from that date bearing marks of contemporaneous annotation. It is probable that it was begun a few years later than that date, for the abbey of Melrose was not founded until 1136. But the annals of the intervening period are replete with original matter, and although the entries for a few years may have been inserted from memory, they begin at that date to have a clearly contemporaneous character. The question, is it possible that, instead of Hoveden's being indebted to this chronicle, the few common dates which the two works contain may have been derived from him, must be answered in the negative. These common dates are a selection from a large stock to be found in the Melrose Chronicle, of the same character; and the chronology of the Melrose Chronicle is much more minute and exact than that of Hoveden. These two facts would be enough to show that the Melrose Chronicle did not borrow from our author, and it is only necessary to prove that Hoveden might have seen that work, in order to set aside the unnecessary hypothesis that the

Contemporaneous from 1136 or earlier.[1]

The notices common to this chronicle and Hoveden, not taken from Hoveden:

[1] For instance, the Melrose Chronicle gives the day of the month where Hoveden gives only the year for the foundation of Holm Cultram, in 1150; of Dryburgh in 1151; the consecration of bishop Engelram of Glasgow in 1164.

common dates were taken from a common authority, and that the Melrose Chronicle so far forth is not original. There is, however, one passage among these common notices which decides the question beyond the possibility of a cavil, proving at once the early composition of the Melrose Chronicle, and the much later date of even the earliest correction made by Hoveden. Under the date 1159, in the Melrose Chronicle[1] we read, in reference to the antipope Victor IV.: "Frederi-"cus imperator erexit sibi idolum, Octovianum scilicet "antipapam, quem in execrabili concilio et conven-"ticulo sanguinum apud Papiam cum sua gente statuit "adorandum, et schisma factum est in ecclesia multo "tempore perdurans." Hoveden has the event recorded in almost the same words,[2] except in two important particulars, instead of "apud Papiam" he reads "ad-"versus papam Alexandrum;" and instead of "multo "tempore perdurans," "decem et octo annis perdurans." This proves, of course, first, that Hoveden wrote the history of the year 1159 after the year 1177, when the schism ended; secondly, that the Melrose chronicler certainly did not transcribe from Hoveden, for he would never have preferred the looser to the more exact computation, and probably wrote before the conclusion of the schism. But the substitution of "adversus papam "Alexandrum" for "apud Papiam," proves that Hoveden, who was most likely making his extracts in haste, misread his original: "Papiam" might easily be read "papam," but in such a connexion the probabilities are immense that "papam" would not be read "Papiam." The substitution of "adversus" for "apud" would necessarily follow upon the misreading.

nor from a common authority.

Passage proving the text of the Melrose Chronicle to be older than the text of Hoveden.

It would perhaps be possible to fix more exactly the date at which the writer of the portions of the Melrose Chronicle which Hoveden used, laid down his pen.

---

[1] Chr. Mailros, ed. Fulman, p. 168.

[2] Vol. i. p. 217.

The Melrose Chronicle exactly contemporary in 1168.

Under the year 1168 the former[1] has, "Obiit Wido "schismaticus, et secundus antipapa, et quidam tertius antipapa cujus nomen ignoratur, qui et ignorans "ignorabitur, elevatus est." Hoveden has the names of the antipope, John of Struma, alias Calixtus III., quite correctly.[2] It is even possible that the Melrose annalist closed his labours before he learned the name of Calixtus; it is next to a certainty that the name was not yet known in England when the entry was made; it is quite certain that he could not have written as he did with Hoveden's work before him.

Hoveden borrowed from the Melrose Chronicle.

On these grounds I think I am justified in saying that Roger of Hoveden copied these common notices of events between 1148 and 1169 from the Chronicle of Melrose. After the year 1169 there are no such identical passages.

Three passages common to Hoveden and the Melrose Chronicle before 1148.

Three of these passages occur before Hoveden is deserted by his guide, Henry of Huntingdon. It is to the Chronicle of Melrose that he owes the fact that the battle of the Standard was fought on Cowton Moor; "In Cuteenemor" are the words of the annalist: our author would have been wise had he extracted the date as well, "xi. kal. Septembris." Another is the notice in 1141 of the murder of Aubrey de Vere; and the third that of the capture of Edessa in 1144, which is placed by the older historian in 1145, and by our author in 1146.

Another source of Hoveden's information, the lives and letters of Becket.

From 1163 to 1169 Hoveden dwells almost exclusively on the history of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop, and upon the sufferings of the latter. Of this portion of the work, the greater part consists of letters, chiefly derived, we may believe, from the collection made by John of Salisbury and Alan of Tewkesbury. All of them will be found in the great MS. of the latter author now preserved in the Bodleian library, No. 937. There are twenty-eight in all. They are

[1] Chron. Mailros, p. 170.

[2] Hoveden, i. 269.

arranged in very indifferent order, and show by their arrangement that they were hastily or else carelessly put together. In at least one instance a letter is placed immediately after the one which was written in answer to it;[1] and the impression left by the collection altogether is that it was made some years after the exact sequence of events, themselves extremely involved, and liable from the recurrence of certain features to be confounded, had been lost sight of.

Hoveden is inaccurate in his arrangement of these letters.

But besides the letters there is a sketch of the whole controversy given in the way of direct narration, which, until it can be identified with some earlier composition on the same subject, must continue to be ascribed to Roger of Hoveden. In this sketch, which is contained in a very few pages, I have failed to detect any convincing evidence of either date or authorship. It is not improbable that we have in this the earliest attempt at a dated history of the great contest: but it is unquestionably an independent one, whether it be the work of Hoveden or not. The author clearly had not seen the more elaborate chronological *summa* drawn up by Ralph de Diceto.[2]

Question as to the composition of his narrative on the subject of Becket.

It is the earliest dated narrative.

None of the lives of the martyr contain the dates requisite for the proper incorporation of the events in the annals of the country. It is at least not improbable then that Hoveden himself arranged the events under the years in which he supposed them to have happened, and it is not to be wondered that for the most part this arrangement is inaccurate. The origin of the quarrel is indeed rightly dated in 1163; but the council of Westminster is placed, as I have said before, in 1164,[3] the council of Northampton in 1165.[4] Henry's edict

None of the lives of Becket strictly chronological.

Hoveden's chronology unsound here.

[1] Henry's injunctions against Becket, which belong to 1169 or 1170, are placed in 1165, i. 231; the answer of Becket to his suffragans is placed before the letters that called it forth, p. 256.

[2] Ap. Twysden, c. 711, &c.

[3] Hoveden, i. 220.

[4] i. 221.

Errors in Hoveden's chronology of the Becket quarrel.

of 1169, and Thomas's proposed address to Henry, "Desiderio desideravi," are placed also in 1165. The events are, however, detailed in their proper order, although the dates are wrong; with the exception of the legatine proceedings in 1167, which are placed in 1169, and the edict of 1169, which has shared the confusion of the letters, amongst which it was probably found. All we can infer from this is that the sketch was drawn up before the appearance of the exacter chronology of the annalists, Ralph de Diceto or Gervase; but not so early that the proper dates were within an ordinary effort of memory.

Remarks on the condition of the Becket remains.

As to the substance of this sketch, and as to the original sources from which it was derived, it is necessary, under the existing confusion of the Becket Remains, to speak very cautiously. Of Dr. Giles's well intentioned compilation, I fear it must be said that the principle upon which it was made, and the way in which the plan was carried out, were unfortunate. Grateful as the historical student must ever be to him for presenting such a mass of interesting and almost new matter to the world, he cannot conceal from himself that the existence of this edition is an actual hindrance to any further elucidation of a most important series of events. It is so arranged as to be quite beyond the manipulation of ordinary fingers, and by its arrangement proves that the faults which we find in Hoveden were not peculiar to his age. The result is absolutely to discourage further research, whilst on no single point can it be said to supersede the necessity of it. It may have been necessary that such should be the "first state" of any newly compiled stock of matter, and, in works of ordinary size and compass, such a necessity may be wholesome; but here the mass is overwhelming, and the chaos almost beyond the power of analysis. The first step towards improvement must be the formation of a tentative calendar of all the letters in the several collections: such a work would facilitate the production of

a second edition; but such an edition should not be contemplated until the contents of the many and scattered manuscripts were arranged by help of the calendar, and their essence incorporated with it. We should then be in a condition to approach the "Lives," to arrange them in kindred groups, and by comparison with the letters to subject them to such an analysis as is practicable in the treatment of groups of chronicles. By this means we should have some chance of arriving at an idea of the independence and genuineness of the several originals. I am obliged to make these remarks, because they have a direct bearing upon my own work. It is not possible for me, or for any one at present, to consult all the manuscripts of "Becket Remains;" and it is, consequently, impossible to say whether or no the pages which are here ascribed provisionally to Roger of Hoveden may not occur in integrity in the work of an earlier scribe.

System on which the Becket remains could be made accessible.

It will be evident to any one who will take the trouble of examining that part of the adventures of Saint Thomas which is common to our author and the Chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, that although the former had doubtless the latter work before him, he had also some earlier work or works on the subject of the martyrdom, and of the events that led to it, to work from at the same time. From this or these the author of the earlier chronicle copied somewhat: Hoveden copied somewhat more. The question arises, and it is one, I think, which may be made to throw some light on Hoveden's plan of re-writing as exemplified in the middle portion of the chronicle: did the two compilers copy these particulars from a single common original or from the several still existing works to which we are able to refer them? If from a single common original, then it is possible that, if that were discovered, it might be found to prove that the whole of the sketch of the contest as we have it in Hoveden was as completely tran-

Relation between Hoveden and Benedict's chronicle on the details of the martyrdom.

Did Hoveden and his predecessor borrow from a common original the details of the martyrdom?

scribed by him as was the chronicle of Simeon of Durham, or the history of Henry of Huntingdon. If from several separate sources, such as those to which we are able to refer portions of it, then a further question arises, is Hoveden the author of those parts which we cannot refer to any known source? or are we to look for other "lives" and "passions" besides those that have been so long before the world?

In the absence of any evidence of the existence of any *single* earlier source, we must argue from the facts before us.

The two existing sources of information used by these writers on this point; John of Salisbury and the "Passio."

The two sources which can be identified are the Life of Saint Thomas attributed to John of Salisbury,[1] a great part of which appears also in one of his letters,[2] and which may, therefore, without hesitation be ascribed to him; and a "Passio" or lesson on the death of the saint which is found in a Bodleian MS. of the twelfth century.[3] From both of these the author of the chronicle of Benedict makes extracts, combining and dovetailing them with some dexterity; so much so, in fact, as certainly not to preclude the possibility of his having found them in this combined state. They are the only part of that chronicle which can be even probably ascribed to an earlier source. Hoveden wrote with Benedict before him, but his work began long before Benedict, who begins only at Christmas 1169; and he must needs have had recourse to other authority for the earlier history. We are able, however, only to detect in Hoveden extracts from the same "Passio," and from the Life by John of Salisbury; but with this difference, that whilst from the "Passio" he quotes more largely far than Benedict had done, it is through Benedict only that he quotes the words of the great biographer. When he wrote them he must have had the "Passio" as well

Hoveden knew the latter of these better than Benedict, but not the former.

[1] Edited in Dr. Giles' Collection, i. 316–339.

[2] Epist. 304.

[3] *S. T. C.*, ii. 137–146, from MS. Bodl. 509, collated with a Paris MS. 5278.

as "Benedict" in his eye; but there is no evidence to show that he had any other known work.

Hoveden wrote with both the Passio and Benedict before him: and he had something besides that we have not:

But these two authorities are by no means enough to account for the fulness with which Hoveden discusses the latter part of Becket's life and his character. Arguments from style are in such a case as the present dangerous; nor is there any variety of style in the unclaimed portions of the compilation which may not owe its character as much to the matter in hand as to the method of the writer. It is difficult to come to any conclusion. Where Hoveden does condescend to anything like consecutive narrative or dramatic arrangement, his narrative is clear and intelligible, his dialogue terse and pointed. If, on the one hand, this fact would seem to indicate the existence of an older independent authority, it has to be balanced by the consideration that such clearness is not at all characteristic of any of the writers known to exist on the subject. Matters which many men have witnessed, and of which they have recorded their own impressions, are not apt to be clearly stated at first; and clearness of detail may be in such cases the product of a more distant view: but again, it is not characteristic of a common-place compiler to add clearness of detail to circumstances which his authorities relate with obscurity and complexity. I must then close this discussion, begun at the risk of being accused of the fatal prolixity which so obscures the biographers of Becket, with a doubt: it is possible that Hoveden took the whole episode from a lost source; it is not improbable that he compiled it himself from the lives by Grim, William Fitz-Stephen, and Roger of Pontigny.

or he may have composed here more largely than elsewhere.

Tentative conclusions.

Animus of the narrative.

The animus with which the narrative is written seems to vary. We can hardly read the story of the original quarrel and of the council of Clarendon without feeling that Hoveden's sympathies, as a lawyer and as a straightforward man, were with the king: in the later part admiration for the martyr

Hoveden in his narrative of the quarrel not unfair to the king, and therefore perhaps original.

seems to have prevailed. Such a transition of feeling would seem natural enough were the events recorded at the time they occurred; but it is not natural in a chronicle drawn up twenty-five years after the conclusion of the tragedy, when the world at large was worshipping the martyr. It may more readily be accounted for on the supposition that the earlier details were Hoveden's own, who probably like Gilbert Foliot and the other courtiers retained his own impressions of Becket's honesty and prudence; whilst the latter were drawn from books written after the halo of martyrdom had reflected light on all that had gone before. It is possible that Hoveden was in the king's service at the time of the martyrdom; and although he certainly could have made no memoranda at the time, he may well have kept his first idea of the quarrel, and even have inclined more than was equitable in favour of his patron and master.

A few historical notices of this period not borrowed from the Chronicle of Melrose, nor concerning the Becket quarrel.

The notices of the years 1148 to 1169 which are neither taken directly from the chronicle of Melrose, nor connected closely with the Becket contest, are very few, and some of them, I think, of very questionable authenticity. The death of Eustace of Boulogne is antedated five years, and made the occasion of the loss of Normandy by Stephen in 1148.[1] This I have mentioned before as a certain mistake. Of the striking of money by Henry in 1149[2] called "the duke's "money," and of the appointment of Henry as justiciar to Stephen in 1153,[3] it is impossible to say that they are false, but equally impossible to say that they are in the least degree probable. One single notice may be regarded as both historically correct and as drawn by Hoveden from his own memory, the destruction of the castle of Drax by Stephen in 1154.[4] He may also have

[1] i. 211.
[2] i. 211.
[3] Hoveden, i. 212.
[4] Hoveden, i. 213.

witnessed the burial of archbishop William at York the same year.

III. The third division of the chronicle extends from Christmas 1169 to the spring of 1192, and is that portion of the collective work which corresponds with the chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough.

III. The portion of Hoveden's chronicle from 1169 to 1192.

Into the composition of this valuable work, and the many literary questions connected with it, it is impossible in this place to examine. In my preface to the first volume of my edition of Benedict I have attempted an investigation of the kind, but with little other result than the rejection of all claims hitherto put forth to the authorship. It will not be necessary to recur here to more than two or three of the points there discussed. It is sufficient to state what seems to me to be the relation between the two works, and to give proofs or illustrations of this relation.

Discussion of the chronicle of Benedict unnecessary in this place.

Hoveden's way of treating the Chronicle of Benedict is quite different from that in which he handles his authorities in the earlier part of the compilation. Benedict is not merely transcribed, but carefully revised and re-written. The closeness with which the language of the earlier work is copied varies in different places, but the general relation is the same throughout. Hoveden's Chronicle is sometimes an abridgment, sometimes a copy, sometimes a paraphrase of his predecessor's, but, except by the insertion of different letters or documents, he does not increase our knowledge of the period in any important particular. On the supposition that he began his work after the death of Henry II., I conceive him to have taken his copy of Benedict and to have attempted to condense it, adding occasional notices of events that he retained in his own memory, and documents which he had perhaps collected and preserved during his life at court with some such purpose in

Hoveden does not merely copy, but re-edits Benedict's chronicle.

Hoveden's treatment of Benedict's Chronicle.

view. Occasionally this condensation amounts to a positive abridgment, and involves the omission of names and dates, and the slurring over of difficulties. Occasionally the condensing process is exchanged for an expanding one, but the expansion is for the most part verbal only; it is very seldom that an additional date or detail of the slightest consequence is added. In one or two cases sentimental effusions are introduced, or the political tone of the original softened or otherwise varied. Sometimes the light thrown by subsequent events on the details of the moment is allowed a place in illustration;[1] or the jottings down of the contemporary annalist are brought together; or the incidental mention of a particular family is worked up to a later point of time.

Marginal references of this edition.

I have endeavoured in the marginal references and in the notes of this edition to keep before the eye of the reader every successive point that can illustrate this account of the composition of the work; and consequently to detail the whole proof would be to anticipate here great part of both text and notes. I shall confine myself then to the illustration of the following particulars;—(1) Hoveden's Chronicle is in this portion of it less full in detail than that which I suppose him to have copied. (2) Whilst the earlier work bears in a considerable portion of its extent the marks of contemporaneous composition, Hoveden's has many marks of a date considerably later, and even where he inserts details drawn from his own experience, it is obvious that they are the results of an effort of memory, not of annotation made at the time. (3) In some cases where the language of Hoveden diverges

Six points to be illustrated in confirmation of the view.

[1] Especially towards the end of the common period; the journey of Philip from Palestine, for instance, which was written after his treatment of Richard in his captivity had thrown light on the intrigues he had conducted on his way home.

from that of his authority he seems to have misread or misunderstood him. (4) He has in nearly every case, if not everywhere, followed the mistakes of his original. (5) Where his relation differs from that of the original, he has run into error in detail. (6) He has given additional documents which in some cases were not unknown to the earlier writer; and occasionally dwelling more fully on particulars derivable from documents, seems to have had before him the materials from which the older writer drew; but in all such cases the greater fulness with which Hoveden writes may be referred to his possession of public documents, not to a practice of contemporaneous annotation.

Comparison of Hoveden and Benedict.

1. Hoveden's Chronicle is less full in detail than that of Benedict. An instance of this may be found early in the common portion, in the account of the inquest of Sheriffs in 1170,[1] which Hoveden dismisses in two lines, retrenching all the expressions of the original which seemed to throw obloquy on the sheriffs, and to express sympathy with the people whom they oppressed. The account of Henry's illness at Mote de Ger in the following autumn,[2] with his division of his estates amongst his children, is much abridged by Hoveden, who omits all mention of the king's directions about his burial at Grandmont. The history of the martyrdom of S. Thomas is in Hoveden, as I have stated above, garnished with a few moral reflexions and minor details in addition to his original, but these are drawn from a known source, which had been used by the older writer as well. The story of the deathbed of the archbishop of Bourges is also given much more dramatically in the older work.[3] In the year 1171 the details of Henry's Irish expedition

1. Hoveden less full in detail than the older writer.

Instances in which this is the case.

[1] Bened. Petr., i. 4, 5. Hoveden, ed. Savile, 296.

[2] Ben. Petr., i. 6, 7. Hoved. ed. Savile, 296.

[3] Ben. Petr., i. 10. Hoveden, ed Savile, 298.

Hoveden less full than Benedict on very many points.

are abridged by Hoveden.[1] In 1173 the agreement between Henry II. and the count of Maurienne is considerably shortened; and the same may be said of the account of the quarrel of the two kings; the flight of the younger Henry, where the dates are omitted altogether; and the measures taken by Lewis VII. on behalf of his son-in-law. The list of the partizans of the younger Henry given in Benedict[2] is omitted by Hoveden, as is the account of the castles held against the king by his barons in England. All the details of the French campaign of 1173 are abridged, as are also the negotiations for the peace. The dates of the invasion of Norfolk by the earl of Leicester, confused in the original, are altogether cut out by Hoveden. The history of the siege of Rouen in 1174, of the affairs of Galloway, in which Hoveden was himself an actor; of the council of Woodstock in 1175; and of the conference of York, is much abridged. Hoveden omits the king's measures taken to avenge the death of Gilbert the Forester;[3] greatly abridges the story of Walter des Fontaines; the prosecution of the forest pleas against the clergy, and the council of Westminster in 1176; and he omits nearly all the events of the spring of that year. The whole history of the year is in fact very much abridged, especially with regard to events that took place in France. The same is true of the year 1177; it is very much condensed, and many particulars of interest omitted, such as the dispute between the widow and heir of Hugh Bigot;[4] the important details as to the condition of police in London;[5] the visit of Philip of Flanders; the pilgrimages of Henry II. to S. Edmunds and Ely;[6] the council of Geddington;[7] the negociations for the marriage of

[1] Except in a single particular, as to the equipment of the ships, which is after all only an expansion. Cf. Ben. Pet., i. 25. Hoved. (ed. Savile), 301.

[2] Ben. Pet., i. 45, 46.

[3] Ben. Pet., i. 93, 94.

[4] Ben. Pet., i. 144.

[5] Ben. Pet., i. 155, 156.

[6] Ben. Pet., i. 159.

[7] Ben. Pet., i. 160.

Cases where Hoveden abridges Benedict.

Richard;[1] the appointment of Roger the almoner;[2] the council of Winchester in July, with all the king's movements in Hampshire during that month; his passage into France, with dates, &c. In the year 1178 Hoveden omits the important passage in Benedict on the alterations in the curia regis,[3] and great part of Richard's adventures in Poictou. The proceedings of 1179 are transcribed with some fidelity, and almost all that follows down to 1181 is either exactly copied, or adapted with some few variations; very little, and nothing connected with English history, is omitted.

Variations in the style of Benedict have their effect on the copyist.

I have stated, I think, more than enough to prove the first point. Before quitting it, however, I must call attention to the fact that the variations in date, style, and perhaps authorship traceable in the earlier work are not without their reflexions in Hoveden. In my preface to the former work[4] I have shown that our present text is derived from two manuscripts, one strictly contemporaneous and ending in 1177, the other written out after the publication of Hoveden's history, although copied from an intermediate one, to which Hoveden also was indebted. In the text as presented by this second MS. we are able to detect certain differences in the period of composition, which divide it into distinct periods:—(1) 1167–1177; derived straight from the earlier existing MS. (2) 1177–1179; less full, and chiefly on foreign affairs. (3) 1180–1188; combining contemporaneous notes of English affairs, with episodic passages on foreign affairs containing indications of later date; and (4) 1188–1192, a full and contemporaneous account of both home and foreign affairs, increasing in fulness and ending very abruptly.[5] It is enough, I think, to say that where the details are more jejune, Hoveden's re-

[1] Ben. Pet., i. 168.
[2] Ben. Pet., i. 169.
[3] Ben. Pet., i. 207.
[4] Ben. Petr., i. pref. xxiii–xxv.
[5] Ben. Petr., i., pref. p. xlix, l.

Hoveden's accuracy of transcription varies inversely with the fulness of the original.

vision is more faithful, as from 1177–1188; where the original is more full, Hoveden condenses and omits, especially towards the latter parts of the more detailed years, as 1176 and 1177, 1191 and 1192. But on the other hand, there are large portions of these latter years which are nearly verbally the same in both authors, and which, as we possess only one MS. of the former, and that is known to be later than the MSS. of Hoveden,[1] may therefore be plausibly supposed to have been borrowed by the transcriber from Hoveden. This hypothesis I have been obliged to reject, considering the regularity of Hoveden's plan of condensation. I should not, however, venture to say that it is beyond the bounds of possibility.

2. Hoveden's work bears marks of later composition.

(2.) Whilst the earlier work has many marks of contemporaneous composition, Hoveden's bears traces of a considerably later date, and, where he adds new facts, they are drawn from memory apparently, not from contemporary memoranda. I will confine myself to a few instances. John is described as receiving the county of Mortain from his father on the occasion of the king's illness in the summer of 1170; he really obtained it from Richard at his accession in 1189.[2] In the council of Northampton, in 1176, Henry II. insisted that the prelates of the Scottish church should make their acknowledgment of subjection to the church of England. According to the earlier chronicle the Scots denied that their ancestors had made this acknowledgment, and refused to make it themselves: on the production by Roger, archbishop of York, of documents proving or purporting to prove the subjection of Glasgow and Whithern to York, the two archbishops quarrelled, and the council broke up, and the Scottish bishops applied to the pope to take them under his protection. Accord-

[1] Ben. Petr., i., pref. xxvi., xxvii.

[2] Ben. Petr., ii. 73. Hoveden, 373, b. 28. M. Paris, 152.

ing to Hoveden, however, Jocelin, bishop of Glasgow, asserted that his own church was immediately subject to the see of Rome. But this relation of Glasgow to Rome was introduced only the year before[1] by a bull of Alexander III., which could not have been alleged in proof of the relation without by its date refuting the claim to antiquity. Hoveden, doubtless, in re-writing the story, was misled by his memory into practically antedating the transaction. In 1176, the earlier chronicle, recording the death of Ralph of Deols, adds that his heiress being then three years old, was carried off by her relations,[2] and that in consequence the younger king was sent into Berri; on his failure Henry II. entered that province, and in October 1177 compelled the surrender of the infant heiress, whom he kept under careful guardianship at Chinon. Hoveden, who omits nearly all the details of this transaction, adds, on the mention of the death of Ralph, that his daughter was given as wife to Baldwin of Rivers. There is no authority for this statement in the earlier chronicle, until in the year 1189 the lady's marriage to Andrew of Chavenni is mentioned, with the note that she had been the wife of Baldwin of Rivers, Considering her extreme youth, and the difficulty that Henry had in obtaining possession of her person, it is certain that the marriage did not take place, and could not have been recorded, until several years after her father's death, or at all events until after the point at which the first chronicle stops.

Cases in which it is clear that Hoveden wrote long after the events recorded contemporaneously by Benedict.

---

[1] Even this is doubtful. The earliest privilege in which this is stated is dated in 1174, Apr. 30: but, if genuine, really belongs to 1175: the indiction also is wrong. Yet on the whole I regard it as genuine. The *exact* words given in Hoveden occur first in a bull of 1178. "Glasguensem "ecclesiam specialem nullo me-"diante Romanæ ecclesiæ filiam "sub beati Petri et nostra protec-"tione suscipimus et præsentis "scripti privilegio communimus." *Reg. Glasguen.*, i. 31, 49, 55, 62, 132, 134, 153. The protection was renewed by Lucius III., Urban III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV.

[2] Ben. Petr., i. 127, 132, 195.

Cases in which Hoveden clearly wrote long after the event.

In the year 1177, according to Hoveden, Philip count of Flanders married his two nieces, the daughters of count Matthew of Boulogne, to the duke of Zähringen, and Henry "duke of Louvain." This event is placed by the earlier writer under the year 1180;[1] and by him the younger daughter is married to Henry "son of the "duke of Louvain:" Henry became duke of Louvain on his father's death in 1190. But further, Hoveden anticipates on the occasion of the marriage of the eldest daughter, her desertion of her first husband, and of her second the count of S. Pol, and her third marriage with Reginald of Dammartin, which took place in 1191. Hoveden's account of the year 1177 was written then as late as 1191. Owing to the late date of the second MS. of the Chronicle of Benedict, it would not be safe to insist on later indications of the same kind, but the above are sufficient.

3. Hoveden occasionally misread Benedict.

(3.) In some cases where the language of Hoveden has diverged from that of his predecessor, he seems to have misread or misunderstood him. In particular I may mention the passage on the death of Walter des Fontaines, in 1175, where the older writer tells us that Aelisinus and his sons revolted against the count of Flanders.[2] Hoveden, in the hurry of abridgment, turns "Aelisinus et filii ipsius" into "Aelisinus et cæteri filii "prædicti Walteri de Fontanis." In relating the story of Andronicus, the elder writer recounting the changes in the patriarchate of Constantinople which followed the accession of Isaac Angelus, tells us that on the deposition of Basilius, Isaac instituted another patriarch, who being neither able nor willing to sustain the weight of his dignity, retired from his office and led a solitary life; whereupon Isaac called to court the hermit who

---

[1] Benedict Petr., i. 269.

[2] Ben. Pet., i. 101. Aelisinus or Hellinus was seneschal of Flanders. "Hillinus Variniacensis." *Annales Rerum Belgicarum* (Frankfort, 1580), p. 64.

had foretold his future success when he was in exile; and when the canons of Saint Sophia refused to accept him, appointed a cousin of his own.[1] Hoveden omits two sentences, and makes the hermit at once succeed Basilius, leaving out the intermediate patriarch, and omits the cousin altogether. Perhaps, however, the best illustration of this point is the confusion between the two ceremonies that took place at Avranches on the absolution of Henry II.,[2] where Hoveden makes the younger king present in Normandy and in England at the same time. This mistake I have remarked on sufficiently in the note to the place in question.

Cases in which Hoveden misread Benedict.

(4.) In nearly every case, if not universally, Hoveden has followed the mistakes of his original. These mistakes are for the most part of small importance in themselves, but throw light on this particular subject. Such are the naming of the archbishop of Rheims, who died in 1176, Philip instead of Henry;[3] the uniform mention of William instead of Bartholomew as archbishop of Tours; the mistake of Bangor for Llandaff on the occasion of the appointment of bishop William in 1184;[4] the naming of the count of Tripoli Walramn instead of Raymond;[5] and some few other cases more especially connected with the history of the Crusades. I need hardly say that the actual mistakes which are to be detected in the early chronicle are few, and that few therefore of Hoveden's mistakes are attributable to his predecessor.

4. Hoveden does not correct the mistakes of Benedict.

(5.) Where Hoveden's narrative (not merely his language) varies from the older work, he runs into error in detail. In November 1175, in discussing the quarrels between the archbishops of York and Canterbury, the earlier writer mentions a truce concluded at the interces-

5. Where Hoveden deserts Benedict, he falls into errors of his own.

[1] Ben. Petr., i. 260, 261.
[2] Ben. Petr., i. 31, 32.
[3] Ben. Petr., i. 125.
[4] Ben. Petr., i. 320.
[5] Ben. Petr., i. 359.

Cases in which Hoveden has erred, diverging from Benedict.

sion of the legate, "usque ad primum festum Sancti "Michaelis sequens;"[1] Hoveden reads, "a primo festo "Sancti Michaelis sequente usque ad finem quinque "annorum subsequentium;" but the peace for five years was concluded in the council of Winchester in the August of the following year. He has thus confounded the acts of two different councils. The seizure of the town of Leicester by the earl of Cornwall, which is recorded in the earlier work as having taken place in July 1173,[2] is transferred by Hoveden to the spring of 1174. Under the year 1176 he makes the countess of Nevers daughter instead of widow of Odo of Issoudun, introducing the mention of Odo in conformity with the later MS. of Benedict.[3] The point cannot be better elucidated than by a comparison of the accounts given by the two writers of the changes effected by Henry II. at Waltham. That of the older writer is this: in January 1177, Wido Ruffus, dean of Waltham, surrendered his deanery into the king's hands,[4] and the same month Henry sent three bishops to the collegiate church, there to summon the prebendaries to receive exchanges for their prebends.[5] The removal of the secular canons took place in June, and regular canons[6] were instituted at the same time. Seven years after, in 1184, Walter of Gant was made abbot.[7] Hoveden was apparently unable to account for the length of time that elapsed between the change of foundation and the appointment of the abbot, and accordingly placed the nomination of Walter in 1177. We know, however, from Ralph de Diceto, that the newly formed society was governed at first by a prior, and we conclude

---

[1] Ben. Petr., i. 105, 119.

[2] Ben. Petr., i. 58. Leicester was besieged on the 3rd of July; the castle held out, and the siege ended in a truce which was to last until Michaelmas, made on the 28th of July. R. de Diceto, 572, 573.

[3] Ben. Petr., i. 124; ii. 7.

[4] Ben. Petr., i. 134.

[5] Ben. Petr., i. 135.

[6] Ben. Petr., i. 173, 174. Ralph, canon of Cirencester, is made prior the same day. R. de Diceto, 598.

[7] Ben. Petr., i. 317.

with certainty that it was not until the church had been for seven years a priory, that it received its new rank, and was placed under an abbot. He has therefore antedated Walter's appointment by seven years.

Hoveden's error with regard to Waltham.

(6.) Hoveden has in a few instances given documents which are not found in the Chronicle of Benedict. In some, at least, of these cases there is evidence to show that they were not unknown to the earlier writer. Occasionally also he dwells more fully on particulars derivable from documents, but scarcely ever adds anything where such a source of information is improbable. Wherever there is greater fulness of detail in Hoveden, it seems attributable to the stock of public or private letters on which he could draw. It is to such passages only that we can ascribe the impression created by a cursory reading that both his chronicle and the earlier one represent a fuller but now lost original.

6. Hoveden's additions to Benedict are chiefly documentary.

Instances in which Hoveden has added new documents to the earlier text are these:—The letter of Alexander III. to Roger of York and Hugh of Durham, pronouncing them suspended, for the part taken by them in the coronation of June 1170.[1] Here the earlier writer preserved the fact,[2] but omitted the letter containing it, which Hoveden doubtless found in the same collection whence the former letters on the Becket quarrel were derived. A long letter of William archbishop of Sens to the pope after Becket's death is drawn unquestionably from the same source,[3] as is the letter of the pope to the archbishop of Bourges and the bishop of Nevers, which was actually incorporated in the later MS. of Benedict.[4] The documents connected with Henry's absolution at Avranches are given in abstract in Benedict, at length in Hoveden; those of the pro-

Instances of such additions.

[1] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 296 v°.
[2] Ben. Petr., i. 9.
[3] Hoveden, 300.
[4] Ben. Petr., i. 22, 23. Hoveden, 302.

Comparison of Hoveden with Benedict on the point of documentary sources.

posed marriage of John with the heiress of Savoy are given at length in Benedict, abridged in Hoveden.[1] The consolatory epistle of William the Good to Henry on the rebellion of his sons is incorporated in the later MS. of Benedict, possibly from Hoveden[2] or from the information of Peter of Blois, but the contents were clearly known to the earlier writer, who puts some expressions of the letter into the mouth of William earl of Arundel before the battle of Breteuil.[3] In the year 1175 Hoveden has a long letter from Manuel Comnenus to Henry on the battle of Myriocephalon; but the whole matter of it had been extracted in the earlier chronicle.[4] The long sentence on the Albigensian heretics in the same year, occupying six folio pages of Savile's Hoveden,[5] does not appear in Benedict, but is obviously taken from the same source as the letters of the bishops and cardinal, of 1178, which do. The copy of the laws of William the Conqueror, which is found in Hoveden at the end of the year 1180, is not in the earlier work; but it may be questioned how far it should be considered an integral portion of the Chronicle at all.[6] Even if we determine this in the affirmative, it is clearly a document of the very character which we should suppose would be found in the additions made by Hoveden, a lawyer and a judge, to a work which he was attempting to illustrate. The absolution of William the Lion by Lucius III. is given in full in Hoveden,[7] but it was clearly known to his predecessor, who gives the notice of the act with an additional date. Another

[1] Ben. Petr., i. 35–41. Hoveden, 304.

[2] Ben. Pet., i. 55. Hoveden, 305 verso.

[3] Ben. Petr., i. 52, 53.

[4] Ben. Petr., i. 128. Hoveden, 316 v°. Curiously the writer of the life of Manuel Comnenus in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography*, has fallen into the error of supposing that Roger Hoveden himself was present at this battle.

[5] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 317–320.

[6] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 342–348.

[7] Hoveden, 351. Ben. Pet. i. 287.

letter on the same subject, the disputed election to S. Andrew's, is similarly treated.[1] Of both these it may be suspected that they were derived from the same informant or source of information that had supplied the earlier notices from the Chronicle of Melrose. Under the year 1184 Hoveden has an astrological manifesto by William, a clerk of John de Lacy, constable of Chester, and a prophecy of Pharamella of Cordova, in addition to those given in Benedict;[2] but these prophecies are not peculiar to these writers, they are part of the common stock of wonders drawn on by the chroniclers of the period. Hoveden gives two letters of Urban III. on the Scottish quarrel, which are not in Benedict;[3] but Benedict has a letter from the same pope to archbishop Baldwin, which is not in Hoveden;[4] and two complete letters on the crusade; one from the Genoese to Urban,[5] the other from Peter of Blois to Henry II.,[6] which are given in abstract only in the later writer. These are amongst the chief features of Hoveden's editorial method; more instances may be supplied out of the later portion of the period common to the two writers.

Difference of Hoveden and Benedict as to their treatment of documents.

It will be observed that of the letters found in Hoveden and not in Benedict, the most important are those on the disputed election to the see of S. Andrew's. These the compiler might derive either from the agents of the Scottish king or of the pope at the English court, or from his friends in the northern monasteries, such as Sylvanus, abbot of Rievaulx, who was employed in the negotiations, and who died at Byland in 1189.[7] A few other documents on Northern affairs not noticed by the preceding writer, are found incorporated into the text:

Hoveden's additional documents chiefly concern the north.

[1] Hoveden, 352. Ben. Petr., i. 290.
[2] Hoveden, 356, 358. Ben. Petr., i. 324.
[3] Hoveden, 360, 361.
[4] Ben. Petr., i. 356.
[5] Ben. Petr., ii. 11. Hoveden, 362.
[6] Ben. Petr., ii. 15. Hoveden, 362 verso.
[7] Chron. Mailros, 178.

Hoveden's additional documents.

such are the final concord between archbishop Roger and the bishop of Durham placed by him under the year 1174,[1] and particularly concerning the church of Howden, and the grant of Sadberge to bishop Hugh by Richard I. in 1189.[2]

Additions derived from letters or books not in the form of quotation.

Another class of additions is that derived from letters and books. Of the former is doubtless the humourous story told to the pope by Berter of Orleans against Geoffrey Ridel;[3] and the account of the vision of Walter, the servant of Eustace of Flay,[4] neither of which is noticed in Benedict. On the other hand the prophecies of abbot Joachim and many of the geographical details connected with the third crusade are partly derived from, and partly additional to the earlier writer. The accounts of the coronation of Richard are of coordinate authority. Yet the account given in Benedict, of Philip's return from Acre is much more perfect than that given by Hoveden,[5] whose description of the coasts of Spain and Italy is again fuller than that of Benedict.[6] It is impossible to avoid the conviction that so far as documents are concerned, or even books of geography and collections of letters, Hoveden had opportunities of searching the library used by his predecessor, and of making additions to it. If either writer were a monk, we should have concluded that both belonged to the same house; as neither was so, we can but conclude that both were, as Hoveden certainly was, members of the royal household, in which Hoveden may have succeeded to the office, or even been the pupil of his predecessor.

Both writers must have had recourse to the same sort or stock of records.

---

[1] Hoveden, 309.

[2] Hoveden, 375.

[3] Hoveden, 307. Compare R. de Diceto, 579, 580.

[4] Hoveden, 352 verso.

[5] Especially see Hoveden, 381, 407.

[6] Hoveden brings Philip no further than Rome. The older historian traces his journey all the way through Italy and Lombardy into Provence. Ben. Petr., ii. 229. Hoved., 405 verso. Hoveden's account of the coronation of Henry VI. I propose to comment on in another volume.

In this way most if not all of the additions made by Hoveden to our knowledge of this period may be accounted for; but the instances already given are illustration enough, if not convincing proof of the fact, that he was the later writer, the copyist, the re-writer and editor of the former work. Whether that former work was an original one, or a compilation or abstract of still earlier ones, is not in question here. I have stated my conviction that it was original, and the grounds of it, in my preface to the edition published under the direction of the Master of the Rolls in 1867.

These points seem to prove that Hoveden was the copyist.

IV. The fourth division or original portion of Hoveden's work I shall postpone for discussion to the volume which contains it, merely adding here that it brings down the history from 1192 to 1201, that it devotes a still larger portion of its space to public documents, and to details of the affairs of the north of England, than was the case while the guidance of the earlier writer lasted, and that this feature grows in proportion as we approach the close.

IV. The original work of Hoveden, 1192 to 1201.

I have sufficiently indicated in the course of this discussion the plan upon which I conceive Hoveden to have proceeded. In the earlier part of his work he adopted in mass the work of the compiler most in authority in the church and monastery whose dependent he perhaps originally was, and to which in the natural course of events he owed his education. It was little that he could add to this either from his own recollections or from the other materials not utilized by his predecessor; his additions, such as they are, are chiefly of a local and professional cast. Where he lost the guidance of the earlier compiler, he threw himself on the Chronicle of Melrose and the biographies and letters of S. Thomas of Canterbury. The memoranda hence derived he possibly clothed in his own language; there is nothing in them that betokens contemporary treatment; and not being contemporary they may have been as probably written five and twenty

Hoveden's method: recapitulation.

Recapitulation of Hoveden's method.

as ten years after the martyr's death. This period would necessarily coincide with the historian's own youth and early manhood; yet there are very few indications of any original work. The details are either borrowed from the two authorities, or are of the meagre character of regnal years and deaths, that might be taken from the headings of the rolls of his office, or from the margin of the calendar prefixed to his breviary.

His way of re-writing Benedict.

But from the time at which the chronicle which for brevity's sake I have called by its best known pseudonym began, Hoveden's career at court probably began too, and he seems to have made it a point, perhaps a point of honour, to alter the language of his prototype, even whilst he followed almost abjectly the order of his narrative. He alters words, but he carefully avoids committing himself to anything new in the shape of fact. He confines himself in a lawyer-like way to the production of documents, or of matter for which he could at once appeal to documentary evidence. With the same lawyer-like caution he retrenches all mention of himself, and even slurs over the events in which we know from other sources that he was an actor. We can in one or two of the documents he introduces, detect or rather suspect evidence of his northern and clerical sympathies, but hardly at all in his narration, or in his version of the narration of his predecessor. And these sympathies are but little more elucidated in the later portion of the work, which no doubt proceeded from his pen. We miss then much of what ordinarily gives life to the pages of the chronicler: a man anxious to suppress his own part in public affairs is *a fortiori* anxious not to betray ardent political feeling. It is provoking that having found an undoubted eye-witness of the events of a most important reign, we cannot extract from him any reasonable expression of opinion.

His lawyer-like caution.

There are two particulars which strike us as ex-

ceptional to this general sentence. The first of these is the description of the death of the younger Henry.[1] The older chronicler dilates much on the sorrow of the father, and on the restraint which he put on himself in postponing his private grief to the public good; and he puts in his mouth a stilted oration supposed to be addressed to his soldiers. The whole story reads as the work of a friend of the king. Hoveden, on the contrary, describes at considerable length the penitence and edifying speech of the dying son.[2] Although, when speaking of the grief of the father, he allows that the son did not deserve it, still the principal figure in the scene, which is described with some power, is clearly the

Two cases in which some traces of partizanship may be traced.

[1] Ben. Pet., i. 300–304. Hoveden, ed. Savile, 354.

[2] There is a series of letters in one of the Rouen Cartularies, giving an account of the last wishes of the younger Henry as to his burial. They are from Bertrand, bishop of Agen, the castellan of S. Omer, Odo of Burgundy, Raymond, count of Toulouse, apparently eye-witnesses. I subjoin that of Bertrand:

Carta Bertranni Agenensis episcopi de morte et sepultura Henrici regis junioris filii Henrici II.

" Beatissimo domino et patri suo " Lucio, per Dei gratiam universalis " ecclesiæ summo pontifici, Bertran- " nus Dei et sua miseratione Agen- " nensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, " salutem et promptam cum debita " subjectione ad quæcunque possit " obsequia voluntatem. Ex Scrip- " turarum testimonio didicimus et " illum per quem veritas occulta- " tur et per quem mendacium pro- " fertur eidem pœnæ obnoxios. " Hinc est quod nos ad petitionem " clericorum ecclesiæ Rothomagen- " sis de sepultura regis Henrici " junioris, ne per nostram taciturni- " tatem justitia sustineat detrimen- " tum, beatitudini vestræ veritatem " rei gestæ significamus. Noverit " itaque vestra paternitas quod cum " de mandato domini regis patris " sui Henrici intuitu pacis refor- " mandæ ad eum venissemus, eum " in lectum decumbentem inveni- " mus; qui cum a nobis extremam " unctionem et alia quæ in extremis " agentibus ministeria solent exhi- " beri cum summa humilitate ac " devotione recepisset, tandem apud " ecclesiam beatæ Mariæ de Rotho- " mago nominatim sepulturam ele- " git. Verum cum nos et quam- " plures alii viri religiosi, attenta " difficultate itineris et loci remo- " tione, ei attentius consuleremus " ut apud monasterium de Grandi " Monte eligeret sepulturam, nul- " latenus eum a suo potuimus " proposito revocare; quid inde fa- " ciendum sit gloriosa vestræ sanc- " titatis providentia moderetur. " Conservet Dominus sanctitatem " vestram incolumem per multa " tempora."

The death-bed of Henry the younger.

son, that wicked son in whom, although we see little else than unreasonable and perfidious disobedience, his contemporaries saw so much that was attractive and charming, that his popularity was one of the wonders of his age.[1]

Hoveden's inclination to the party of Hugh de Puiset.

The other particular referred to is the way in which our author tells the story of the disputes between Geoffrey, archbishop of York, and Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham. He certainly seems a little to incline in favour of Hugh against Geoffrey. As a Howdenshire man he went with his bishop against the archbishop, but as a Yorkshireman he went with his archbishop against the southern metropolitan and the papal legate. Into the disputes in the chapter of York, which occupy so much space in the later years of the chronicle, it is impossible to penetrate without going into a mass of detail irrelevant in this place; but Hoveden generally tells them in a dispassionate way, not throwing out a hint as to more than the obvious character of the action taken by either side. This is equitable, but tends notwithstanding to obscurity. We should have preferred the statement of even a partizan, so that he had given us his reasons. Hoveden is doubtless justified in his impartiality: both parties seem alike unreasonable, alike greedy of gain, and alike regardless of those whose welfare was neglected whilst their spiritual pastors were struggling.

How these may be accounted for.

The slight bias which we trace in Hoveden towards the younger king, may be referred perhaps to his relations with bishop Hugh, or to the facts that came to his knowledge from the partizans of the unhappy prince, some of whom had been in close alliance with the bishop's family.

Interesting as this subject would be, if we only had proper data to go upon, it lies, as we have it now, amongst those obscure mediæval problems which are

[1] *Giraldus de Instructione Principum*, ii. 9 (ed. Brewer, 31, 32).

almost incomprehensible to a modern mind. It is, I mean, but one of hundreds of like cases, in which the historian, however striking the scene which he witnessed, and however interesting the personal character of its actors, treats us to a passionless, colourless narrative, neither advocating one side nor blaming both, nor excusing, but simply leaving us to balance act against act, and never going beyond a moral or religious commonplace by way either of praise or of blame. We, who cannot write the history of any age even long past without taking sides, without tracing in the passions and struggles of dead generations the motives and measures of our own, can hardly see a difference between this characteristic of the earlier writers, and a stupid unintelligent immobility. But I am convinced that there was such a difference, and that it is in the main to be traced to the religious, the ecclesiastical character of these writers, and to the non-political status of the church at this period, especially, of our history. No one can read the history of the twelfth century without seeing that in the great struggle between the royal and baronial interests, the clergy held themselves, as clergy, very much aloof. Whether in this there was a desire to wait until the time came for a mediation or an arbitration from which something might be gained for their order, and such may well have been the idea of more politic heads; or whether it arose from the conviction that it was their part to live above the world, and to minister to all sides alike the services of a religion which all professed, and such was unquestionably the principle of the really pious and religious amongst them, the result seems clear. In the war between Stephen and Matilda we find the bishops divided, but the clerical interest represented by the archbishop of Canterbury either calmly acquiescing in the alternating influences of the two competitors, or labouring for a reconciliation between them. Stephen did not attempt to interfere

Colourless character of much of our mediæval history.

This arises from the religious position of the writers.

Neutrality of the clergy in the politics of the twelfth century.

Moderation of the clergy in the Becket quarrels.

ecclesiastically with Matilda's bishops, nor she with his. Even in the contest in which their order was more closely and directly interested, between Becket and Henry, it is astonishing how careful and moderate is the language of the body of the clergy; certainly not going any length in blaming Henry, and in debate with the archbishop using expostulation rather than censure. Intemperate language was indeed too common on both sides, but not in the letters of men of weight, even of Foliot himself, the great opponent, personal, ecclesiastical and political, of the martyr. The interests of the church, the interests of the clerical order, lay apart from the secular quarrels of the time. Political questions were less interesting than moral ones, moral ones than religious. We hear more of the disobedience of Henry's sons, than of the great struggle between royal and feudal government; more of the illegal treatment of a bishop than of the immorality of the age, or the sin even of filial disobedience. And there is this advantage in it, the neutral tint is less confusing to the eye than the brighter colours in which party narratives would dress the actors and their stage.

Change of tone in the historians of the thirteenth century, when the church has taken sides with the baronage.

It is otherwise a very few years later. The difference between Hoveden and Matthew Paris is infinitely wider in temper than in years; but then in the time of Matthew Paris the clergy and the church itself had found that the old political standing point was an impossibility, and that, as it had been before the Conquest, the church must throw in its lot with the people. From the ranks of the clergy, neutral when neutrality was possible, but popular when liberty was seen to be in danger, and the tyranny of kings threatened both church and state, all the mediæval historians sprang; and their political sympathies, so far as we can trace them, are those rather of their order than of the individual; their reflexions and their sentences generally religious rather than moral, moral rather than political, until religion, morality and

political interest placed them once for all on the side of the constitution in its struggle for existence against the oppressions of pope and king.

The clergy take the side of the people.

Hoveden probably began his work after the death of Henry II.

I have suggested above that the date at which Hoveden began to write, was the point of time at which he most probably left the royal household, very soon after the death of his patron Henry II. This would coincide, with the difference of only two years, with the point at which the earlier annalist breaks off. The references which I have made in the course of the discussion will be found to illustrate if not to prove this supposition. The whole of the history from 1148 to 1192 was probably re-written and incorporated with the more ancient work, after the latter date. I shall not repeat what has been already said, but merely remind the reader that the history of the year 1133 was drawn up after 1184;[1] that of 1140 after 1154;[2] that of 1154 after 1164;[3] the whole of the Becket contest, after the martyrdom of the archbishop in 1170; that of 1159 after 1177;[4] that of 1177 after 1191.[5] As to the later history, the account of the crusade was re-written after its failure was proved beyond question; the journal of Philip's return received its present form after Richard's captivity, that is, the history of 1191 was written after 1194.[6] From 1192 onwards the history is clearly contemporaneous. Such a string of anticipations of dates can only lead to one conclusion, and that harmonizes well with the little we know and the little more that we can guess of our author's personal history.

Proof of this statement.

Such and so meagre is the account which can be given of the author and composition of the book; a few words more will dispose of the history of the work itself.

Although it was published probably soon after the death of its author, or I should rather say the period at

---

[1] In this edition, i. 186.
[2] i. 198.
[3] i. 214.
[4] i. 216.
[5] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 323.
[6] Hoveden, ed. Savile, 405 verso.

History of this Chronicle after its author's death.

which he ceased to write, it does not seem to have been known either to Roger of Wendover or to Matthew Paris: these writers either preferred, or knew only the chronicles of Robert de Monte, Ralph de Diceto and Ralph of Coggeshall for the period at which Hoveden would have been most useful to them. They knew and used the earlier work (the Benedict), or at least that part of it which extends from 1188 to 1191.[1] Walter of Coventry, who knew the earlier portion of the "Gesta Henrici" 1169–1177, knew also the latter part of Hoveden, the second volume, that is, of the original manuscript, which reaches from 1181 to 1202. He incorporated it in his own *Memoriale*,[2] and continued it to the year 1225, but he did not know the earlier and middle parts of it, for his compilation is almost a blank from 1177 to 1181, and for the earliest history of all he simply takes and copies Ailred of Rievaulx. Of the monastic annalists of the thirteenth century, Hoveden was known to those of Burton,[3] and Peterborough;[4] partially perhaps to the continuator of Florence, who seems to have had the earlier portion of the "Gesta Henrici II.,[5] but generally follows Wendover, and is not much of an authority at the best; the chronicle of Lanercost is simply a continuation of Hoveden's work;[6] the great annals of Waverley, Melrose, Winchester, Worcester, &c., are quite independent of it. Robert of Gloucester knew it as the work of Hugh of Howdane.[7] It was, however, well known and recognized

[1] Preface to Benedict, I., xxix, l.

[2] MS. C.C.C.C. 175. Harl. 685.

[3] Burton, ed. Luard, pp. 188–209.

[4] Peterborough, especially ad ann. 1170, 1171, ed. Sparke.

[5] Florence. Compare especially the accounts of the years 1170–1172, which are clearly extracted from the so-called Benedict. I omitted to mention this in the preface to that author. Flor. Wig., ed. Thorpe, ii. 137–153.

[6] Chron. Lanercost, ed. Stevenson, pref.

[7] "But who so wole of his che-
"valrie knowe or wyte
"Rede he in the cronycles that
"ben of him wryte
"That Mayster Hew hath of
"Howdane y-wroughte."

Tanner, from Robert of Gloucester. Wright, *Biog. Brit.*, ii. 419. The Annals of Burton likewise call him Hugh of Hoveden; ed. Luard; 188.

as an authority for the history of the kingdom. Edward I., in 1291,[1] based his title to the lordship of Scotland, amongst other arguments, on the evidence of homage done by the earlier kings to his ancestors, which was recorded by Roger of Hoveden, Marian Scotus, William of Malmesbury, Henry of Huntingdon, and Ralph de Diceto ; a list which shows that we have really lost none of the historical works which in the thirteenth century were regarded as most authoritative.

Hoveden a standard authority in 1291.

I can find no absolute proof that either Nicolas Trivet or Walter of Hemingburgh used Hoveden, although the latter could hardly have been in ignorance of the existence of such an illustrious neighbour, bearing like himself, the name of one of the dependences of Durham : but Hemingburgh was a canon regular, and founded his work mainly on that of William of Newburgh, who was of the same order, and whose history was the successful rival of Hoveden's in the northern libraries.

After the fourteenth century it is hardly necessary to attempt to trace the influence of a particular writer in the same way; the men who wrote history from this time wrote on a different plan, either commencing where their own experience could guide them, or composing anew in their own words. I do not think that Hoveden was used either by Walsingham, Rudborne, or the Jervaulx historian known under the name of Brompton. It is needless to say that the book was perfectly well known to the early bibliographers,[2] was used in MS. by Foxe and Parker, and was given to

Not much quoted in the historians of the fifteenth century.

[1] *Fœdera*, i. 769–772. Prynne, *Records*, iii. 489–496. Rishanger, ed. Riley, 123.

[2] Bale preserves one interesting fact about it, namely, that two separate and perfect indexes to Hoveden were compiled by Alan of Lynn and William Thorp, two Carmelites, of whom the former, according to Leland, flourished in 1424. Leland, *Scriptores*, 347, 434. Bale, 94, 95.

Printed in 1596.

the world in print in the collection of Sir Henry Savile in 1596. It was reprinted at Frankfort in 1601.[1]

Manuscripts of Hoveden.

The manuscripts of Hoveden are numerous, and of considerable importance. The interest is however rather historical than literary, the varieties of reading they offer being few and unimportant, whilst the external character of each involves some suggestive questions. The first and most valuable of them is the MS. which has been adopted for the text of the present edition. The others have been collated, and their various readings noted under the signature of the letters by which I shall describe them.

MSS. Reg. 14. C. 2. and Laud 582: the best and most ancient of all.

A. The first in dignity and in age is the invaluable couple of volumes, the first of which is in the Royal Collection in the British Museum, Press Mark, Reg. 14. C. 2; the latter in the Bodleian, Laud, 582. The former includes the chronicle from its beginning to the year 1180; the latter from 1181 to the end. They are, so far as it is possible to be certain on such a point without actually bringing the two manuscripts together, clearly the first and second volumes of the same copy; both are written in the same style, rubricated in the same way, contain the same number of lines, thirty-four in each page, and have been annotated at a very early period in the same hand, which may not improbably have been that of Hoveden himself.

The Royal MS.

The Royal manuscript is in magnificent condition and order. It is in a noble hand of the earliest years of the thirteenth century at the latest, but probably of the last decad of the twelfth; the margin, although still exceptionally broad, has been a little cut in binding,

---

[1] Extracts from Hoveden are to be found in Leland's *Collectanea*, i. 123–136; iii. 171–212; made of course from MSS. From the printed editions Leibnitz has considerable extracts in his *Scriptores Rerum Brunswicensium*, i. 876–880; and very large ones appear in the *Recueil des Historiens de France*, xi. 309–316; xiii. 205–209; xvii. 546–615; xviii. 164–187.

so as to mutilate in one or two places the ancient notes written upon it. These notes are chiefly extracts from the prophecies of Merlin as contained in the seventh book of Geoffrey of Monmouth, but in two places they are copies of verses illustrative of the text. The verses I have given in full in the notes to this edition; as to the prophecies I have contented myself with giving the references to their place in Geoffrey. The importance of these notes is rather owing to the penmanship than to the matter; they are written in a round clerkly hand, but not what I should call a text hand, and present a marked contrast to the text itself. And it is, as I feel almost sure, the identical hand in which considerable portions of the text of the second volume are written, and therefore either the hand of the author or of some intermediate reviser, whose labours intervened between those of the author and those of the professional scribe. But there seem to be good grounds for supposing that the text of these two volumes is the original text of Hoveden's compilation; and if that is so, there is no reason why the annotator should not have been Hoveden in person.

Notes in the margin of the Royal MS.

The Royal manuscript after bringing down the history to the end of the year 1180 does not immediately proceed with the year 1181, but closes with two collections of legal monuments. The appointment of Ranulf Glanvill as justiciar was made in 1180, and apropos it would seem of this fact, Hoveden inserted in his work the legal productions of that great statesman. They are written on the same sheets with the earlier part of the book, in the same hand, rubricated in the same way, and with the same number of lines to the page.

Reason for believing this to be the original text of the work:—the incorporation of Glanvill.

The first of the two is the collection of the laws of the Anglo-Saxons and statutes of the Conqueror, which is printed in this place in Savile's edition of Hoveden, and which concludes with the genealogy of the dukes

The laws as collected by Glanvill.

Glanvill's work on the laws of England, incorporated in the Royal MS.

of Normandy. The second is the work "De legibus "Angliæ," attributed generally to Glanvill, and existing here in a very perfect state, and I should think certainly in its most ancient copy. As a sort of appendix to this work are given the copies of the Assize of Clarendon and of the Articles of Regard and Assize of the Forest, which I have already printed and described in the appendix to the preface of the second volume of Benedict of Peterborough.[1]

Immediately after the end of the latter of these assizes, the manuscript proceeds with a notice of one or two deaths, "Eodem anno," &c., and contains also the first folio of the chronicle of the year 1181, corresponding with the first folio of the Laudian MS. This, I suppose, either was done by mistake and suffered to remain for fear of loosening the corresponding folio in the binding, or else was caused by an alteration in the original plan of getting the whole work into a single volume.

Hoveden's original text must have contained the Assize of the Forest, which occurs only in this MS.

The importance of these particulars lies in this: Hoveden in giving an account of Henry's forest reforms in 1184 omits the assize of that year, which he found in the original "Gesta," described there as "subscripta;" substituting for "subscripta" "suprascripta," and thus referring to some previous part of the book in which the assize was to be found. This is the case in all the manuscripts of the book; they all refer to the forest assize as "suprascripta."[2] But no other MS. contains all the legal appendices to the year 1180. In the Royal manuscript only is the assize to be found. The conclusion is obvious that this manuscript is the original text of Hoveden, and that these legal appendices were regarded by him as an integral portion of the work in hand. To dismiss these appendices at once. It did

---

[1] Ben. Pet., ii., app. to pref. app. cxlviii–clxiv.

[2] See preface to Benedict, i., pp. lx–lxii.

not seem either necessary or expedient to reproduce the work of Glanvill on the laws, in an edition of Hoveden. Glanvill's is an independent work, which throws very little light, if any, on the portion of history contained in these volumes. It has been frequently published, and will most probably appear some day in the present series, with the advantage of collation and annotation from the hand of a more qualified editor. But I have followed Savile in inserting the collection of Anglo-Saxon laws and other memoranda, and have not scrupled to restore to the text the two assizes appended to Glanvill, one of which was clearly regarded by the writer as necessary to his work.

The work of Glanvill not reproduced in this edition.

The folio which follows the appendices, contains the history of the year 1181, down to the words "Eodem "anno rex Angliæ," which are found in Savile's edition, f. 349 recto, line 16.

The two volumes must have early parted company. The royal manuscript contains no tokens of its adventures until it became the property of John Lumley, Lord Lumley, the eminent scholar and statesman of the reign of Elizabeth. It contains his name written in his clear bold hand on the title-page; and on the margin of the page containing the history of Liulf of Bamborough, the note in the same hand, "Ab isto "Uchtredo filio Liulfi nobilis ministri, hodierni barones "de Lumley per lineam masculinam genus suum de- "duxisse existimantur." It is possible that the volume may have been in the library of the earl of Arundel, Lord Lumley's father-in-law, before it reached him, but there is no mark of any sort to prove it. When it reached Lord Lumley's hands it had lost the first folio, which is supplied in an elegant hand of the period: and the first line of the second folio is inserted in an imitation of the ancient hand so good as to be scarcely noticeable, but for the fact that it makes the two columns uneven in the number of lines. The same writer has added

History of the Royal MS., in Lord Lumley's Library.

Final folio of the Royal MS.

a folio at the end, continuing the history of the year 1181, down to the word "Februarii," which is in Savile's edition, f. 349 verso, line 28, and concludes with a note, "The historie is continewed in another "volume at this marke (a hawk), beginninge thus: "'Scripsit etiam Alexander papa archiepiscopis.'" What has become of this other volume I cannot say, the description does not apply to the Laud MS., which is the proper companion to the Royal one, nor to the Harleian MS. 3602, which also begins with the year 1181.[1]

It is placed in the Royal Library.

After Lord Lumley's death this volume shared the fate of the rest of his library, which was bought by James I. for prince Henry, and subsequently bestowed on the nation as a part of the royal library by king George II.[2]

The MS. is not the original draught.

It is scarcely necessary to add that this manuscript, although it represents the original text, has no pretensions to be regarded as the original draught. It is the work of a professional scribe of the first excellence, and contains mis-spellings and omissions of little words, occasionally, which would have been corrected in a less magnificent copy. As giving on the whole the most perfect text and the best readings, I have used it for the text of the present edition.

The Laudian MS. 1181–1201.

The Laudian MS. 582, in the Bodleian, contains the remainder of Hoveden's work from 1181 to 1201. This MS. in its early part closely corresponds with the Royal MS., of which I suppose it to be the second volume. It is written on 202 folios, and in double columns. Throughout great part of it the number of lines to the page is the same as that in the Royal MS., thirty-four, and the handwriting closely similar. After folio 73, however, the hand changes several times, and the number of lines is less regular. Any significant variation of

---

[1] Hardy, *Catalogue*, &c., ii. 255, 426, 427.

[2] Cooper, *Athenæ Cantabrigienses*, ii. 520

this kind will be found remarked on in the notes of the present edition. I should not go so far as to call this an original draught, but it certainly bears marks of originality, in occasional blanks left for the names of persons or places of which the writer was uncertain, and in the addition of notices, which appear marginal in this MS., but were introduced into the text of the later ones, which were possibly copied from it. That it has been copied at an early period appears in the mark "Scribe" which is frequently found in the margin, and which seems to indicate that the historical portions only had been used, the letters and documents being omitted, or indicated only by their opening words, as in the MS. Cotton. Claudius B. 7. It is not unlikely that this is the MS. used by Walter of Coventry for his "Memoriale."

The Laudian MS. written in different hands.

History of the Laudian MS.

Few indications of the history of this MS. appear on the face of it. These show that it was at one time, and that probably a very long one, in the possession of either the city or the bishop of Carlisle. It contains, on fly leaves, copies of four documents, all concerning Carlisle. The first is a charter of Edward III., dated at Clipston, March 16, Aº R. 2; directed to Antony de Lucy, custos of Carlisle, concerning among other things the election of mayor and bailiffs. The second is written on three blank pages, between folios 166 and 168; "Carta comitatus Karleolensis facta per dominum "Henricum quartum regem Angliæ," dated at Westminster, March 19, Aº R. 2. The third, folio 203, is a letter from Henry VI. to Marmaduke Lumley, bishop of Carlisle,[1] "de custodia villæ et castri Karliol.;" dated at Westminster, Nov. 23, anno 15º. The fourth, the most ancient of all, is a memorandum made in the reign of Henry III., Edward I., or Edward II., that Malcolm, king of Scots, surrendered to Henry II.,

Its connexion with Carlisle.

[1] 1430-1450.

Carlisle memoranda in the Laudian MS.

Carlisle, Bamborough, Newcastle, and the county of Lothian; and that Henry II. in his third year afforested the forests of Northumberland, 158 years before the date of the memorandum. This is followed by the record of the transactions before the legate Otto in 1237, between Alexander, king of Scots, and Henry III. It is possible then that this is the identical volume used by Edward I., in his search for precedents for his claims upon Scotland, and that it may have remained in the north, or at Carlisle itself, since the parliament of Norham.

Given by Laud to the Bodleian.

There is no apparent evidence to show how it became the property of archbishop Laud, whose name, "Liber "Guilielmi Laud, archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et can-"cellarii universitatis Oxoniensis, 1636," appears on the first folio, and by whom it was bestowed upon the university. This MS. has been used for the text of the present edition from A.D. 1181, downwards.

MS. Arundel 69, in the British Museum.

B. The second manuscript, which I have collated as "B.," is in the Arundel collection in the British Museum, number 69. This also is a fine manuscript, and contains the whole work in a single volume. It is written in a hand scarcely later in age, but inferior in size and beauty to that of the royal manuscript, in double columns, 264 folios, 44 lines to the page. It is perfect, and excels the royal MS. in having the advantage of a contemporary title and far more numerous rubrics. The title is "Incipiunt Chronica Magistri Rogeri de "Houedene." This manuscript has likewise been annotated almost from the first with the prophecies of Merlin, in a hand greatly resembling that of the annotator of A.

An early transcript of the Royal MS.

The text is an exact, I had almost said abject, transcript of A.; every mis-spelling and omission is fairly copied, and although in one or two instances these have been corrected or filled up, it is always in a hand of later date than the text. It contains the laws appended to the year 1180, but not the work of Glanvill

with its accompanying assizes, and therefore has the word "suprascriptam" wrongly applied to the assize of the forest of 1184. In all other points it is a close copy, and as such contains no variations of reading except what were obviously accidental. I have carefully compared it with the text, and noted anything like a real various reading. It does not contain the Forest Assize.

Notes to this MS. Besides the marginal notes already mentioned, this manuscript has a considerable apparatus of annotation, partly in the margins, partly inserted on fly leaves between the pages of the text.

Character of these notes. These annotations are of two kinds, some are simply transcripts of corresponding passages from Florence of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon, especially the verses of the latter writer. Most of the others are extracts from Ralph de Diceto; but a few are either extracts from lost books, or digests of the information obtained from existing chronicles in the language of the annotator. The most interesting of these refer to the history of S. Edmund and the monastery which bore his name, and they are attached by note-marks to passages in the text which they illustrate, in such a way as to lead to the supposition that their writer had intended to found on this collection a volume of monastic annals, "Annales Sancti Eadmundi," which would embody the whole of Hoveden. They do not extend very far; the most important ceasing at the time of William Rufus.

As it did not seem desirable to encumber the text with these additions, I have thought it best to give the most important of them in an appendix to this preface.

History of this MS. Arundel 69. These notes afford the only clue we have to the history of the volume. It probably was part of the library of the monastery of St. Edmunds; it passed through the hands of Richard Broke, who has inserted his name, "Assit principio Sancta Maria meo, quod

"Ricardus Broke Serviens ad legem;" and subsequently belonged to Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, half of whose MSS., this being one, having belonged to the Royal Society from 1681 to 1831, in the latter year were deposited in the library of the British Museum.

Reached the Museum in 1831.

MS. Arundel 150.

C. The Arundel MS. 150 is also important, but it is much less perfect than either of two already described. It was written during the first half of the thirteenth century, and contains the whole work except the legal appendices of 1180. The title is given at length in a contemporary rubric, "Incipit Historia "Anglorum sive Saxonum post venerabilem Bedam edita "a Magistro Rogero de Houedan." It contains 127 folios in double columns, 56 lines to the page. The original text of folios 11, 12, and 24 to 34 inclusive is lost, and the hiatus supplied in a hand of the reign of Elizabeth. This was done probably by the direction of Lord William Howard, whose name appears on the first folio, and through whom doubtless it became a part of the Arundel library. This manuscript is the work of a careful and intelligent scribe, who whilst writing out his text referred from time to time to the authorities from which it was taken, such as Henry of Huntingdon and the collected letters of Becket, from which he occasionally supplies a reading different from but quite as good as that of the older MSS. It is to the use of this MS. that some at least of the various readings found in Savile's margin are to be traced. These are of course of no authority as regards the text of Hoveden, but so far as they are of interest I have tried to collect them in the notes of this edition under the signature C.

Description of the MS.

Description of MS. Cotton Claudius, B. vii.

D. The Cottonian manuscript, Claudius B. vii., contains a large part of Hoveden. The latter portion of the MS. only, from 1187 to 1201, folios 111–191, is ancient, and is in a good thirteenth century hand

on vellum. The earlier portion, folios 1–110, is on paper, and in a late hand, probably of the 16th century. It begins with the prologue, and then leaps at once to the year 1140. It is not however a complete transcript, the letters and other public documents being only indicated by their opening sentences. It has been most likely transcribed from MS. A., as it contains the verses on the coronation of the younger Henry which are found in that MS. only. It is obvious that it could afford no various readings of sufficient importance to be admitted into the present edition.

MS. Cotton Claudius, B. vii.

The Hatfield MS.

E. The Marquis of Salisbury possesses another MS. of Hoveden, which formerly belonged to William Cecil, lord Burghley, and is preserved in the library at Hatfield. It is said to contain a few marginal notes in lord Burghley's own hand, but the text is of the fifteenth century, and not worth the trouble of collation. The title prefixed is "Historia Anglorum sive Saxonum "edita a Magistro de Houeden."[1]

The Lanercost Chronicle.

F. These are all the known MSS. of the entire work if we except the copy used as the basis of the Lanercost chronicle, MS. Cotton. Claudius, D. vii., which is of the fourteenth century.

MS. Harl. 3602.

G. The Harleian MS. 3602 contains the second volume of the chronicles, 1181 to 1201. It is a beautiful thirteenth century MS. in 152 folios, partly (ff. 1–80) in single, partly (ff.81–152) in double columns; 39 lines to the page. It tells one particular only of its history: "Roger Hoveden's Chronicle from the 27th "year of Henry II. to the second year of king John; "it cost me xlv. shillings of Mr. Story, March 3, "1663–4. The book is worth the price."

MS. Douce 207.

H. The Bodleian MS., Douce 207, contains a large fragment, from 1187 to 1191, beautifully written in a

[1] Hardy, *Catalogue of Materials for British History*, ii. 252.

late thirteenth-century hand, double columns, folio; inserted by mistake in a copy of Roger of Wendover probably written by the same scribe.

Besides these there are many collections of excerpts and fragments in different libraries. In particular that of the dean and chapter of Westminster possesses a quarto paper book in a fifteenth-century hand, full of extracts from our chronicler. The library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, has a folio MS. on vellum, of the fifteenth century, containing ten folios of extracts.

MS. C. C. C. C. cxxxviii.

MSS. at Trinity College, Cambridge.

I. The library of Trinity College, Cambridge, possesses a fine MS. on vellum, containing the portion from 1187 to the end; it is in quarto, containing 80 folios, double columns, 49 lines to the page. It is in a hand of the thirteenth century; it belonged to Gale, and is numbered O. 9, 23.

Several of these last-mentioned MSS., as not containing anything likely to be useful either for the literary history of the work or for the illustration of the text of the first volume, I have not minutely examined. I hope to be able to use them fully in the editing of the later portions of the book, and shall defer until that point in my work the notice of any peculiarities that they may contain.

Of the Chronology of Hoveden.

Of the chronological accuracy of Roger of Hoveden little need be said. In general he carefully follows the computation of the author whom he is copying, and this is usually accurate; where he writes from his own contemporary notes he is an authority of the first order. To this general statement there are three exceptions. (1) From the year 878 to the year 934 the chronology of the MSS. of Hoveden is decidedly corrupt. He forsakes his guide sometimes one year, sometimes more, until he finds himself in such difficulties that he has to leap at once from 924 to 935.[1] In MS. A.

Errors in the earlier portion.

[1] In the present edition, vol. i., pp. 43–54.

occasional attempts have been made to correct the computation by erasure or otherwise, but the result is not accurate, and it has been done clearly after the transcription of MS. B. I have not ventured to correct this in the text of this edition, but have inserted the true dates, as Hoveden found them in the "Historia "post Bedam," in the marginal abstract. (2) From the year 1124 to the year 1135,[1] the computation is one year in advance of the truth; this mistake is based on a misconception of Henry of Huntingdon's arrangement of the events in regnal years, and is scarcely more than a clerical error. Still, as it in one case affects the text seriously, I have felt bound to retain it, correcting it in the margin in the same way. (3) The third instance is in the portion of the work which Hoveden himself probably compiled between 1148 and 1170.[2] The mistakes here are numerous, especially with regard to the collocation of Becket's letters. I have corrected them in the notes.

Errors of computation in Hoveden.

There is however a far more important chronological question connected with the computation of a part of our early annals, which I shall be glad to discuss in a place so appropriate as the present preface. I mean the comparative chronology of the years intervening between the death of Bede and the birth of Alfred,[3] which are so abundantly illustrated in

Important chronological difficulties in the history from 734 to 851.

---

[1] In the present edition, vol. i., pp. 179–188.

[2] In the present edition, vol. i., pp. 210 et cætera.

[3] This subject has been already discussed by Mr. John Mitchell Kemble and Mr. T. Duffus Hardy. They come to different conclusions. I will give a general reference to the places where their arguments are to be found. Hardy, preface to William of Malmesbury (English Historical Society), vol. ii., pref. xvii, &c.; vol. i. 60, note 3, &c. *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, pp. 117–122. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. i., introduction, pp. lxxxv–xc. My object in this discussion is not to settle claims of authenticity or exactness between the northern and southern chronicles, or between chronicles and charters, but simply to ascertain the chronology, and if possible explain the discrepancies. It is plain that no one solution, such as the varia-

Hoveden and his predecessors. It is well known that for this period of time the most ancient authorities, Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worcester, and the Anglo-Saxon chronicles present divergencies of date which affect the whole string of the history, and very much impair the possibility of a true comparison with contemporaneous events recorded by foreign annalists. It is perhaps less generally known that in the collection of Anglo-Saxon charters and other more recondite documents we possess data for adjusting if not correcting some of the most important of these divergencies. These two facts were ably examined and discussed by the learned editor of the "Monumenta," (introduction, 122, 123,) who, there argues upon and partly against Mr. John Mitchell Kemble's idea that the dates of the northern are for the most part more trustworthy than those of the southern historians. The matter branches into so many questions that it is almost dangerous to approach it. In what I am going to say I do not mean to exalt the accuracy of one historian at the expense of another, or to argue for his superiority, but simply to endeavour to adjust the chronology of some of the leading events.

Materials for the adjustment of the chronology of this period.

Causes for the variations of dates in the early annalists.

It is hardly necessary for me to remind any one who cares to read these pages, of the manifold opportunities for error that must have occurred in the process of forming or transcribing a series of annals properly so called.[1] In these, although the great purpose was chronological rather than historical; that is, they were intended rather to fix dates than to trace the causes, consequences and connexions of events, the very nature of the work laid the way open to chrono-

tions in the beginning of the new year, or the wrong changing of the regnal year to agree with the calendar year, will account for these. I shall be glad if I succeed in suggesting one more partial clue.

[1] See, in illustration of this, Mr. Hardy's remarks, *M. H. B.*, introd., pp. 122 et seqq.

logical error. If more attention had been paid to a string of history, the dates that strung themselves upon it would be more capable of exact criticism. What is wanting in this respect has to be supplied in other ways, by comparison of other writers on the same subject, by the use of contemporary letters or biographies, or by dated charters, or by foreign historians.

Openings for error.

I will, however, briefly indicate the openings for error which the plan of our ancient annalists offered. They are of two kinds, formal and material.

1. Formal.

The first are those which arise from the plan of arrangement. Some of the ancient annalists, without denoting the era, simply distinguish each year by a separate heading, "Annus, Annus, Annus." It is obvious that an error of a single year, the omission of a single "Annus," occurring at an early period of the series, and uncorrected, would affect the whole of the annals that followed. And in the same way, even if the year of the era is given, the omission of a single year, such as might easily be made where events recorded were few, would have a like effect. There are examples of this sort of error in Hoveden, where the omission of an eventless year has antedated the events of several years following, or the computation being simply carried on by adding one to the last preceding year has fallen hopelessly in arrear. Again, the different dates used for the beginning of the year, Christmas, New Year's Day, and Lady-Day, tend to produce error, especially in the computation of regnal or pontifical years: this does not greatly affect the period which I am discussing. A third sort of error is very freely introduced by the plan of incorporating into annals, the events which earlier writers have arranged under the regnal years of the kings. And this source of error is perhaps the least amenable to critical treatment, in early times, in which the days of the month and week are rarely specified. The year 800 may be the

Casual omission of uneventful yaers.

Variation of date of the beginning of the year.

Incorporation from other annals.

Difference between regnal and calendar years.

first year of Egbert, but it does not follow that an incident reported in his twenty-second year falls in 821. Of course regnal years hardly ever coincide with calendar ones, and the incorporation of such memoranda with proper annals cannot be effected without error. And yet these computations of regnal years are amongst the most trustworthy and most ancient of all the data of our history. It is from the careless or rather unskilful adaptation of them to the computation of the era that the error springs, and yet in many cases this must be done as it can be done, or the chronology be given up as a bad job.

Error almost inevitable.

2. Errors arising from the varieties of matter.

Other errors creep in by openings that are caused by the imperfect amalgamation of heterogeneous matter. The matters treated of in annals are either domestic or foreign, public or private, or cosmical. An annal entry which is quite correct on one point may be quite wrong on another. The date of an eclipse may be rightly given, when that of a battle or a death may be a year or many years wrong. Many monastic writers would have skill to calculate an eclipse; and generally such as are mentioned are put in their proper places. The dates of the deaths of great people, which would not unfrequently be taken from the calendars of the church service books, would generally be right, yet the rest of the events of the year might be wrong. An annalist borrowing the annal book of a neighbouring monastery, to copy into his own all the dates which it possessed over and above his own, would naturally ascribe them to the years under which his exemplar placed them; but if either his own computation or that of his neighbour were erroneous in the slightest degree, the error would be doubled and become infinitely more complex.[1] So an author whose domestic

[1] *E.g.* In 790, the Laudian MS. (636) of the chronicle and the MS. Tiberius B. iv. have the northern events which they copied from the Northumbrian chronicle under the date given there; and the same in

dates are all right, may be all astray in his foreign ones; one who is quite sound as to northern events may be hopelessly wrong as to southern ones; and one who is quite right as to the stars, may be untrustworthy as to terrestrial phænomena. The multiplication, codification and transcription of chronicles greatly increased the probability of error in all these ways.

Material errors in early annals.

It must further be considered that, as no chain is stronger than its weakest link, no history can *primâ facie* be held to be of more authority than belongs to the latest date that occurs in its earliest manuscript; but that nevertheless by the aids of other monuments, such as letters, charters and lives, or by the internal evidence of exactness, fulness and consistency, an amount of authority may be given to a book quite irrespective of the date of the earliest copy. Some tact or instinct is necessary for the determination of all questions of the kind, and without this no amount of experience will make a man a critic. But the tact or instinct is of course quite insufficient without the experience: to the want of one or other of these we may trace many of the critical absurdities of pseudo-antiquaries and pseudo-theologians.

The authority of a book may be determined by internal evidence as well as by proof of ancient transcription.

In comparing then the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle with that of Simeon or Florence, we must bear in mind that the authority of the chronicle in matters of chronology is owing, not to its being written in Anglo-Saxon, but to its antiquity; its superior antiquity to the existing text of those writers. If we have reason to suppose that the later writers embody the materials of earlier ones, or, judging from their exactness, fulness or consistency, can refer any

The authority of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle depends on its antiquity.

This should not prejudice the internal evidence of authority of later annals.

---

791 and 792. In 794 they have the murder of Ethelred of Northumbria, which took place in 796, placed before the sack of Tynemouth, which belongs to 794. Unfortunately these MSS. have used the northern chronicle rather to fill up hiatuses in the chronicle proper, than with a view of harmonizing the information.

portion of their contents to contemporaneous memoranda, the superior antiquity of the chronicle should not operate to their disadvantage.

Formation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

I need not say more about the chronicle than that I perfectly agree with the admirable summary of probabilities as to its origin put forth by Mr. Hardy in the "Catalogue of Materials for British History."[1] I believe it, like the rest of our vernacular literature, to owe its origin to Alfred, to have been drawn up originally from Latin annals, and to have been continued in the national tongue. As to the relation of Asser's life of Alfred to the chronicle, I cannot feel quite so sure. It is possible that, according to the common theory, Asser copied from the chronicle; it is possible that the common portions of the chronicle were translated from Asser; it is more probable that both reproduce an earlier contemporaneous series of memoranda, and that they are of co-ordinate authority, if not from the same hand. But it is with the earlier portion of the chronicle that we have now to do. Criticisms on the later portions of it must be grounded on different although kindred considerations.

Question as to its relation to Asser.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle must be compared with the early parts of Simeon and the Chronicle of Melrose.

The two authorities on which we have to depend for adjusting the chronology of the century that follows the death of Bede, are the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and that Northern Chronicle which I have spoken of above as constituting the most valuable part of the annals of Simeon of Durham. The authority of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle rests on its antiquity first, then on its fulness, exactness and consistency ; the authority of the Northern Chronicle rests on the fact that it (in a more ancient form than that in which we possess it) was employed in the composition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle itself, whilst it is not a whit behind its companion in the other basis of authority. Florence of Worcester may be dismissed from consideration here, for all his dates

[1] *Catalogue*, &c., i. 647 et seqq.

may be traced, I believe, for this portion of his work, to one or other of these authorities. These two sources then I should estimate as being of co-ordinate importance; where they agree with one another and existing monuments, I accept their date; where they differ from one another, and can be tried by other evidences, let the true date derivable from such evidences be accepted; where they have matter peculiar to either, let each be maintained on its own gronnd. Where they err together, let them fall together. I shall use the text of the Corpus MS. as authoritative for the computation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the text of Simeon and the Annals of Melrose for the Northern Chronicle; which for the sake of brevity I may call the "Gesta," the full title being probably "Gesta Veterum Northanhymbrorum."

How they should be treated.

The two have about twenty notices of common events between 731 and 800. Of these the earlier ones agree in date; but from A.D. 755 downwards there is a difference of two years. In eight cases I think it is demonstrable that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is two years behind the true date.

Collation of the common dates.

(1.) Ethelbald king of Mercia died according to the Chronicle in 755; according to the Gesta in 757. According to the royal tables of the Mercian kings, he reigned forty-one years.[1] Bede places his accession in 716;[2] he himself makes 749 the thirty-third year of his reign.[3]

Death of Ethelbald.

(2.) The great frost of the winter of 763 and spring of 764 is mentioned by Eginhard in his annals,[4]

Great frost of 764.

[1] H. Hunt, *M. H. B.*, 735.

[2] Bede, *H. E.*, v. 24.

[3] In a charter given by William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. 84. Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 256. Wilkins, i. 100. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, i. 119.

[4] Eginhard (ed. Pertz, 1845), *Annales*, p. 9. *Regino Prum.* ap. Pistorium, ed. Struve, i. 34. *Annales Fuldenses*, ap. Freher, i. 10. We learn from the Annales Petaviani that the frost lasted from Jan. 19 to March 16, 764; Pertz, i. 10. It is mentioned by a great number of the German annalists, under the end of 763 or beginning of 764.

and after him by Hermann Contractus and others. The "Gesta" place it in 764; the Chronicle in 761–762.

Consecration of archbishop Jaenberht.

(3.) Archbishop Jaenberht of Canterbury was consecrated according to the Chronicle on the fortieth day after midwinter, i.e., about the feast of the Purification, 764. According to the "Gesta," Bregwin, his predecessor, dies in 765, which throws Jaenberht's consecration on to 766. According to the Canterbury historians,[1] Bregwin, who was consecrated in 759, died in the seventh year of his pontificate, on the 1st of September. He is found subscribing a charter of Offa in 764.[2]

Death of Archbishop Bregwin.

Reign of Kinewulf.

(4.) Kinewulf of Wessex reigned thirty-three years. According to the Chronicle from 754 to 784; according to the Gesta from 753 to 786.

Death of Pope Adrian and Offa.

(5.) According to the Chronicle pope Adrian and king Offa died in 794: but Adrian's death is well known to have taken place on Christmas Day, 795:[3] and Offa, who is allowed to have reigned thirty-nine years, was in his thirty-seventh year in 794;[4] he died on the 29th of July, and after the 141 days during which Ecgferth reigned, Kenulf succeeded on the 17th of December.[5] Kenulf in his charters is careful to give his regnal years: 803 is his seventh year;[6] 808 his twelfth;[7] 811 his fifteenth;[8] 812 his sixteenth;[9] 814 his eighteenth;[10] 816 his twentieth; 817 his twenty-first;[11] 821 his twenty-fifth:[12] he reigned twenty-six years according to

[1] Vita S. Bregwini, by Osbern, *Ang. Sac.*, ii. 76. Later writers give him only three years.

[2] To Rochester, Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 135. *Monasticon Angl.*, i. 163, from the Textus Roffensis.

[3] See the authorities given by Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, 215.

[4] Charter of Worcester, Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 201.

[5] Florence of Worcester, *M.H.B.*, 546.

[6] Charter of Worcester, Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 223. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 168.

[7] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 237.

[8] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 242.

[9] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 249.

[10] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 256.

[11] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 268.

[12] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 269. An Abingdon charter, cf. Chron. Abingdon, ed. Stevenson, i. 25.

Henry of Huntingdon:[1] in 822 his successor Ceolwulf is king. The perfect harmony of his regnal years with those of the era may be accounted for by the fact of his beginning his reign in December. His son Kenelm was martyred on the 17th of July,[2] after a reign of a few months: on the 30th of September Ceolwulf is on the throne.[3] These dates all point consistently to one conclusion—Offa died in 796.[4]

Consistency of the dates of Kenulf's reign in Mercia.

Death of Offa.

(6.) The deposition of Eadbert Pren in Kent is placed by the Chronicle in 796; by the Gesta in 798. His successor, Cuthred, calls 805 his eighth year.[5]

Deposition of Eadbert Pren.

(7.) The mutilation of pope Leo is placed by the Chronicle in 797; by Simeon in 799. It is well known from contemporary authorities to have taken place in the latter year.[6]

Mutilation of Leo III.

(8.) The death of Brihtric and accession of Egbert in Wessex, are placed by the Chronicle in 800; by the Gesta in 802. Brihtric reigned sixteen years from 786.

Accession of Egbert.

We may illustrate the matter still further by giving cases in which dates which appear in the Gesta only are confirmed, and others which appear in the Chronicle only are discredited by good authorities.

Cases in which dates peculiar to the Gesta are confirmed.

The date 754 is given by the Gesta for the death of S. Boniface: this is confirmed by Eginhard,[7] as is the death of Pippin in 768,[8] the conversion of the Old Saxons in 775,[9] and the ventilation of the image contro-

Death of Boniface; conversion of Saxony; controversy on images.

---

[1] H. Hunt, *M.H.B.*, 735.

[2] Flor. Wig., *M.H.B.*, 546.

[3] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 272.

[4] Another proof. The *Gesta* mention an eclipse of the moon on the 28th of March 796, followed by the murder of Ethelred of Northumbria, April 18th. The eclipse is a certain fact. We find Alcuin writing to Offa and commenting on the death of Ethelred as a reason for the emperor's anger against the Northumbrians, or the Scots. Ep. xlvii. and W. Malmesb. Offa then certainly survived Ethelred.

[5] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 232.

[6] Einhard, *Annales*, p. 43; and the other authorities quoted by Jaffé, 216.

[7] Einhard, *Annales*, p. 5. Mabillon prefers the date 755, following Willibald, who gives the Indiction.

[8] Einhard, *Ann.*, 10.

[9] Einhard, *Ann.*, 16.

versy in the West in 792.[1] The dates of the deaths of the archbishops of York are confirmed by Alcuin.[2]

Cases in which the dates peculiar to the Chronicle are disproved.

On the other hand, the date 772 fixed for the death of Milred, bishop of Winchester, by the Chronicle, is contradicted by a charter of his own, dated 774.[3] The war between the old Saxons and the Franks, placed by the Chronicle in 780, belongs according to Eginhard to 782.[4] The election of Ecgferth as king with his father Offa, dated in 785 by the Chronicle, is not borne out by charters, which show that as late as 787[5] he subscribed as "filius regis," the earliest in which he is called "rex" being dated 788. The famous legatine councils of George and Theophylact are placed in different years by the two authorities. The Chronicle places the "geflitfullic" synod of Chelsea in 785. The Gesta places the great northern synod of Pincanheale in 787. But we know from the record of the legates[6] that the northern council was held before the southern in which, according to the Chronicle, Ecgferth was chosen to be king, and the archbishopric of Lichfield instituted. We find however, Higbert, of Lichfield, subscribing as bishop even at the end of the legatine council, and not

Election of Ecgferth; legatine councils.

Archbishopric of Lichfield.

---

[1] Einhard, *Ann.*, 35. He refers here to the controversy of Felix of Urgel, in which Alcuin was employed as well as on image worship. Both writers refer to the preparation made for the council of Frankfort in 794.

[2] Poem on the archbishops, in Gale's *Scriptores*, 703–732.

[3] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 151. *Mon. Angl.*, i. 586. The charter given by Kemble, i. 147, with the date 772, in which Weremund, the successor of Milred, signs, is shown by the Indiction to belong to 775.

[4] Einhard, *Ann.*, pp. 22 and 23.

[5] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 183.

[6] Spelman, *Concilia*, i. 291. Wilkins, i. 146. Although the changes in the arrangement of the dioceses, and the election of Ecgferth, were probably transacted in the second of these councils, the subject is not mentioned by the legates. The great importance of the letter of the legates to pope Adrian in a chronological point of view has never been fully realized. The northern synod may be identified with that of Wincanhale, or Pincanhale, by the mention of Albert, abbot of Ripon, who died at it. The names of the other witnesses, although frightfully mangled either by the legates or their copyists, are yet capable of being interpreted.

calling himself archbishop until 788.[1] Here we have, I think, strong evidence for placing the legatine councils, with all that resulted from them, as late as 787. The exact date of the northern council, September 2, is given in the Gesta. The southern council being held still later, would fall near the end of the year, which may account for our having no charters earlier than 788 in which these changes are recognized.

The legatine councils.

I have, however, probably alleged enough to show that for the latter half of the eighth century we have two sets of dates differing by two years, and that the weight of evidence is greatly in favour of the later date; moreover that there is scarcely a date in the chronicle for this period which can be regarded as undisputed. From the beginning of the ninth century we lose the valuable assistance of the "Gesta." But this has its advantage, for I think we shall be able to show, without any invidious comparison of northern and southern authorities, that the same error of two years is traceable to the beginning of the reign of Ethelwulf, from which time the compilers of the Chronicle would be enabled by their own personal recollections, or from contemporary memoranda, to give the correct dates.

The Chronicle and the Gesta differ by two years; the latter having the preponderance of authority.

Error of two years in the Chronicle after the break in the Gesta, at 802.

Putting aside for the present the disputed dates of the beginning of the reigns of Egbert and Ethelwulf, which are really the bone of contention among chronologists, I will take a series of dates from the Chronicle, and remark on them.

A.D. 802. Consecration of bishop Beornmod of Rochester. Yet bishop Weremund, his predecessor, continues to attest charters down to the 6th of October 803.[2]

Correction of the Chronicle in 802,

[1] Higbert calls himself archbishop first in a charter granted by Offa to Rochester, dated 788. Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 183. *Mon. Angl.*, i. 167. He continues to bear the title until 799. In 801 he subsides into a simple bishop.

[2] Kemble, *C.D.*, v. 66; i. 222. Beornmod signs first in 805. *Ibid.* 231.

in 803. A.D. 803. Death of archbishop Æthelheard. Yet Æthelheard attests several charters between 803 and 805,[1] in which year his succcessor Wulfred begins to do so.[2] Æthelheard died on the 12th of May; [3] Wulfred appears on the archiepiscopal throne on the 6th of August; and in two charters calls 811 his sixth year.

Correction of 805 for 803.

806 or 807 for 805; A.D. 805. Death of Cuthred, king of Kent: he reigned nine years;[4] 805 is his eighth year.[5]

814 for 812; A.D. 812. Death of Charles the Great. The emperor died in 814.[6]

816 for 814; A.D. 814. Death of Leo III. and succession of Stephen. Leo was buried June 12, 816, and Stephen was consecrated ten days after.[7]

821 for 819; A.D. 819. Death of Kenulf, king of Mercia, and succession of Ceolwulf. I have stated above that Kenulf continues to sign charters until 821; that his son Kenelm succeeded him; and that Ceolwulf after a few months became king, and signed his first charter in 822. Eadberht the ealdorman, whose death is placed by the Chronicle in the same year, subscribes as late as September 822.[8]

823 for 821; A.D. 821. Ceolwulf deprived of his kingdom. His successor was Beornulf. Ceolwulf reigned three years. Beornulf reigned one.[9] From the charters we learn that Ceolwulf was king May 26, 823. Beornulf appears as king in 824 and 825.

---

[1] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 221, 223, 224, 227, 231.

[2] Kemble, *C. D.*, 232. Aug. 6, 805.

[3] *Obit. Cantuar.*, *Ang. Sac.*, i. 53.

[4] H. Hunt., *M.H.B.*, 734.

[5] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 232.

[6] Einhard, *Ann.*, 66. January 28. Cf. Vita Karoli (ed. Pertz, 1844), p. 29.

[7] Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum*, 220, 221.

[8] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 273.

[9] H. Hunt., *M.H.B.*, 735. Beornulf must have reigned more than one year if the charter issued in the synod of Clovesho is genuine, in which he speaks of himself as in his third year in 825; but possibly the charter has been altered to suit the more commonly received date. Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 280. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 173.

A.D. 822. Burghelm and Muca slain. Synod of Clovesho. Muca subscribes a charter in 823.[1] We have dated acts of the Council which show that it was sitting on the 30th of September 824;[2] and there was another council at the same place in 825.[3] 824 for 822; Synod of Clovesho in 824.

A.D. 823. Death of Beornulf. Yet we find him reigning in 824 and 825.[4] Ludecan was his successor, and was slain in the first year of his reign.[5] The Chronicle itself places Ludecan's death in 825. The next king was Wiglaf, who according to the Chronicle was deposed by Egbert in 827, and restored in 828. Yet he himself speaks of 831 as the first year of his second reign.[6] Correction of 825 for 823.

A.D. 830. Death of archbishop Wulfred and abbot Feologild; and succession of Ceolnoth. Wulfred subscribes charters in 831, as late as August 28.[7] His death, which occurred on the 22nd of March,[8] must therefore fall in 832.[9] Correction of 830.

A.D. 831. Ceolnoth receives the pall. This date stands or falls with the last. of 831;

A.D. 833. Battle of Carrum; death of Hereferth and Wigthen, bishops; and Osmod and Dudda, ealdormen. Osmod subscribes a charter of 835.[10] of 833;

---

[1] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 275.

[2] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 276. *Mon. Angl.*, i. 590. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 175.

[3] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 278. Smith's Appendix to Bede, p. 768. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 173.

[4] See note 9, p. xcvi.

[5] H. Hunt., *M.H.B.*, 735.

[6] A.D. 831. Indiction, 9. "Ego "Uiglaf, gratia Dei rex Merciorum, "*anno primo secundi regni mei.*" Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 294, from the original in the Cotton Library, Augustus II. In 836 he speaks of himself as in his seventh year. Kemble, i. 314.

[7] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 295.

[8] *Obit. Cant.*, *Ang. Sac.*, i. 53.

[9] It would take up too much space to discuss the question about Feologild and the succession of Ceolnoth; but if Feologild ever really was archbishop, and he is said to be consecrated June 9 (Domitian A. viii.), and to have died Aug. 29 the same year, the consecration of Ceolnoth will fall in 833; he was elected on the 29th of June, and consecrated on the 27th of August. *Annales Roffenses*, *Ang. Sacr.*, i. 85.

[10] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 312. Chron. Abingd., i. 33.

Death of Egbert.

A.D. 836. Death of Egbert. Yet he continues to attest public acts down to the year 838.

A.D. 837. Death of Wulfheard, the ealdorman. He signs a charter in 838.[1]

Death of Ethelwulf.

I shall not attempt to go through the dates of the reign of Ethelwulf, as they are extremely scanty, and but little illustrated by charters. But I may observe that the Chronicle places his death in about two years after 855; which is fixed by the testimony of Asser to 858.[2]

We have then again a series of instances even more perfect than the foregoing to show that the chronology of the Chronicle is two years behind the truth down at least to the death of Egbert.

Taking now the death of Ethelwulf as a fixed date, we may calculate back from it the years of the West Saxon kings.

An error of two years may have arisen from the double date of Ethelwulf's accession.

The historians have apparently avoided committing themselves to an enumeration of the years of the reign of Ethelwulf: Henry of Huntingdon makes them 22;[3] placing the journey to Rome in 855, and the king's death three years later;[4] but our MS. a makes them eighteen, the writer considering the reign to end at the year 856, when Ethelbald supplanted his father. A reign of eighteen years from 856, would begin in 838, and this is borne out fully by the charter in which Ethelwulf calls 839 the first year of his reign after the death of his father.[5] But why should he state it so?

He was king before his father's death.

It seems to point to the fact that he had been king before the death of his father: and that this was the case we find clearly demonstrated by at least three

[1] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 320.

[2] Asser, *M.H.B.*, 472, 473.

[3] H. Hunt, *M.H.B.*, 737.

[4] Page 34 of the present edition, where it will be observed that the writer gives only thirty-five years to Egbert.

[5] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 321. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 178. "Primo videlicet "anno regni Ethelwlfi regis post "obitum patris sui."

charters granted to three different religious houses, and therefore free from any suspicion of collusion or common error, Rochester,[1] Christ Church, Canterbury,[2] and Winchester.[3] In one of these, Egbert acts, "cum consensu "dilectissimi filii nostri Ethelwulfi regis;" in another, Ceolnoth holds a synod in the presence of "excellen-"tissimis regibus nostris Ecgberhto et Aethelwulfo." In the third, both Egbert and Ethelwulf sign as kings; and more than one charter was issued by Ethelwulf as king of Kent. If we suppose now that the older annalists found a notice that Ethelwulf became king in 836,[4] and were also persuaded that he had been intended for a monk until, at his father's death, he was drawn from the monastery to be placed on the throne; to reconcile the two facts it would be necessary that Egbert should die in 836: the thirty-seven years and seven months of Egbert's reign would then run back to 800: the sixteen of Brihtric's to 784, and the thirty-three of Kynewulf to 752. But this is unquestionably wrong, the Chronicle itself placing Kynewulf's succession in 754. Ethelwulf avoided dating his acts by the regnal year, except in the one instance I have referred to, and thus escaped the ambiguity of the double date. An error of two years as to Ethelwulf's succession would affect the whole regnal annals of Wessex, and so the whole of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle from 752 to 849.

Charters in which Egbert and Ethelwulf appear as joint kings.

---

[1] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 317.

[2] Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 318. Wilkins, *Conc.*, i. 178.

[3] Kemble, *C.D.*, v. 90.

[4] He is still "filius regis" in 835. Kemble, i. 312. But there are charters in which he appears as king of an apparently earlier date. (1) In the will of archbishop Wulfred, who died in 832, he is called king (Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 290); but it is plain that this was written after Wulfred's death, for it is attested by both himself and his successor Ceolnoth. (2) Kemble, v. 88; but this charter is not dated at all. (3) Kemble, v. 89. This is an abstract of the last with a modern date prefixed.

Whether this be the true explanation, I cannot of course determine; but the fact remains the same, and of it I think there can be no doubt,—That the accession of Egbert,[1] and all the events of his reign recorded in the Chronicle, should be advanced two years.

I need hardly apologize for going at such length into such a subordinate question; it has great importance as a test of the authenticity and exactness of those very ancient annals which are at the foundation of the collection of chronicles embodied in the work of Hoveden; and these are, I think, doubly important in connexion with the fact, that in Hoveden they are presented as he found them in MSS. which are earlier than any existing MS. of Simeon of Durham, and two of which have come down to the present day.

For the loan of one of these, the St. John's MS., 97, I take this opportunity of returning my best thanks to the Rev. the President and the Fellows of St. John's College, Oxford.

---

[1] One charter of Egbert has both a date and regnal year. It is a grant to Abingdon, made 835; indiction 13; *anno imperii nostri xxxiiii.* Kemble, *C.D.*, i. 312. Ethelwulf signs this as *filius regis*.

APPENDIX TO PREFACE.

I.—Marginal Notes in MS. Reg. 13, A. 6.

Fo. 84 (vol. i., p. 122, line 37): in a hand of the fifteenth or sixteenth century.

Hæc Maria supradicta, soror reginæ Matildis, obiit secundo kalendas Junii,[1] et sepelitur apud Bermundesey anno 1115°.

Epitaphium:

" Nobilis hic tumulata jacet comitissa Maria,
" Actibus hæc nituit, larga, benigna fuit.
" Regum sanguis erat, morum probitate vigebat,
" Compatiens inopi, vivat in arce poli."

Fo. 99 (vol. i., p. 193, line 21).

Et nota quod invenitur in alia chronica;[2] Standardum, id est, malum navis, erexerunt, vexillum Sancti Petri, Sancti Johannis Beverlaci et Sancti Wilfridi Riponensis in eo suspendentes, et corpus Domini super imponentes, ut esset signifer et dux prælii eorum.

Fo. 101.

Affuerunt in hoc prælio secundum aliam chronicam[3] hi proceres, videlicet, Willelmus comes Almarlæ, Walterus de Gaunt, Robertus de Brus, Bernardus Baillioll, Rogerus Moubray, Walterus Espec, Willelmus Percy, Galfridus de Neville, Ricardus de Curceio, Willelmus Fossard, Robertus de Stotevilla, Ilbertus de Lacy, Robertus de Lacy, Willelmus Peverellus de Notyngham et Robertus Fereres de Derby. In hoc bello Scotti quasi nudi videntes se sagittis objici et confodi, a campo dispersi sarcinas suas a se projecerunt, in cujus rei ignominiam vocatus locus ille Bagmore.

---

[1] "xiv. kal. Maii," Ann. Bermonsey, ed. Luard, p. 432.

[2] John of Hexham, ed. Twysden, c. 262.

[3] John of Hexham, ut supra.

Fo. 101 v°. (vol. i., p. 196).

Anno regni regis Stephani quarto, rex Scotorum David totam Northumbriam vastavit, et obtinuit Cumbriam, Karliol, Novum Castrum, et cætera municipia excepto Bamburgh. Willelmus autem filius Duncani, nepos regis David, in Craven apud Chederhau[1] exercitum Anglorum vicit, et pluribus occisis, innumerabiles in servitutem induxit.

Hoc anno quinto Northumbria data est Henrico filio regis David, qui duxit Ade relictam Willelmi comitis Warenniæ, sororem Roberti comitis Leycestriæ et Walramni comitis Mellenti, cujus mater[2] fuit soror Radulfi de Perona, regis Francorum consanguinea.

Et nota quod alibi[3] scribitur quod prædictus Henricus duxit Adam filiam Willelmi comitis de Warenna, sororem Willelmi junioris et Roberti comitis Leycestre et Walramni de Mellent.

Fo. 107 (vol. i., p. 214). In continuation.[4]

Cum in Oriente circa nostros talia gererentur, Anglia multis malis saucia tabescebat. Nam quia tunc impotens erat rex, unusquisque quod sibi videbatur rectum vel malum faciebat, quia regnum erat divisum; quidam enim regi, quidam reginæ favebant. Interim Henricus filius imperatricis, futurus rex, pubes, a matre ad David regem Scotorum et usque Karleolum mittitur, ubi ab eo militiæ cingulum suscepit;[5] deinde rediit ad patrem suum in Franciam.[6]

Post annos autem aliquot patre in fata cedente, paterno jure Andegaviæ et Cenomanniæ comitatus, et materno jure Normanniæ ducatum excipit. Dispositis itaque pacifice terris suis omnibus ultra mare, in Angliam rediit idem dux, regnum Angliæ ut jus suum vendicaturus. Ad cujus adventum multi proceres, relicto rege Stephano, eidem duci adhæserunt, qui

---

[1] The battle was fought June 10, 1138. Cf. John of Hexham, 261; and Richard of Hexham, 318.

[2] Elizabeth, daughter of Hugh the Great of Vermandois, married first Robert count of Meulan, and secondly William of Warenne, earl of Surrey.

[3] Sc. Joh. Hexham, c. 265.

[4] This continuation is in a hand of the thirteenth century, or possibly later, in imitation of the earlier hand. The rubrics are of the same date as those of the rest of the volume, which accordingly must have been inserted after this continuation, and after the compilation of Roger of Hoveden had become well known. The continuation is an abridgment from William of Newburgh in his own words for the most part.

[5] *Cum . . . suscepit*] Will. Newb., i. 22.

[6] *deinde . . . Franciam*] Will. Newb., i. 29.

multa mala regi intulerunt, Malmesburiam, Stanfordiam et Notingham obsidendo expugnantes.[1]

De pace inter regem Stephanum et Henricum ducem, et de morte regis Stephani.

Interim mortuus est Eustachius filius regis, propter quod mediantibus regni proceribus apud Walyngforde, pax facta est inter regem Stephanum et Henricum ducem Normanniæ, ut scilicet Stephanus ad vitam suam regnaret, et Henricus ut hæres legitimus post eum succederet.[2] Recedente igitur Henrico in Normanniam, desponsataque Alienora (*anno Domini* 1151) filia et hærede ducis Aquitaniæ, a rege Francorum Lodowico prius divorciata, idem Henricus dux pacem fecit cum rege Francorum supradicto, jocundos ducens dies interim et annos.[3] Circa hæc tempora, videlicet anno gratiæ 1154to, obiit rex Stephanus viii. kalendas Novembris, anno regni sui xix^{mo}, et sepultus est in monasterio de Faversham, quod ipse prius construxerat.[4]

Explicit Chronica Rogeri Howdene.

II.—Marginal Notes to MS. Arundel 69.

Vol. i., p. 43, line 34. Exercitus regis Godrum recessit a Cirancestre et perrexit in Estanglum, et terram illam obtinuit et divisit.[5]

Vol. i., p. 43, line 36. Fulanham juxta Tamasim.

Vol. i., p. 45, line 4. Lugubalia antiquitus Carleil vel Luel.

In Beda *de Gestis Anglorum*, li. 4, cap. 25. "Hic cum audi- "ret eum ad civitatem Lugubaliam devenisse venit," &c.[6]

Nota de possessionibus ecclesiæ Dunelmensis.

In vita Sancti Cuthberti legitur, "Venit ad Lugubaliam "civitatem quæ a populis Anglorum corrupte Luel vocatur."[7]

Et aliter in Vita ejusdem,[8] "Sanctus Cuthbertus ad eandem "Lugubaliam civitatem rogatus advenit."

Vol. i., p. 47, line 32. *Stur*] Sturemudham.[9]

---

[1] *Post . . . expugnantes*] Will. Newb., i. 29.

[2] *Interim . . . succederet*] W. Newb., i. 30: who however does not name Wallingford as the place of council.

[3] *Recedente . . . annos*] Cf. W. Newb., i. 31.

[4] *Circa . . . construxerat*] Will. Newb., i. 32.

[5] H. Hunt., ed. Savile, 201.

[6] Bede, Hist. Ecc., iv. 29.

[7] Bede, *V. Cuthberti*, ap. Mabillon, *Acta SS. ord. Ben.* sæc. ii., p. 864.

[8] Ibid. p. 865.

[9] H. Hunt., 201.

Vol. i., p. 49, line 23. Alfredi regis . . . luce demptus est:[1] ut habetur in libro chronicorum Henrici archidiaconi de Huntedon.

Vol. i., p. 50, line 27. *On a slip.*

Alfred rex cum regnasset . . . perenne. H. Hunt, 202.

In dorso,[2] Eadwardus cognomento senior est consecratus in regem Anglorum a Pleimundo Doroberniæ archiepiscopo apud Kingestun. Huic etiam regina sua Alfleda duos filios peperit, Athelstanum et Eadwinum, et sex filias; quarum Eadfleda et Æthelhilda sanctimoniales apud Wiltonam requiescunt. Eadivam vero habuit conjugem Otto Romanorum imperator; Eadhildam autem Karolus simplex rex Francorum; Sanctam Eadgitham Sihtricus rex Northanymbrorum; Hugo Magnus filius Roberti ducis Parisiensium duxit quartam, id est Ealgifam. Regina vero sua Eadiva peperit ei Eadmundum et Aedredum et Sanctam Eadburgam, quæ apud Wyntoniam requiescit.

Vol. i., p. 52, line 6. [3] Frithestanus ad Wintoniensem, Aethelstanus ad Cornubiensem, Werctanus ad Syreburnensem, Athelmus ad Wellensem, Eadulfus ad Cridiensem, Bernechus Australibus Saxonibus, Kenelfus ad civitatem Dorcacestre, a Pleimundo archiepiscopo uno die Cantuariæ ordinati sunt pontifices.

Vol. i., p. 52, line 31. Unde ad tantæ . . . virgo. Vale.[4]

Vol. i., p. 56, line 33. Hoc anno Odo archiepiscopus Cantuariensis in Northamhymbros profectus, patris Wilfridi reliquias a Ripensi ecclesia transtulit apud Cantuariam.[5]

Vol. i., p. 66. Auctor opum . . . brevi. H. Hunt., 204.

Vol. i., p. 66, line 19. *Dunstano*] qui trabe apprehensa restitit.[6]

Vol. i., p. 66, line 31. De Etheldredo etiam cum parvulus esset Sanctus Dunstanus prophetavit. Minxit namque cum baptizaretur in sacro fonte. Unde vir Domini exterminium Anglorum in tempore ejus futurum prædixit.[7]

Vol. i., p. 67, line 2. Inquiratur quid sit *incdicibiliter.*

Vol. i., p. 67, line 12. Defuncto Athelgaro archiepiscopo, Siricius successit.[8]

Vol. i., p. 67, line 36. *Ethelwinus*] comes sive dux Estanglorum.

---

[1] H. Hunt, 201.

[2] R. de Diceto, 452.

[3] R. de Diceto, 453.

[4] H. Hunt, 204.

[5] The words of Ralph de Diceto, c. 455; Cf. Gervase, 1645, who quotes Eadmer, *V. Wilfr.* (ed. Migne, 751).

[6] H. Hunt, 204 v°, line 29.

[7] H. Hunt, 204 v°, 43.

[8] Flor. Wig., A.D. 989.

Vol. i., p. 68, line 9. Syricio Doroberniæ archiepiscopo mortuo, successit Aelfricus Wiltunensium episcopus.[1]

Vol. i., p. 70, line 31. *præpositum*] *i.e.* vicecomitem.

Vol. i., p. 72, line 34. *Aliter:* Eodem anno providentia . . ad perditionem Anglorum factus est Edricus dux Su . . . Merce, proditor . . . nus sed maximus[2] (*cut at the edge*).

Vol. i., p. 73, line 1. *Alia littera.* Fecit rex parari per totam Angliam ex ccc^tis^ et x. hidis navem unam; et ex viii. hidis loricam et galeam. Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum.[3]

Vol. i., p. 74, line 25. Merenheved, id est caput formicæ.[4]

Vol. i., p. 75, line 27. Almar, quem Aelphegus archiepiscopu Cantuariensis a morte liberaverat, eam civitatem prodidit.[5] *Elmeri*] abbatis.

Vol. i., p. 78, line 29. *vespera diei*] Purificationis Sanctæ Mariæ.[6]

Vol. i., p. 81, line 28. *Eadmundum*] Ferreum latus; quem Levingus Doroberniæ archiepiscopus apud Londoniam in regem consecravit.[7]

Vol. i., p. 84, line 18. Illic occisus est Ednod dux et Alfric dux et Godwinus dux et Ulfketel de Estangle dux et Ailward filius Alfsi dux.[8]

Vol. i., p. 85, line 6. *dividitur*] corona tamen regni Edmundo remansit.[9]

Vol. i., p. 85, line 12. *Alia litera prout invenitur in quodam libro.*[10] Posthæc rex Edmundus nocte sequentis diei festivitatis Sancti Andreæ Londoniæ perimitur, dolo Edrici Streone perfidissimi ducis, veru ferreo in secreta naturæ transfixus, dum in secessu resideret. Ille enim dux Edricus quendam in loco stercoris absconderat qui regem egesturum veru confoderet. Sic defunctus rex Edmundus, cum avo suo rege pacifico Eadgaro sepultus est Glastoniæ. Canutus vero a primatibus regni in regem eligitur, fratribus Edmundi et filiis abjectis et repudiatis.

---

[1] R. de Diceto, 461, from Flor. Wig., A.D. 994.

[2] H. Hunt, 206 v°, line 38.

[3] H. Hunt, 206 v°, 40.

[4] H. Hunt, 207 r°, 13.

[5] H. Hunt, 207 r°, 37.

[6] R. de Diceto, 466, probably from a S. Edmund's chronicle.

[7] R. de Diceto, 466.

[8] H. Hunt, 208 r°, 38.

[9] R. de Diceto, 466; M. Westmonast. (ed 1601) p. 205.

[10] The story is told in nearly the same words, in the *Historia Eliensis* (Gale), p. 502. It is in Ralph de Diceto, 466, in the same words as here, probably from a S. Edmund's authority.

Vol. i., p. 86, line 25. *imperium*] consecratus est autem a Livingo Dorobernensi archiepiscopo.[1]

Vol. i., p. 86, line 27. *Eirico*] vel Yrco, vel Hyrc, vel Yricio.[2] *Malmesberi.*

Vol. i., p. 87, line 33. Hoc anno rex Canutus consilio cleri et procerum, et maxime consilio Elfgivæ (Emæ) reginæ suæ, constituit monachos in monasterio quod Badrichewrthe vocatur, in quo rex et martyr Eadmundus incorrupto corpore requiescit.[3]

Vol. i., p. 87, line 41. Idem Alfwynus Estanglorum episcopus primus ecclesiam Sancti Edmundi ædificare cœpit.[4]

Vol. i., p. 88, line 12. Qui genuit Willelmum Bastard de Herleva non sponsata, qui post Angliam conquisivit.[5]

Vol. i., p. 93, line 29. Hoc anno Stigandus regis capellanus episcopatum Estangliæ suscepit.[6]

Vol. i., p. 108, line 17. Pacificus[7] rex Eadwardus Epiphaniæ Domini vigilia mortem obiit Londoniæ, et sepultus est apud Westmonasterium. Quo tumulato, subregulus Haroldus, Godwini ducis filius, quem rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat, a totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus, eodem die ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo in regem est consecratus.

Eodem anno stella cometis non solum in Anglia sed etiam, ut fertur, per totum mundum visa, viii. kal. Maii per vii. dies splendore nimio fulgebat.

Rex Haroldus cum ingenti classe Vectam adiit insulam, et quia Normannorum dux Willelmus, Edwardi regis cognatus, in Angliam cum exercitu venire parabat, tota æstate et auctumno adventum illius observabat. Ad hæc etiam pedestrem exercitum locis opportunis circa ripas maris locabat. Adveniente itaque Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ classicus et pedestris exercitus domum rediit. Quibus gestis, cum classica manu plusquam quingentis navibus magnis, Haroldus Haravaghe rex Norreganorum, frater Sancti Olavi regis, in ostio Tine fluminis applicuit. Ad quem Tostius comes, ut prius condixerant, sua cum classe venit, et inde cursum moventes in loco qui Richalde dicitur pariter applicuere. Quod ubi regi Haroldo innotuit, versus eos expeditionem propere movit, et Norreganis in loco qui

---

[1] R. de Diceto, 466.

[2] R. de Diceto, 466.

[3] R. de Diceto, 467.

[4] R. de Diceto, 467.

[5] R. de Diceto, 468.

[6] R. de Diceto, 468.

[7] From R. de Diceto, 479; derived by him from Henry of Huntingdon, Florence of Worcester, and perhaps other sources.

Stanfordbrige dicitur occurrens, et regem Haroldum et Tostium comitem fratrem suum cum majore parte exercitus sui occidit. Interea dux Normannorum Willelmus, cum consilium Angliam adeundi petisset, et omnes Normanniæ barones audisset unanimes, gavisus est valde. Quibus ad se iterum consiliandos euntibus, Willelmus filius Osberti dapifer ducis interfuit. Qui gravissimum iter ad Angliam capessendam, gentemque fortissimam Anglorum perhibens, contra paucissimos in Angliam ire volentes acerrime litigavit, quod quidam proceres audientes valde gavisi fidem dederunt ei, ut quod ipse diceret omnes concederent. Ingressus igitur ante eos coram duce ait, "Paratus sum in hac expeditione cum eis omnibus devote proficisci." Oportuit ergo omnes Normannorum principes verbum ejus persequi sicut promiserant ei. Classis igitur maxima ad portum Sancti Walerici est reparata. Cum autem rex Anglorum Haroldus, vir bellis acerrimus, apud Eboracum post occisionem regis Norwagiæ et Tosti fratris sui lætus pranderet, et omnes suos inimicos autumaret fuisse detritos; nunciatum est ei Willelmum comitem gentis Normannicæ cum innumera multitudine, utpote qui de tota Gallia sibi fortes auxiliaturos conduxerat, in loco qui Pevensa dicitur classem suam applicuisse, et apud Hastinges castellum construxisse. Rex igitur non segnis advolans versus Londoniam suum movit exercitum, et licet de tota Anglia fortiores quosque in præfato prælio sciret jam cecidisse, mediamque partem sui exercitus nondum cognovisse, [convenisse] quam citius tamen potuit in Suthsaxonia suis hostibus occurrere non formidavit, et novem miliariis ab Hastinga, priusquam tertia pars exercitus sui ordinaretur, ii. idus Octobris, Sabbato, cum eis prælium commisit. Sed quia arcto in loco constituti fuerant Angli, de acie multi se subtraxere, et cum eo perpauci constantes corde remansere. Willelmus autem quinque catervas equitum splendide promovit in hostem. Quibus terribiliter dispositis, quidam nomine Taillefer, dum diu antequam coirent bellatores ensibus jactatis ludens coram gentem Anglorum, dum in eum omnes stuperent, quendam vexilliferum Anglorum interfecit. Secundo similiter egit. Tertio autem idem agens ipse interfectus est. Tunc incipit, lethifera nubes sagittariorum. Tonitruum sequitur ictuum. Insilit ignita collisio galearum et ensium. Cum ergo rex Haroldus totam gentem suam in una acie strictissime locasset, et quasi castellum inde construxisset, impenetrabiles erant Normannis. Docuit igitur dux Willelmus genti suæ fugam simulare. Fugientes autem ad quandam foveam magnam dolo protectam devenerunt, ubi multus numerus eorum corruens oppressus est. Dum igitur Angli insequendo persistunt, acies principalis Norman-

norum mediam Anglorum catervam pertransiit. Quod videntes qui persequebantur, per foveam prædictam redire compulsi, ibidem ex magna parte perierunt. Docuit igitur dux Willelmus ut non in hostem directe sed in aera sagittas sagittarii sursum mittentes hostilem cuneum sagittis cecarent; quod Anglis magno fuit detrimento. Viginti autem equites strenuissimi fidem suam dederunt invicem quod Anglorum catervam perrumpentes signum regium quod vocatur Standard arriperent. Quod dum facerent plures eorum occisi sunt. Pars autem eorum via gladiis facta Standard asportavit. Interea totus imber sagittariorum cecidit circa regem Haroldum, et ipse in oculo percussus corruit crepusculi tempore. Irrumpens autem multitudo equitum regem interfecit vulneratum, necnon comites Gyrth et Leowinum fratres ejus cum eo, et fere nobiliores totius Angliæ, et Normannis a Deo vivente victoria conceditur die Sabbati in festo Sancti Kalixti.

Vol. i., p. 115, line 9. *foret*] et sine prole decederet.[1]

Vol. i., p. 133, see note [1]. Maledixit igitur rex Willelmus Roberto filio suo, quam maledictionem antequam moreretur, evidenter perpessus est.[2]

Vol. i., p. 145, line 32.

Vel sic:—et rectas leges statuere. Suadetur ei ut de matre totius regni ecclesia, scilicet Cantuariensi cogitet, et eam a pristina viduitate et calamitate per institutionem pontificis relevet. Unde Anselmo Beccensi abbati, qui quarto anno oppressionis Anglicanæ ecclesiæ invitatus, immo districta interpellatione ab Hugone Cestrensi comite multisque aliis Anglorum principibus qui eum animarum suarum advocatam elegerant, insuper etiam pro communi utilitate coactis, Angliam ingressus est, Dorobernensem archiepiscopatum concessit. Et cancellario suo Roberto Bloet Lindicolnensem dedit præsulatum. Acta sunt hæc anno præsenti, ii. non. Mar., prima Dominica Quadragesimæ. Præcepit itaque rex ut investiretur Anselmus omnibus ad archiepiscopatum pertinentibus. Atque ut civitas Cantuaria, quam Lamfrancus archiepiscopus suo tempore in beneficio a rege tenebat, et abbatia Sancti Albani, quam non solum dictus Lamfrancus sed et antecessores ejus habuisse noscuntur in alodium, ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis pro redemptione animæ suæ perpetuo jure transirent. Convenientibus ferme totius Angliæ episcopis, quibus intererat Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Anselmum pridie nonas Decembris consecraverunt antistitem. Verum cum ante ordinandi pontificis examinatio-

---

[1] R. de Diceto, 481.

[2] R. de Diceto, 487.

nem Walchelinus Wentanus episcopus rogatu Mauricii Lundoniensis episcopi, cujus hoc officium est, ecclesiastico more electionem scriptam legerat, mox in primo versu Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus graviter offensus eam non jure factam conquestus est. Nam dum diceretur "Fratres et coepiscopi mei, "vestræ fraternitati est cognitum quantum temporis est ex quo "accidentibus variis eventibus hæc Dorobernensis ecclesia, "totius Britanniæ metropolitana, sit viduata pastore," Thomas subintulit dicens, "Si totius Britanniæ metropolitana, ecclesia "Eboracensis, quæ metropolitana esse scitur, metropolitana "non est. Et quidem ecclesiam Cantuariensem primatem esse "scimus, non metropolitanam." Quod auditum ratione subnixum esse intellectum est. Tunc mutata scriptura, pro "totius "Britanniæ metropolitana," "totius Britanniæ primas" scriptum est: et omnis controversia conquievit. Itaque sacravit illum ut primatem totius Britanniæ. Cum igitur inter sacrandum pro ritu ecclesiæ textus evangelii super eum ab episcopis apertus, tentus, et peracta consecratione fuisset inspectus, hæc in summitate paginæ sententia reperta est: "Vocavit multos "et misit servum suum, et cœperunt omnes excusare."[1]

Vol. i., p. 192, slip 1094. Herebertus, qui cognominatur Losenga, ex abbate Rameseie empto præsulatu, Tefordensis ecclesiæ factus est episcopus. Verumtamen erroneum impetum abolevit pœnitentia (*ablative*), Romam namque profectus, Symoniacum baculum et annulum deponens, indulgentia clementissimæ sedis iterum recipere meruit. Domum vero reversus sedem episcopalem Tefordiæ transmutavit ad Nortwic, ibique monachorum congregationem instituit.[2]

---

[1] R. de Diceto, 491.

[2] R. de Diceto, 491.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOVEDEN.

PARS PRIOR.

Incipit Historia Anglorum sive Saxonum post venerabilem Bedam, edita a Magistro Rogero de Hoveden.[1]

[*Prologus.*]

Simeon, 649. In exordio hujus operis genealogiam regum Northanhimbrorum libet demonstrare, ut ad eorum tempora valeamus pervenire, de quibus non est narratum post obitum reverentissimi sacerdotis Bedæ. Ida rex annis xi^cim^. regnavit, quo decedente Glappa uno regnavit anno, quem secutus Adda, octo annis tenuit regni fastigia: quo mortuo Ethelric regnum adeptus est terrenum, quod tenuit septem annis: quo defuncto Theodericus annis quatuor regnum tenens demum vitam perdidit, et Friduwuldo[2] regnum dereliquit, qui septem annis monarchiam tenens Husso reliquit imperium. Ipse quoque septem annis imperium tenens, regnum et Simeon, 650. vitam perdidit. Octavus in regno claruit Ethelfridus, fortissimus regum, qui viginti et octo annis regno potitus est. Huic successit Edwinus rex, qui fidem Christianitatis percipiens, rex et martyr cœlos penetravit, postquam septendecim annis regnaverat. Oswaldus vero post hunc regnum Northanhimbrorum Christianissimus suscepit, quod et octo annis tenuit: quo cœli secreta scandente, regnum post ipsum Oswius[3] rex suscepit, quod et viginti octo annis tenuit; quo

Genealogy of the Northumbrian kings from Ida to Ceolwulf.

[1] The first folio of MS. A. is supplied in a modern hand. The text is corrected by MSS. B., a., and b. The text of A. begins with the word *ejus*, p. 6, line 3, below.

[2] *Friduwuldo*] Fridubuldo, B.

[3] *Oswius*] Oswinus, B.

Succession of the kings of Northumbria.

sublato ad supera, Ecfridus imperium suscepit, qui regnavit annis quindecim; quo a Pictis interfecto, quia injuste vastaverat Hiberniam, regnavit pro eo Alfridus frater ejus. Alfrido vero successit filius ejus Osredus; quo occiso Coenredus regni gubernacula suscepit, cui in regnum successit Osricus. Osrico vero successit Ceolwlfus frater Coenredi: huic Beda historiographus Anglorum historiam destinavit. Simeon, 650.

His peractis libet ex sanctissimi doctoris Anglorum Bedæ rivulis historiæ, fundamentum assumere hujus operis, incipientes ab ultima ipsius prædicti viri sententia,. et sic annos Domini consignantes, et regum tempora cauta ratione disponentes, cæterorumque fidelium vitam et miracula breviter pro posse notantes, optamus summopere cum ipsis æternæ retributionis palmam a Christo percipere. Simeon, 657.

Spiritus alme veni, sine Te non diceris unquam. Simeon, 658.
Munera da linguæ, Qui das in munere linguas.

A.D. 732. Tatwin, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCC°XXX°II°., ut Beda narrat, Berctwaldus [1] archiepiscopus est defunctus, et in ecclesia Sancti Petri sepultus. Eodem anno Tatwine est consecratus archiepiscopus nonus Dorovernensis ecclesiæ, Ethilbaldo rege Merciorum quintum decimum agente annum imperii. Ipso quoque anno Ceolwlfus rex captus, attonsus, et remissus est in regnum. Erat vero miro Scripturarum studio imbutus, ut Beda testatur in exordio sui prooemii veridicus. Acca episcopus eodem anno de sua sede est fugatus, et Cyneberct [2] Lindisfarorum ecclesiæ antistes obiit.

A.D. 733. Consecrations. Eclipse of the sun.

Anno [3] DCC°XXX°III°. Tadwine [4] archiepiscopus accepto [5] ab apostolica sede pallio ordinavit Alwig [6] et Sigfrid [7] episcopos. Eclipsis solis facta est xix°. kalendas Septembris circa horam diei tertiam, ita ut pene totus orbis solis quasi nigerrimo et horrendo scuto videretur esse coopertus.

A.D. 734. Eclipse of the moon.

Anno DCC°XXX°IIII°. Luna sanguineo rubore est perfusa, quasi hora integra, ii°. kalendas Februarii,[8] circa gallicinium; dehinc nigredine subsequente, ad lucem propriam est reversa. Eodem

---

[1] *Berctwaldus*] Breetwaldus, B. Doroberniæ, interlined in Arundel 69; omitted in original, a., &c., after archiepiscopus.

[2] *Cyneberct*] Cynebrect, B. bishop of Lindsey.

[3] *Anno*] Here and in most cases below, the original work from which Hoveden copied used the form *Ab Incarnatione Domini*, which he generally omits.

[4] *Tadwine*] Thatwine, B.

[5] *accepto*] accepta, a. b.

[6] *Alwig*] of Lindsey.

[7] *Sigfrid*] of Selsey.

[8] The total eclipse of the moon took place on the 24th (9 kal. Feb.) of January 734.

Simeon, 658. anno Tadwine[1] archiepiscopus nonus Dorovernensis civitatis in Cantia obiit die tertio kalendas Augusti. Primus ipsius civitatis episcopus erat Augustinus, gloriosus doctor totius regni, ac egregius fundator Christianæ fidei et religionis, quem ordine secuti sunt Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deusdedit, Teodorus doctissimus, Berchtwaldus;[2] quos secutus est Tadwine[3] episcopus, sicut præfati sumus. Eodem anno ordinatus est Frithebertus Hagustaldensis episcopus. A.D. 734. Death of Tatwine.

Simeon, 659. Anno DCC°XXX°V°. Nothelmus archiepiscopus ordinatus est, et Egbert Eboraci antistes, primus post Paulinum, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, genti Northanhimbrorum in archiepiscopatum confirmatus est. Beda doctor obiit in Girvum. A.D. 735. Nothelm and Egbert, Archbishops.

[4] Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCC°XXX°VI°. Nothelmus, pallio a Romano pontifice suscepto, ordinavit tres episcopos; Cuthbertum[5] videlicet, Heordwaldum, et Ethelfridum.[6] A.D. 736. Consecrations.

Anno DCC°XXX°VII°. Aldwine, qui et Wor, episcopus defunctus est, et pro eo Hwitta[7] et Tota,[8] Mercis ac Middelanglis, sunt consecrati antistites. Eodem anno pro Ceolwlfo regnum Northanhimbrorum Eadbert filius patrui ejus suscepit. A.D. 737. Mercian diocese divided.

Anno DCC°XXX°VIII°. Swebriht Orientalium Saxonum rex obiit. A.D. 738.

Anno sequenti, Athelherd rex Occidentalium Saxonum defunctus est, et pro eo Cuthred frater ejus rex constituitur. Ipso quoque anno Nothelmus archiepiscopus, post annos quatuor accepti episcopatus diem obiit, et Aldulf Hrofensis ecclesiæ episcopus est defunctus. A.D. 739. Nothelm dies.

Anno DCC°XL°., Ethelwald Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ antistes migravit ad Dominum, et Kinewlf in episcopatum subrogatus est. Eodem vero anno reverendæ memoriæ Acca episcopus sublevatus est in regionem viventium, peractis in episcopatu Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ annis viginti quatuor, ad cujus ecclesiæ partem Orientalem corpus ejus honorifice conditum est: ac deinde peractis a depositione sua plusquam trecentis annis, a quodam presbytero divina revelatione translatus est, ac in ecclesia intra feretrum condigno A.D. 740. Death of Æthelwald of Lindisfarne and Acca of Hexham.

---

[1] *Tadwine*] Tanwine, a.; Thatwine, B.

[2] *Berchtwaldus*] Brictwaldus, B.

[3] *Tadwine*] Thatwine, B.

[4] Rubric in a.: Nothelmus pallium suscepit.

[5] *Cuthbertum*] of Hereford.

[6] Herewald of Sherborn and Ethelfrith of Elmham.

[7] *Hwitta*] Huutta, b., of Lichfield.

[8] *Tota*] or Torthelm, of Leicester.

A.D. 740. honore positus, ubi usque hodie in magna veneratione habetur; Simeon, 659. ob cujus sanctitatis meritum omnibus demonstrandum, casula, et tunica, et sudarium, quæ cum sanctissimo ejus corpore in terra posita erant, non solum speciem, sed etiam fortitudinem pristinam usque in hodiernum diem servant. Ipso autem Simeon, 661. anno, quo Sanctus Acca episcopus ad cœlestia regna migravit, Arwine filius Eadulfi occisus est die nono[1] kalendas Januarii, feria septima. Eodem anno Cuthbert undecimus Dorovernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopatum suscepit. At vero post Aldulfum Hrofensis ecclesiæ Dun sacerdotium accepit.

Death of Archbishop Cuthbert.

A.D. 741. [2]Anno DCC°XL°I°. monasterium in Eboraca civitate succensum est nono kalendas Maii feria prima.

Fire at York.

A.D. 744. [3]Anno DCC°XL°IV°. factum est prælium inter Pictos et Britones; A.D. 745. sequenti vero anno visi sunt in aere ignei ictus, quales nunquam ante mortales illius ævi viderunt, et ipsi pene per totam noctem visi sunt, kalendis scilicet Januarii. Eodem quoque Simeon, 662. anno, ut quidam referunt, dominus Wilfridus,[4] Eboracæ civitatis episcopus, migravit ad Dominum tertio kalendas Maii; nos vero dicimus, quod priusquam Beda suam historiam explicuisset, translatus sit ille primus Wilfridus ad cœlestem patriam. Ipsis diebus Lundoniæ civitatis episcopus nomine Inguald obiit. His temporibus floruit Sanctus Guthlacus.

Death of bishop Wilfrid.

A.D. 749. Anno DCC°XL°IX°. Elfwald rex Orientalium Anglorum defunctus est, regnumque Hunbenna et Albert sibi diviserunt.

A.D. 750. Sequenti anno, hoc est anno DCC°L°., Eadbert rex Kiniwlfum[5] episcopum in urbem Bebban captivum adduxerat, basilicamque beati Petri obsidere fecit in Lindisfarnea. Offa quoque filius Alfridi ad reliquias Sancti Cuthberti pontificis, innocens coactive accurrebat: pene defunctus fame, de ecclesia sine armis abstractus est. Eodem anno Alwich[6] episcopus obiit et Aldulf diaconus ejus ordinatur in episcopatum. Cuthred autem, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, surrexit contra Ethilbaldum regem Merciorum.

Bishop Kiniwulf taken prisoner by King Eadbert.

A.D. 752. Anno ab Incarnatione Dominica DCC°L°II°. eclipsis lunæ facta est, pridie kalendas Augusti.

A.D. 754. Anno DCC°L°IIII°. Bonifacius archiepiscopus, qui et Winfridus, Francorum, martyrio coronatus est cum quinquaginta tribus.

Martyrdom of S. Boniface.

---

[1] *nono*] decimo, Sim. D. In 740, the Saturday was the 24th; in 741, the 23rd of December. The dates in the text are therefore consistent.

[2] Rubric in a.: Monasterium Eboraci crematur.

[3] Rubric in a.: Sanctus Wilfridus obiit, et floruit Guthlacus.

[4] *Wilfridus*] ii. interlined, A.; secundus, Sim. D. It was bishop Wilfrid of Worcester who died in 745.

[5] *Kiniwlfum*] of Lindisfarne.

[6] *Alwich*] of Lindsey.

Simeon, 662. Sequenti anno Cuthred[1] rex Occidentalium Saxonum obiit, cujus regni sceptra Sigbert[2] accepit. A.D. 755.

[3] Anno DCC°L°VI°. Eadbert rex decimo octavo anno regni sui, et Unnust rex Pictorum duxerunt exercitum ad urbem Alclutit,[4] ibique Britones inde conditionem receperunt, prima die mensis Augusti; decima autem die mensis ejusdem interiit exercitus pene omnis, quem duxit de Ouama ad Niwambirig,[5] id est ad novam civitatem. Eodem anno Balthere anachorita vitam sanctorum secutus est, et migravit ad Dominum: Luna autem sanguineo rubore superducta octavo kalendas Decembris quindecima ætate, id est plena, sicque paulatim decrescentibus tenebris ad lucem pristinam pervenit: nam, mirabiliter, ipsam lunam sequente lucida stella, et pertranseunte, tanto spatio eam antecedebat illuminatam, quanto sequebatur, antequam esset obscurata.

A.D. 756. Dumbarton reduced by the Northumbrians and Picts.

Eclipse of the moon (properly Nov. 23, 755).

Anno DCC°L°VII°. Ethelbald rex Merciorum a suis tutoribus fraudulenter occisus est. Eodem vero anno Merci bellum civile inter se inierunt: Bearnred in fugam verso, Offa rex victor exstitit.

A.D. 757. Offa, king of Mercia.

Anno DCC°L°VIII°. Eadbert rex sponte contulit filio suo regnum sibi a Deo collatum, nomine Osulfo, qui uno anno regnum tenuit, amisit, perdidit; quia occisus est nequiter a sua familia juxta Mechilwongtune nono kalendas Augusti.

A.D. 758. Resignation of Eadbert of Northumbria.

Simeon 663. Sequenti vero anno Ethelwald, qui et Moll[6] dictus est, regnare incipit nonas Augusti; cujus tertio anno inchoante gravissimum juxta Eladunum gestum est bellum VII°. idus Augusti, in quo cecidit Oswine post triduum prima feria. Ethelwald[7] vero rex præfatus victoriam sumpsit in bello. Ipso quoque anno Unnust Pictorum rex defunctus est.

A.D. 759. Æthelwald Moll, king of Northumbria.

A.D. 761.

Anno DCC°LX°II°. Ethelwald rex præfatus accepit reginam Etheldritam kalendas Novembris in Cateracta.

A.D. 762. His marriage.

Tertio denique anno, hoc est DCC°LX°IV°., nix ingens gelu ligata, omnibus retro sæculis incomparabilis, a principio hyemis pene usque ad medium veris terram oppressit, cujus vi arbores oleraque magna ex parte aruerunt, ac marina animalia multa inventa sunt mortua. [8] Eodem quoque anno Ceolwlf, quondam rex, tunc Domini nostri Jesu Christi servus monachusque, obiit. Huic vero regi Beda historiographus veridicus direxit epi-

A.D. 764. Death of Ceolwulf, ex-king of Northumbria.

---

[1] *Cuthred*] Cutherd, A.
[2] *Sigbert*] Sigberth, a.
[3] Rubric in a.: De urbe Alclud.
[4] *Alclutit*] Alclut, a. b.; Alcwith, Sim. D.
[5] *Niwambirig*] Niwanbirig, a. b.
[6] *Moll*] Mollis, A.
[7] *Ethelwald*] Ethewald, A.; Æthelwald, a. Ælwald, b.
[8] Rubric in a.; De rege Ceolwlfo monacho.

A.D. 764. Account of king Ceolwulf. stolam sic inchoando: "Gloriosissimo regi Ceolwlfo Beda famulus Christi et presbyter. Historiam gentis Anglorum, quam nuper edideram, libentissime tibi desideranti, rex, et prius ad legendum, et post ad scribendum, ac plenius ex tempore meditandum transmitto." Ipse rex postmodum abrenuntians sæculo in Lindisfarnensi ecclesia monachus effectus, cœlesti regno militavit; cujus corpus postea delatum in ecclesiam Northam, multis ibidem, ut fertur ab habitatoribus ipsius loci, claruit miraculis. Hoc rege, jam monacho facto, efficiente, data est Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ monachis licentia bibendi vinum vel cervisiam; ante enim non nisi lac vel[1] aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem Sancti Aidani primi ejusdem ecclesiæ antistitis, et monachorum, qui cum illo de Scotia venientes, ibidem donante rege Oswaldo mansionem acceperant; et cum magna districtione, futuræ vitæ servientes degere gaudebant.[2] Simeon, 663. Simeon, 139, (ed. Twysden).

Frequent fires. Anno eodem multæ urbes monasteriaque, atque villæ per diversa loca, necnon et regna repentino igne vastatæ sunt, verbi gratia, Streburg, Wenta[3] civitas, Homunic,[4] Lundonia civitas, Eboraca civitas, Donacestir; aliaque multa loca illa plaga concussit. Deaths of Bishops. Eodem anno Frehelm presbyter et abbas obiit; et episcopus Merciorum gentis nomine Totta[5] defunctus est; et Eadbert pro eo ordinatus est episcopus. His quoque temporibus Frithwald episcopus Candidæ Casæ ex hoc sæculo migravit, pro quo Pechtwine in loco illius episcopus subrogatur. Simeon, 663.

A.D. 765. Æthelwald Moll succeeded by Alcred. Anno DCC°LX°V°. ignei ictus in aere visi sunt, quales quondam apparuerunt tempore nocturno kalendis Januarii, ut superius notavimus. Eodem anno Ethelwald regnum Northanhymbrorum amisit in Wincanheale tertio kalendas Novembris, cui Alcred, prosapia Idæ regis, ut quidam dicunt, successit in regnum. Hemeli quoque Merciorum episcopus obiit. Cuthfrid ordinatus est episcopus in Licetfeldan; ea quoque tempestate Bregwine archiepiscopus defunctus Lambertum[6] habuit successorem; Jaenbert, Archbishop of Canterbury. Aldulfo quoque antistiti defuncto in Lindisse Ceolwlf successit.

---

[1] *vel*] om. A.

[2] *Ipse . . . gaudebant*] This passage is repeated below, p. 45, in the account of the possessions of the See of S. Cuthbert under King Alfred. It occurs in Simeon of Durham under the year 854.

[3] *Streburg, Wenta*] Stretbugrwenta, a.

[4] *Homunic*] Homwic, S.D.

[5] Of Leicester.

[6] *Lambertum*] properly Jainbert, or Jaenberht; the date of his succession here given differs from that of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, but is confirmed by the existing charters. See especially Kemble's *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici*, vol. i. p. lxxxv. to lxxxvii., and the Life of Bregwin, printed by Wharton in the Anglia Sacra, ii. 75.

Simeon, 663. Anno DCC°LX°VI°. Egbert archiepiscopus Eboracæ civitatis in pace Christi requievit, decimo tertio kalendas Decembris, tricesimo quarto anno episcopatus sui: eodem anno Sanctus Frithebertus Hagustaldensis episcopus obiit. A.D. 766. Archbishop Egbert dies.

Anno DCC°LX°VII°. Albert Eboracæ civitatis, et Alchmund Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ, consecrati sunt episcopi octavo kalendas Maii. Eodem anno Albert[1] ad Ealdsexos[2] ordinatus est episcopus, et Ceolwlf in Lindisse consecratus est episcopus. Ipso quoque anno Etha anachorita feliciter in Cric obiit, qui locus distat ab Eboraca civitate decem milliariis. A.D. 767. Consecration of four bishops.

Anno DCC°LX°VIII°. Eadbert, decimo anno amissionis regni sui, in clericatu et Dei servitio feliciter emisit spiritum. Eodem anno Pipin rex Francorum obiit et Hadwine ordinatur episcopus ad Machui.[3] A.D. 768. The ex-king Eadbert dies.

Anno DCC°LX°IX°. Ceteracte succensa est ab Earnredo tyranno, et ipse infelix eodem anno incendio periit Dei judicio. A.D. 769. Catterick burnt.

Simeon, 664. Anno DCC°LXX°I°. Offa rex Merciorum Hestingorum gentem armis subegerat. Eodem anno Karlmon rex Francorum subita præventus infirmitate defunctus est, sed et frater ejus Karolus, cum dimidium prius patris obtinuisset principatum, totius regni monarchiam, et Francorum fastigium populorum dehinc est indeptus invicta fortitudine. A.D. 771. Charles, king of the Franks.

Anno DCC°LXX°II° Karolus Francorum rex collecta manu valida, et bellicosis suæ majestatis viris conjunctis, Saxonum gentem est ingressus, multisque ex principibus ac nobilibus viris amissis in sua se recepit. A.D. 772. Charles attacks the Saxons.

Anno ab Incarnatione Dominica DCC°LXX°III., Hadwinus Mygensis ecclesiæ antistes obiit et Leuthfrit pro eo subrogatus est episcopus. Wlfeth[4] quoque abbas Beverlacensis obiit, et Albertus, Eboracensis archiepiscopus, pallium ab Adriano papa sibi directum accepit. A.D. 773. Bishops of Mayo.

Anno DCC°LXX°IV°. Eadwlf dux obiit, et Alcredus rex consilio et consensu suorum, omni regiæ familiæ ac principum destitutus societate, exilio imperii majestatem mutavit. Primo in urbem Bebban, postea ad regem Pictorum nomine Cinoth,[5] cum paucis fugæ comitibus se contulit. [6] Bebba vero civitas, A.D. 774. King Alcred, exiled.

---

[1] *Albert*] Aluberht, Sim. D. (of London ?)

[2] *Ealdsexos*] Eastsexos, a., b.; if the former be the true reading, this is probably the last case of the consecration of a bishop for Germany, in England.

[3] *Machui*] Machuii, b., Mayo of the Saxons; on the West coast of Ireland: a settlement formed by bishop Colman after his departure from England in 664.

[4] *Wlfeth*] Wlfeht, a., b.

[5] *Cinoth*] Cynoth, b.

[6] "De situ Castri de Bamburg." Rubric in a.

A.D. 774. Description of Bamborough. urbs est munitissima, non admodum magna sed quasi duorum vel trium agrorum spatium, habens utrum introitum cavatum, et gradibus miro modo exaltatum; habet in summitate montis ecclesiam perpulchre factam, in qua est scrinium preciosum, in quo involuta pallio jacet dextra manus Sancti Oswaldi regis incorrupta, sicut narrat Beda[1] historiographus hujus gentis. Est in occidente, et in summitate ipsius civitatis fons miro cavatus opere, dulcis ad potandum, et purissimus ad videndum. Simeon, 664. Bed. H. E. iii. 6.

Ethelredus quoque filius Ethelwaldi pro eo regnum suscepit, et vix quinque annos tenuit, ut post hæc clarebit. Eadem tempestate Karolus rex Francorum invictissimus nobilissimam Longobardorum urbem Ticinam longa obsidione vexatam, simul cum ipso rege Desiderio ac totius Italiæ imperio, cepit. Conquest of Lombardy.

A.D. 775. Anno DCC°LXX°V°. rex Pictorum Cynoth obiit, et Eadulf dux per insidias fraudulenter captus, post spatium exigui temporis occiditur, sepelitur, obliviscitur. Ebbi quoque abbas obiit. Karolus quoque rex, ut præfati sumus, bellicosissimus Francorum, cum omni exercitus sui virtute vallatus, confortatus, glorificatus, gentem Saxonum est ingressus centuriatus, atque legionibus stipatus. Quam regionem gravissimis præliis vastavit, igne, ferroque debacchando; quia erat efferatus animo. Urbes denique duas Sigeburch, et Aresburch, atque provinciam Bohweri, olim a Francis oppressam, suo potenter adjecit summo imperio.[2] Conquest of Westphalia.

A.D. 777. Bishops of Whithern. Anno DCC°LXX°VII°. Pechwine episcopus Candidæ Casæ migravit ad Dominum, cui Ethelbricth successit.

A.D. 779. Æthelred succeeded by Elfwald. Anno DCC°LXX°IX. Ethelredo quippe de regali solio expulso et in exilium fugato, cogitur mœstos inire modos. Elfwald vero filius Osulfi, Ethelredo expulso, regnum Northanhymbrorum suscepit, tenuitque decem annis. Erat enim iste rex pius et justus, ut sequens demonstrabit articulus.

A.D. 780. Anno DCC°LXXX°. Osbald et Ethelheard duces congregato exercitu, Bearn patricium Elfwaldi regis in Seletune succenderunt nono kalendas Januarii. Eodem anno Alberth archiepicopus[3] ex hac luce migravit ad Christum, Eanbaldo, se adhuc vivente, ad eandem sedem ordinato. Cyniwlf quoque episcopus[4] eodem anno relictis sæcularibus curis, Higbaldo guber- Simeon, 665. Death of Archbishop Albert.

[1] *Beda*] interlined in A.

[2] See Einhard, *Annales*, A.D. 775. The names are there given, Sigiburgus (on the Ruhr), Æresburgus, and "pagus qui Bucki vocatur" (Bückeburg.)

[3] Of York. He consecrated his successor two years and two months before his death, *i.e.* about September 778. Alcuin *de Pontiff.* (Gale, p. 730).

[4] Of Lindisfarne.

Simeon, 665. nacula ecclesiæ cum electione totius familiæ commisit. Eodem etiam anno Eanbald episcopus pallium ab apostolica sede sibi directum accepit, qui eo accepto in episcopatum solemniter est confirmatus. A.D. 780. Succession of Eanbald.

Anno DCC°LXXX°I°. Alchmundus Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ præsul, eximiæ religionis et magnarum virtutum vir, regnante glorioso rege Elfwaldo, anno tertio regni ejus, septimo idus Septembris, migravit ad Christum, et ei Sanctus Tilbertus[1] successit. A.D. 781 Bishops of Hexham.

Simeon, 666. Anno DCC°LXXX°III°., qui est annus quintus Elfwaldi regis justi, Werburc, quondam regina Merciorum, tunc vero abbatissa, defuncta est, semper cum Christo victura. Eo tempore[2] Kiniwlf episcopus, anno sui episcopatus quadragesimo, ad cœlestia regna migravit. A.D. 783. Death of Werburg and Kynewulf.

Anno DCC°LXXX°VI°., qui est annus Elfwaldi regis octavus, Bothwine venerabilis abbas Hripensis ecclesiæ in conspectu astantium fratrum ad cœlestem patriam transiit, et Abbert pro eo electus est, et ordinatus. Eodem anno Aldulf consecratus est episcopus ab Eanbaldo archiepiscopo, Tilbertoque et Higbaldo episcopis[3] apud Corabrige. His diebus Rictrith jamdudum regina tunc abbatissa transiit ad Dominum. Ea tempestate Kinwlf Occidentalium Saxonum rex a perfido tyranno Kinehardo lugubri morte interfectus est, et ille crudelis interemptor ab Osredo duce in ultionem domini sui immisericorditer interfectus est; regnumque Occidentalium Saxonum Brictrich[4] accepit. Tempore illo legati ab apostolica sede a domino Adriano papa ad Britanniam directi sunt, in quibus venerabilis episcopus Georgius[5] primatum tenuit, qui antiquam inter nos amicitiam, et fidem catholicam, quam Sanctus Gregorius papa per beatum Augustinum docuit, innovantes, honorifice suscepti sunt a regibus et præsulibus sive a primatibus hujus patriæ, et in pace domum reversi sunt cum magnis donis, ut justum erat. A.D. 786. Abbot Botwin dies. Murder of Kynewulf, king of Wessex. Roman legation.

---

[1] *Tilbertus*] Albertus, b.; corrected in a.

[2] *Eo tempore*] Ipso quoque tempore, Sim. D.

[3] *archiepiscopo ... episcopis*] om. b. This is Aldulf, bishop of Mayo, who attended the legatine council this year. Cf. Spelman, *Conc.*, i. 301. Wharton, A.S. i. 429, 430, has made him bishop of Lichfield, and thereby thrown the whole history of the archbishopric of Lichfield into confusion, following the error of William of Malmesbury, *G.R.*

[4] *Brictrich*] Brihctric, b.

[5] *Georgius*] bishop of Ostia; his companion was Theophylact, bishop of Todi. Their acts are recorded in a report to the pope, to be found in the *Concilia*; Spelman, i. 291. Wilkins, i. 145.

A.D. 787. Ecclesiastical Council.

Anno DCC°LXXX°VII°. Synodus congregata est in Pincanhale[1] quarto nonas Septembris, in quo tempore Albert abbas Hripensis decessit, et ei Sigred successit. Simeon, 666.

A.D. 788. King Elfwald murdered.

[2] Anno DCC°LXXX°VIII°., Elfwaldus rex, conjuratione facta, ab ejus patricio Sigga nomine, miserabili occisus est morte, nono kalendas Octobris, in loco qui dicitur Scytlecester,[3] juxta murum. Corpus vero eximii regis ad Hagustaldensem ecclesiam cum magnis monachorum cuneis, et[4] clericorum cantilenis perlatum est, et in ecclesia Sancti Andreæ apostoli honorifice sepultum. Cui successit Osredus filius Alcredi regis, nepos ejus pro eo, annum unum. In loco vero, quo Elfwaldus rex justus interfectus est, lux cœlitus emissa dicitur videri a plurimis. Constructa est ibidem ecclesia a fidelibus illius loci, atque in honore Dei, et Sanctorum Cuthberti episcopi et Oswaldi regis et martyris consecrata. Simeon, 667.

Osred succeeds.

A.D. 790. Æthelred succeeds Osred.

Anno DCC°XC°. Ethelredus de exilio liberatus est, et iterum per gratiam Christi regni solio subthronizatus est. Osredus autem rex dolo suorum principum circumventus, ac regno privatus, attonsus est in Eboraca civitate, et postea necessitate coactus exilium petit. Cujus anno secundo Eardulf dux captus est, et ad Hripum perductus, ibique occisus extra portam[5] a rege præfato. Cujus corpus fratres cum Gregorianis concentibus ad ecclesiam portantes et in tentorio foris ponentes, post mediam noctem vivus est in ecclesia inventus. Eodem anno Badwlf ad Candidam Casam ordinatur episcopus, in loco qui dicitur Hearrahaldh, quod interpretari potest locus dominorum. Anno vero priori Ethelbert episcopus,[6] sua sede relicta, Sancto Tilberto defuncto, episcopatum Hagustaldensem in propriam accepit dominationem.

Escape of the Ealdorman Eardulf.

Bishops of Whithern and Lindisfarn.

A.D. 791. Murder of Elfwald's sons.

Anno DCC°XC°I°. filii Elfwaldi regis ab Eboraca civitate vi abstracti, et de ecclesia principali per promissa fallaciæ abducti, et miserabiliter sunt perempti ab Ethelredo rege in Wonwaldremere: quorum nomina Elf et Efwine fuerunt. Eo quoque anno Lambertus Dorovernensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus migravit ad Dominum, cui Etheleardus, Hludensis monasterii abbas, electus et consecratus successit.

Death of Archbishop Jaenberht.

A.D. 792.

Anno DCC°XC°II°. Karolus rex Francorum misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo

[1] *Pincanhale*] Pincanhala, b.

[2] " Elfwaldus rex occiditur apud " Shitleschestre juxta murum." Rubric, a.

[3] *Scytlecester*] Scytlescester, b.; Scythlescester, Sim. D.

[4] *cuneis et*] om. b.

[5] *portam*] monasterii, ins. a., b., Sim. D.

[6] Of Whithern.

Simeon, 667. libro, heu proh dolor, multa inconvenientia, et veræ fidei contraria, reperientes;[1] maxime, quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum non minus quam trecentorum vel eo amplius episcoporum unanima assertione confirmatum,[2] imagines adorare debere, quod omnino ecclesia Dei execratur. Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam ex auctoritate divinarum scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam; illamque cum eodem libro et persona episcoporum ac principum nostrorum regi Francorum attulit. Ipso quoque anno Osredus de exilio sacramentis et fide quorundam principum, clam de Eufania venit, ibique deficientibus ab eo suis militibus, captus est a rege præfato Ethelred,[3] atque eo jubente occisus in loco qui dicitur Dyngburch[4] decimo octavo kalendas Octobris; corpus vero ejus ad ostium Tini fluminis perlatum est, et in basilica ejusdem eximii cœnobii sepultum. Eodem anno Ethelred rex accepit reginam Elfledam, filiam Offæ regis Merciorum, tertio kalendas Octobris, apud Cataractam.

A.D. 792. Measures of Charles and Alcuin against Image-worship.

Osred, coming from Man, is taken and slain.

[5]Anno DCC°XC°III., qui est annus Ethelredi regis quartus, dira prodigia miseram Anglorum terruere gentem. Siquidem fulmina abominanda, et dracones per aera, igneique ictus sæpe Simeon, 668. vibrare et volitare videbantur: quæ scilicet signa famem magnam, et multorum hominum stragem pessimam atque inedicibilem, quæ subsecuta est, demonstravere. Ipso quoque anno Sigga dux, qui interfecit Elfwaldum regem, interiit propria nece, cujus corpus ad insulam Lindisfarnensem perlatum est nono kalendas Maii. Lindisfarnensis insula magna est per ambitum, verbi gratia, octo vel amplius milliariis se extendens: in qua est nobile monasterium, quo eximius Cuthbertus antistes positus erat, cum aliis præsulibus, qui ejus successores dignissimi exstiterant, de quibus dici congruenter potest, quod canitur, "Corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta Ecclus. xliv. 14. "sunt." Lindis dicitur flumen, quod in mare excurrit, duorum pedum latitudinem habens, quando Ledon fuerit, id est minor æstus, et videri potest; quando vero Malina fuerit, id est major æstus maris, tunc nequit Lindis videri. Æstus oceani lunam sequitur, tanquam ejus aspiratione retrorsum trahatur in accessum, ejusque impulsu retracto refundatur. Qui quotidie bis affluere, et remeare unius horæ dodrante, et

A.D. 793. Portents.

Description of Lindisfarne.

[1] *reperientes*] reperiebantur, Savile.

[2] *confirmatum*] fuerit, ins. Savile.

[3] *Ethelred*] om. b.

[4] Dynburg, a.; Chynburg, b.; Dyngburch, A.; Aynburg, Sim. D.

[5] Rubric in a.: De insula Lyndisfarnensi. Hæc secundum Gildam vocata fuit temporibus Britonum Medcaut.

A.D. 793. Description of Lindisfarne and Farne.

semiuncia, quæ est dimidia, transmissa videtur, ut Beda[1] testatur. [2] Farne autem insula est[3] qua beatissimus Cuthbertus heremiticam duxit vitam. Non tanta est ut[4] Lindisfarne, sed est posita in mare, magnis exturbata fluctibus diebus et noctibus. Simeon, 668.

Arrival of the pagans.

Eodem sane anno pagani ab aquilonali climate navali exercitu, ut aculeati crabrones, Britanniam venientes, hac illacque, ut dirissimi lupi, discurrentes, prædantes, mordentes, interficientes, non solum jumenta, boves et oves, verum et sacerdotes, levitasque, chorosque monachorum, atque sanctimonialium, veniunt, ut præfati sumus, ad Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam, miserabili prædatione, vastant cuncta, calcant sancta pollutis vestigiis, altaria suffodiunt, et omnia thesauraria sanctæ ecclesiæ rapiunt, quosdam e fratribus interficiunt, nonnullos secum vinctos assumunt, perplurimos opprobriis vexatos nudos projiciunt, aliquos in mare demergunt. Quibus recte illud aptari potest,

" Fortuna vices, premit insontes
" Debita sceleri noxia pœna.
" At perversi resident celso
" More solio, sanctaque calcant
" Injusta vice colla nocentes.
" Latet obscuris condita virtus
" Clara tenebris, justusque tulit
" Crimen iniqui."

Boethius, Cons. Phil. Lib. I

Illis vero recedentibus, et de præda vel pravis actibus gratulantibus, quid infortunii sequens annus attulerit prosequemur.

A.D. 794. Tynemouth plundered by the Danes.

[5] Anno DCC°XC°IIII°. prædicti pagani portum Ecfridi regis vastantes, monasterium[6] Doni amnis prædarunt; sed Sanctus Cuthbertus non sine punitione eos sinebat abire. Princeps quippe eorum ibidem crudeli nece occisus est ab Anglis, et post exigui temporis spatium vis tempestatis eorum naves quassavit, perdidit, contrivit, et perplurimos mare operuit. Nonnulli itaque ad littus sunt ejecti, et mox interfecti absque misericordia; et hæc recte illis contigerunt, quoniam se non lædentes graviter læserunt. Ea tempestate Ethelheard, Simeon, 669.

---

[1] Beda, *de Natura Rerum.*

[2] Rubric in a.: De Insula dicta Ffarne elande.

[3] *est*] Savile inserts *in.*

[4] *ut*] om. A., B.; supplied from a.

[5] Rubric in a.: Dani cum eorum rege devicti sunt apud Tynemouth.

[6] *monasterium*] ad ostium, ins. a., b.

Simeon, 669. dux quondam, tunc autem clericus, in Eboraca civitate obiit. A.D. 794.
Adrianus [1] papa venerandus eodem anno migravit ad Dominum septimo kalendas Januarii, qui sedit annos viginti sex, menses decem, dies duodecim. Est quoque in ecclesia Sancti Petri apostolorum principis sepultus, et super sepulcrum ejus Platoma,[2] id est marmor, parieti infixa gesta bonorum ejus aureis litteris, et versibus scripta jubente rege Karolo.

Death of Pope Adrian. (A.D. 795.)

Anno DCC°XC°V.° idem rex fortissimus Karolus cum manu valida Hunorum gentem armis vastando subegerat, et eorum principe fugato, et ipsius exercitu superato vel perempto, sublatis inde quindecim plaustris auro, argentoque, palliisque holosericis preciosis repletis, quorum quodque quatuor boves trahebant; quæ omnia idem rex propter victoriam a Domino sibi concessam, Christi ecclesiis atque pauperibus dividere præcepit, grates Deo referens, cum omnibus secum pugnantibus.

A.D. 795. Charles conquers the Huns.

Anno DCC°XC°VI°., qui est annus septimus Ethelredi regis, Alric quondam dux, tunc clericus in Eboraca civitate, obiit, et paulo post, id est quinto kalendas Aprilis, eclipsis lunæ facta est inter gallicinium et auroram. Eodem anno Ethelred rex occisus est apud Cobre xiiii. kalendas Maii. Osbald vero patricius a quibusdam ipsius gentis principibus in regnum est constitutus, et post viginti septem dies omni regiæ familiæ ac principum est societate destitutus, fugatusque, et de regno expulsus, atque ad insulam Lindisfarnensem cum paucis secessit, et inde ad regem Pictorum cum quibusdam e fratribus
p. 12. navigio pervenit. Eardulf enim, de quo supra diximus, filius Earnulfi, de exilio vocatus regni infulis est sublimatus, et Eboraci in ecclesia Sancti Petri ad altare beati Pauli apostoli ubi illa gens primum perceperat gratiam baptismi, consecratus est septimo kalendas Junii.[3] Et non multo post, id est septimo kalendas Augusti, Offa potentissimus rex Merciorum postquam xxxix. annos regnavit, defunctus est, cui successit in regno filius ejus Ecfreth, quique obiit eodem anno. Kenulfus pater Kenelmi [4] quoque dehinc diadema regni Merciorum suscepit, glorioseque tenuit invicta virtute sui potentatus. Ipso quoque anno Ceolwlf [5] in Lindisse obiit; et paulo post, id est quarto idus Augusti, Eanbaldus archiepiscopus obiit in monasterio quod dicitur Etlete, corpusque ejus magno comitante agmine

A.D. 796. Eclipse of the moon: death of Æthelred.

Osbald succeeds, and is expelled after twenty-seven days.

Eardulf consecrated King of Northumbria.

Death of Offa and succession Egferth and Kenulf in Mercia.

---

[1] Adrian's pontificate really lasted only 23 years, ten months and seventeen days. Cf. the authorities in Jaffé, p. 215.

[2] *Platoma*] Platona, A., B.

[3] *Junii*] Julii, a., b.

[4] *pater Kenelmi*] om. b.

[5] *Ceolwlf*] bishop of Lindsey.

A.D. 796. Eanbald II., Archbishop of York.

ad Eboracam civitatem portantes, in ecclesia beati Petri apostoli sepultum est honorifice. Statim vero alter Eanbaldus ejusdem ecclesiæ presbyter electus est, et consecratus ab episcopis Ethelberto, et Higbaldo atque Badwlfo, apud Sochesburg. Simeon, 669.

A.D 797. Eanbald receives the pall.

Anno DCC°XC°VII°. Eanbaldus ille posterior, accepto ab apostolica sede pallio, in archiepiscopatum genti Northanhymbrorum solemniter confirmatus est, sexto idus Septembris in Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ; unde poeta ait:

"Splendet honore dies est in quo virgo Maria
"Stirpe David regis procedens edita mundo."

Eadred, bishop of Hexham.

Eodem anno Ethelbertus episcopus Hagustaldensis obiit, cui Eadred successit, ordinatus ab Eanbaldo archiepiscopo et Higbaldo episcopo, in loco qui dicitur Wdaforda.[1]

A.D. 798. Eardulf overcomes a conspiracy.

Anno DCC°XC°VIII°., conjuratione facta ab interfectoribus Ethelredi regis, Wada dux in illa conjuratione cum illis bellum inierunt, contra Erdulfum regem, in loco qui appellatur ab Anglis Billingahoh, juxta Walalege. Et ex utraque parte plurimis interfectis, Wada dux cum suis in fugam versus est, et Eardulfus rex victoriam regaliter sumpsit ex inimicis. Simeon, 670. Eodem anno Lundonia igne repentino cum magna hominum multitudine consumpta est. His tempestatibus Kenulf rex Merciorum, cum omni exercitus sui virtute provinciam Cantuariorum ingressus, miserabili prædatione[2] pene usque ad internecionem potenter vastavit. Captus est eodem tempore Eadbert rex Cantuariorum, cujus oculos præcepit avelli rex Merciorum, et manus immisericorditer præcidi, pro superbia et fraude eorum. Deinde Domini suffragio potitus adjecit imperium ipsius regni suo imperio, imponens sibi coronam in capite, sceptrumque in manu. Eodem quoque anno, qui est annus tertius Kenwlfi prædicti regis, synodo congregata in loco qui dicitur Pinchanhal,[3] præsidente Eanbaldo archiepiscopo, aliisque[4] quamplurimis principalibus et ecclesiasticis viris, multa de utilitate sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ, gentisque Northanhymbrorum omniumque provinciarum consiliati sunt, et de observatione Paschalis festi, et judiciorum divinorum atque sæcularium, quæ in diebus justorum regum et ducum bonorum, atque sanctorum episcoporum aliorumque sapientium, clericorum scilicet atque monachorum, quorum prudentia et justitia atque

London burnt. Kenulf conquers Kent. Synod under Archbishop Eanbald.

---

[1] *Wdaforda*] Wadaforda, a., b.; Wduforda, Sim. D.
[2] *prædatione*] prædicatione, A.
[3] *Pinchanhal*] Pincanhalh, a., b.
[4] *que*] om. b.

Simeon, 670. divinis artibus status regni Northanhymbrorum suaviter redolebat his temporibus. Præcepit dominus antistes Eanbaldus, recitari quinque synodorum fidem, de quibus in Historia Anglorum [1] sic scribitur, "suscipimus sanctas et universales "quinque synodos beatorum, et Deo acceptabilium patrum, "sicut præsentis libri continet textus," et cætera. A.D. 798. Northumbrian Synod.

Simeon, 671. Anno DCC°XC°IX°. naves plurimæ in Britannico vi tempestatis quassatæ sunt, atque concussæ, vel collisæ, et cum magna multitudine hominum dimersæ sunt. Eodem anno Brorda Merciorum princeps, qui et Hildegils vocabatur, defunctus est. Abbas vero vocitatus More a Tilthegno [2] præfecto suo lugubri morte interemptus est. Ipso quoque tempore Osbald, quondam dux et patricius, et ad tempus rex, tunc vero abbas, obiit, et in Eboracensi ecclesia sepultus est. Aldred vero dux, interfector Ethelredi regis, a Thormundo duce in ultionem domini sui ejusdem regis interfectus est. A.D. 799. Shipwrecks; deaths of Brorda, "Abbas More," Osbald, and Aldred.

Anno DCCC°. Heardred Hagustaldensis ecclesiæ præsul anno tertio episcopatus sui obiit, cui Eanbricth successit. Tempore quoque eodem, ante Natale Domini, nono kalendas Januarii, ventus ingens ab Affrico, vel a Favonio exsurgens, suo inenarrabili flatu urbes multas, domos, ac villas perplurimas per diversa loca destruxit et ad solum diruit. Arbores quoque innumeræ radicitus evulsæ, et ad terram prostratæ sunt. Quo anno inundatio maris ultra terminos suos profluxit; facta est etiam magna pecorum strages in locis diversis. A.D. 800. Bishops of Hexham. Wind and storm.

Simeon, 672. Anno DCCC°I°. Edwine, qui et Eda dictus est, quondam dux Northamhymbrorum, tunc vero per gratiam Salvatoris mundi abbas in Dei servitio roboratus, diem clausit ultimum in conspectu fratrum xviii°. kalendas Februarii. His temporibus Eardulf rex Northanhymbrorum duxit exercitum contra Kenwlfum regem Merciorum propter susceptionem inimicorum ejus. Qui et ipse congregans exercitum secum aliarum promovit auxilia provinciarum plurima. Longa inter eos expeditione facta, tandem, cum consilio episcoporum ac principum Anglorum ex utraque parte, pacem inierunt per gratiam Regis Angelorum,[3] factaque firmissima pacis concordia inter eos, quam sub jurejurando in evangelio Christi ambo reges confirmaverunt, Deum testem atque fidejussorem interponentes, ut in diebus eorum, quamdiu vita præsenti potirentur, et regni essent A.D. 801. Death of Edwin. Peace between Eardulf and Kenulf.

---

[1] *Historia Anglorum*] Beda, H. E. iv. 17; Council of Haethfeld.

[2] *a Tilthegno*] Altilthegno, A.B.; "Athiltegno, a. b.; Abbas quidam "nomine Mora a Tilthegno præ- "fecto suo lugubri morte inter- "emptus est."—*Chron. Mailros.*

[3] *Regis Angelorum*] regis Anglorum, Sim. D., A.B. b.; corrected by a.

A.D. 801. infulis suffulti, pax firma, veraque inter eos amicitia inconcussa et inviolata persisteret. Eodem anno Hathubert[1] Lundoniensis episcopus obiit, et paulo post magna pars vici ipsius repentino igne consumpta est. Hoc anno potentissimus rex Francorum Karolus, Romæ summus imperator declaratur ab omni senatu, imposito capiti ejus diademate imperiali a domino papa. Simeon, 672.

London burnt.

Coronation of Charles (Dec. 25, 800).

A.D. 802. Chr. S. 800. Death of Brihtric.

Anno DCCC°II°. ab Incarnatione Dominica, Brictric Occidentalium Saxonum rex, qui eidem genti xvii. annis nobilissime præfuit, obiit, cui Egbert successit. Prædictus autem rex Brictric acceperat sibi in matrimonium Eadburgam, quæ erat filia regis Merciorum nomine Offa, qui vallum magnum inter Britanniam atque Merciam, id est de mari usque ad mare, fieri jussit. Hæc igitur Eadburga, cum esset filia regis, multis suffulta honoribus, miris se extollebat ambitionibus, quæ more paterno tyrannice vivere cœpit, et omnem hominem execrari; sicque, ut omnibus esset perosa, non solum ducibus et magistratibus, verum etiam cunctis populis. Omnes religiosos viros ad regem semper accusare non cessavit, et ita maledicta virum suum constrinxit[2] blanditiis, ut illos quos accusabat aut vita aut regno privaret, et si a rege impetrare non posset, veneno eos clam necare non distulit. Erat eodem tempore quidam præclarus adolescens regi prædicto valde amabilis et carus, quem cum accusare vellet ad regem, et minime prævaleret, veneno ipsum malivola extinxit. De quo veneno cum ipse rex ignoranter gustasset, animam exuit; neque enim illa venenum regi proposuerat dare sed puero; quem princeps ducum præoccupans, ambo necis poculum biberunt, amarissimo ambo gustu perierunt. Quo ex hoc scelere perempto, venefica illa nequissima timore perterrita, fugiendo cum innumerabilibus thesauris mare transiit, regem adiens Francorum famosissimum Karolum. Ad quem cum[3] ante solarium adstaret, et regi deferret munera pretiosa, sic eam affatus est, "Elige, Eadburg, quem velis, me, aut filium meum, "qui mecum in solario astat;" at illa sine deliberatione stulte respondit dicens, "Si mihi optio daretur, filium tuum magis "eligerem quam te, quia junior esse videtur:" cui rex Karolus respondisse fertur, "Si me elegisses, haberes filium "meum, sed quia illum elegisti, nec me nec illum propitium "habebis." Contulit tamen illi propter improbitatem ejus

Story of Eadburh.

Simeon, 673, from Asser, 471.

[1] Hathuberht or Heathobert, bishop of London, signs charters 798 and 799.

[2] *constrinxit*] construxit, A.B. a. b.

[3] *cum*] om. A.

Simeon, 673, from Asser, 472. optimum monasterium, in quo, deposito sæculari habitu, sub specie hypocrisina indumento sanctimonialium assumpto, perpaucis fungebatur annis. Sicut[1] enim execrabilis ipsa nequiter in propria vixit regione, ita multo miserabilius et nequius in terra aliena vixisse deprehenditur: namque parvo tempore peracto, dum quæ sancta erant exercere a quibusdam æstimaretur, a quodam suæ propriæ gentis ignobili viro constuprata est. A.D. 802. Story of Eadburh.

Boethius, Cons. Philos. lib. iv. rhyth. 5.

"Cedat inscitiæ nubilus error,
"Cessent profecto mira videri,"—
Mulierem, inquit, in adulterio deprehensam.

Nihil est quod admirere; "nihil occultum, quod non sciatur." Post hæc, præcipiente magno Karolo imperatore, projecta est cum magno mentis tædio et angore a suo sancto monasterio; quæ in paupertate et miseria vitæ suæ tempora vituperabiliter ad finem perduxit. Quæ ad ultimum uno servulo comitata, quotidie mendicans per domos et civitates atque castella, in Pavia miserabiliter obiit.

Simeon, 673. Defuncto rege glorioso Brichthtrico, occidentalis regni successit post ipsius obitum in regnum et imperium Egberth rex, qui ex regali illius gentis prosapia exortus, diadema totius regni capiti imposuit, maximo serto redimitus. Erat enim strenuissimus vir et potens, multaque regna suo subjecit imperio. Regnavit autem xxxvi. annis et vii. mensibus. Egberto successit Ethelwlfus filius ejus potentissimus, qui de sua nobili conjuge habebat filios quatuor, quorum ista sunt nomina: scilicet Ethelbald, Ethelbricth, Ethelred et Alfred, qui omnes sibi invicem in regnum successerunt.[2] Egbert succeeds Brihtric: his successors.

Hinc genealogia regis Anglorum Elfredi contexitur, et postea patris ejus Athelwulfi et sequentium regum scribitur.

H. Hunt. 728. [3]Cuthredus igitur supra dictus rex Westsexæ post devictum Edelhun fortissimum consulem, ut alibi jam diximus, XIII°. anno regni sui, cum jam regis Merciorum Edelboldi superbas exactiones et insolentiam ferre non posset, occurrit ei cum legionibus vexillatis apud Bereford, omni spe vivendi postposita libertati. Adduxit autem secum Edelhun A.D. 752. Cuthred of Wessex defeats Æthelbald of Mercia at Burford.

[1] *Sicut*] Sic, A.B.; corr. by a.b.

[2] Here the compiler forsakes Simeon of Durham, or the common authority, and begins to borrow from Henry of Huntingdon.

[3] See pp. 5, 6, above; A.D. 739, 752.

A.D. 752. Battle of Burford. prædictum consulem bellicosum jam sibi concordem, cujus viribus et consilio fretus belli discrimen ingredi potuit.[1] H. Hunt. 728. Ethelbaldus vero rex regum cum Mercensibus Kentenses adduxerat, Orientalesque Saxones et Anglorum multiplices copias. Aciebus igitur dispositis cum in directum tendentes appropinquarent, Edelhun præcedens Westsexenses, regis insigne, draconem scilicet aureum, gerens, transforavit vexilliferum hostilem. Unde clamore orto pars Cudredi valde confortata est, moxque sibi acies invicem offenderunt et in mutuas cædes horrendis ictibus et terribili fragore concurrerunt. Hoc bello Mercenses cum omni superbia sua ita detriti sunt, ut eos Westsexæ usque in longam posteritatem fortuna subjiceret. Videres autem acies loricis crispantes, galeis acutas, lanceis hirsutas, vexillis depictas, auro resplendentes, paulo post sanguine perfusas, lanceis cassatas, ruina dissipatas, cerebris humanis aspersas, visu horrendas. Congregantes autem se ad vexilla utrinque procaces et fortissimi viri, gladiis et securibus Amazonicis rem agentes, acies aciebus funeste irruebant. Memoria fugæ nulla, spes victoriæ utrinque certa; Mercenses superbæ dominationis tumor invitabat; Westsexas servitutis horror accendebat. At ubicunque consul prædictus Edelhun aciebus se infigebat, via ruinarum patebat, dum securis ejus horrenda strage corpora simul et arma dissecaret. Rex autem fortissimus Mercensium Eadelbaldus quacunque ruebat, strages hostilis fiebat, dum gladio suo invictissimo essent arma pro veste, ossa pro carne. Cum igitur, quasi duo ignes diversis in partibus impositi ob- H. Hunt. 729. stantia quæque consumerent, contigit ut sibi obviam rex et consul venirent. Uterque vero alteri terribilis vehementer infrenduit, dexteram excussit, seque in armis collegit, et ictibus immensis arma instantia parès lacessunt. Deus autem Qui superbis resistit, animo regis superbi solitam confidentiam depressit. Cum igitur nec animum suum nec vires ipse recognosceret, pugnantibus adhuc suis, territus fugam primus incepit. Nec ab hac die usque ad mortis suæ tempora prosperum ei

A.D. 755. Æthelbald dies (757 S.D.) Deus quicquam concessit. Quarto siquidem post hoc anno rursum pugnans apud Secandune non sine miserabili exercituum ruina, fugam dedignans occisus est, et apud Repandune sepultus, sicque rex validissimus, cum xl. uno anno regnasset, immoderatæ superbiæ pœnas exsolvit. Regnum vero Westsexæ ex hoc tempore valde roboratum crescere usque perfectum non destitit.

A.D. 753. Cudredus decimo quarto anno regni sui pugnavit contra

---

[1] "Nota de armis regis Westsex et de Bello de Bereford."—Rubric, a.

H. Hunt. 729. Britannos, qui frustra resistentes ei, qui regem Edelbaldum devicerat, cito fugam inierunt, cladem que maximam sine hostium detrimento digne pertulerunt. A.D. 753. Cuthred beats the Welsh.

Anno sequente Cudredus, rex magnus et excelsus, tot prosperitatibus et victoriis clarus, diem clausit extremum. A.D. 754. Cuthred dies.

De Siggeberto rege.

Sigebertus[1] regis prædicti cognatus ei successit, sed brevi regnum tenuit, namque ex prædecessoris sui eventibus tumefactus et insolens, etiam suis intolerabilis fuit. Cum autem omnibus modis male tractaret eos, communesque et patrias leges vel ad commodum suum depravaret, vel pro suo lucro devitaret, Cumbra consul ejus nobilissimus, prece totius populi, querimonias eorum regi fero intimavit. Cumque regem hortaretur mitius agere, populum benigne tractare, solitaque crudelitate deposita Deo et hominibus amabilem apparere,[2] mox eum rex impia nece jussit interfici, populoque sævior et intolerabilior tyrannidem augmentavit. A.D 754. Reign of Sigebert in Wessex. Murder of Cumbra.

De Siggeberto rege.

Sigebertus rex in principio secundi anni regni sui, cum intolerandæ superbiæ et nequitiæ perduraret, congregati sunt[3] proceres et populus totius regni, et provida deliberatione et unanimi consensu omnium expulsus est a regno. Kenewlf vero juvenis egregius de regia stirpe oriundus electus est in regem. Sigebertus vero impius fugatus a suis, et debitam nequitiæ suæ mortem metuens, in sylvam magnam, quæ vocatur Andredeswald, fugiens se abscondit. Ubi quidam porcarius Cumbræ consulis nequiter, ut diximus, interfecti, regem absconsum invenit, inventum cognovit, cognitum domini sui vindex occidit. Ecce manifestum Dei judicium, ecce quomodo Dei justitia non solum futuro in sæculo, verum etiam in isto digna meritis recompensat. Eligens namque reges improbos ad contritionem promeritam subjectorum, alium insanire diu permittit; ut et populus pravus diu vexetur, et rex pravior in æternum acrius crucietur; veluti Edelboldum regem Merceæ præfatum; alium vero cita disterminatione præoccupat, ne populus suus nimia tyrannide oppressus non respiret, et immoderata principis nequitia citissi- A.D. 755. Sigebert deposed by the witenagemot of Wessex.

---

[1] *Sigebertus*] Sigabertus, b.

[2] *solita . . . apparere*] om b., supplied in marg.

[3] *sunt*] om. b.

A.D. 755. Fall of Sigebert. mas ultionis æternæ debito pœnas incurrat; veluti Sigebertum hunc, de quo tractamus, qui quanto nequitior exstitit, tanto vilius a subulco interfectus, a dolore in dolorem transiit. Unde justitiæ æternæ laus et gloria nunc et semper. H. Hunt. 729.

De rege Kinewlf.

A.D. 755. S.D. 757. Origin and rise of Offa. Kinewlfi anno regis primo, Edelboldo regi Merciæ successit Beornred in regnum, sed brevi. Offa enim eodem anno aufugavit eum, regnavitque super Merce xxxix. annis. Offa juvenis nobilissimus fuit, filius quidem Wingfred, filii Chanwlf,[1] filii Osmod, filii Epa, filii Wippa, filii Creada, filii Chinewald, filii Cnibba, filii Ycil, filii Eomer, filii Ageltheu,[2] filii Offa, filii Wermund, filii Witlat, filii Woden. Offa rex strenuissimus fuit: vicit namque Kentenses prælio, vicit etiam Westsexas prælio, vicit quoque Northimbras prælio. Offa vir religiosus fuit; transtulit namque Sancti Albani ossa in monasterium, quod construxerat, multisque modis ditaverat; deditque vicario beati Petri, Romanæ urbis pontifici, redditum statutum de singulis domibus regni sui in æternum. H. Hunt. 730.

De eodem.

A.D. 757. S.D. 758. Eadbert of Northumbria resigns his kingdom. Kinewlfi regis anno tertio. Eadbert rex Northanhimbrorum, videns regum prædictorum (Edelboldi scilicet et Sigeberti) vitam ærumnosam et finem infaustum, Ceolwlfi vero prædecessoris sui vitam laudabilem et finem gloriosum, meliorem partem elegit, quæ non auferetur ab eo. Regno namque relicto, tonsuram capitis in æternum diadema generaturam suscepit, furvasque vestes æthereum splendorem collaturas induit. Iste est octavus regum illorum, qui regna sua pro Christo sponte dimiserunt, immo, ut verius dicam, pro regno æterno commutaverunt; quibus octo beatitudinum jocunditas perennis multiplici delectamento ineffabiliter cumulatur, quorum strenuitatem imitari beatorum est. Osulf succeeds for a year, and then Molledelwald. Successit autem ei in regno Osulf filius suus, sed cum uno anno regnasset, a familia sua nefanda proditione occisus est. Post quem Molledelwald regnavit vi. annos. Circa hoc tempus Cuthbrictus archiepiscopus obiit.

De eodem.

A.D. 760. Death of Ceolwulf. (S.D. 764.) Kinewlfi regis anno sexto Ethelbrict rex Kentensis defunctus est. Eodem anno Ceolwlfus, qui monachus regno terreno relicto factus fuerat, ad regnum cœleste migravit:

---

[1] *Chanwlf*] Eanwulf, H. Hunt. | [2] *filii Wippa... filii Ageltheu*] om. b.

H. Hunt. 730.

Anno vero sequente Lambertus factus est archiepiscopus Cantuariensis: Moll[1] cum sex annis regnasset, regnum Northimbræ dimisit: post quem Alred octo annis regnavit, cujus anno regni secundo obiit[2] Egbert archiepiscopus Eboracensis, in archiepiscopatu expletis annis xxxvi., et Frideberth episcopus Hagustaldensis, cum episcopus fuisset triginta quatuor annis. Egberto archiepiscopo successit Adelbert: Frideberto episcopo successit[3] Almund. Anno quarto Alredi regis obierunt Pipinus rex Francorum, et Stephanus papa Romanorum, et Eadbert filius Ectæ,[4] dux famosissimus Anglorum.

A.D. 765. A.D. 766. Death of Egbert, archbishop of York, and Frithbert of Hexham. Death of Pipin, 768, pope Stephen, 772, and Eadbert Eating, 768.

De rege Kinewlf.

Anno gratiæ dcc°lx°ix°., Kinewlfi vero regis anno decimo quinto, incepit fieri mutatio dexteræ Excelsi. Imperium namque Romanum, quod tot annis in se præcellentissimum fuerat, Karolo regi magno Francorum subjectum est, post triginta annos regni ejus, quod in hoc anno inceperat, et successoribus ejus usque ad hunc diem contigit exinde.

A.D. 769. Rising fortunes of Charles the Great.

De eodem.

Kinewlfi regis anno vicesimo, pugnavit rex Offa cum Mercensibus contra Kentenses apud Ottanforde. Clade autem horrenda utrinque peracta, belli successibus Offa clarus effulsit. Eodem anno Northimbri fugaverunt regem eorum Alred ab Euorwic in hebdomada Paschali, et elegerunt sibi in regem Edelred filium Mol, qui regnavit quatuor annis. Hoc autem anno visa fuerant in cœlo rubea signa post occasum solis horrenda: serpentes visi sunt in Sudsexe cum magna admiratione. Secundo autem ab hoc anno Saxones antiqui, unde gens Anglorum descendit, ad fidem conversi sunt: quo anno Withwine[5] episcopus Winternæ, xx°iv°. anno episcopatus sui morte affectus est.

A.D. 774. Battle of Otford, Chr. S. 773. Succession of Æthelred in Northumbria, S.D. 774. Conversion of the old Saxons, 777. Death of Petwin, S.D. 777.

De eodem.

Kinewlf, xx°iv°. anno regni sui, pugnavit contra Offam circa Benetune; Martis autem casu minoratus loco secessit,[6] et Offa

A.D. 778. Battle of Bensington, Chr. S. 777.

---

[1] *Moll*] Molledelwald, b.
[2] *obiit*] om. A.
[3] *Adelbert . . . . successit*] om. a. b.
[4] *Ectæ*] Eccæ, b.; Eatæ, H. Hunt.
[5] *Withwine*] Pechtwine; see p. 10 above.
[6] *loco secessit*] jocose cessit, A.B.

A.D. 778. rex castrum idem in jura sua redegit. Eodem anno Edelbert sacratus est apud Euorwic, episcopus in Winterne. H. Hunt. 730.

A.D. 779. *Æthelred, king of Northumbria, exiled and succeeded by Alfwold.* Anno sequente Edelbald et Herebert, duces regis Northimbræ, rebellantes domino suo, occiderunt Aldulf, filium Bose, regalis exercitus primatem, Martis congressibus apud Kingesclive,[1] et postea duces regis Kinewlf et Eggam prælio ingenti occiderunt duces prædicti apud Helatirnum.[2] Rex autem prædictus Edelred, ducibus suis et spe amissa, fugit a facie eorum; illi vero constituerunt Alfwold[3] in regem, qui regnavit decem annis.

A.D. 780. *Bearn burnt; death of archbishop Æthelbert.* Anno autem hoc sequente principes et præpositi Northimbræ quendam consulem et justitiarium suum, quia rigidior æquo exstiterat, combusserunt. Eodem anno Elbert archiepiscopus obiit in Cestre, cui successit Enbald. Eodem anno Kinebold factus est episcopus Lindisfarnensis. Eodem anno antiqui Saxones et Franci pugnaverunt; Franci vero vicerunt. H. Hunt. 731.

A.D. 781. *Council at Acle.* Anno vero proximo rex Northimbræ Alfwold[3] misit Romam propter pallium, et dedit Embaldo archiepiscopo. Tunc Alcmundo Hagustaldensi defuncto Tilbert[4] successit. Karolus eo anno Romam ivit. Circa hoc tempus concilium fuit apud Acle.[5]

A.D. 784. Chr. S. *Death of Kinewulf, king of Wessex.* Kinewlf cum regnasset viginti et sex annis, et contra Britannos victoriosus multa gessisset prælia, et eos ex omni parte domasset, tandem exulare statuit adolescentem Kineard, fratrem Sigebricti. Ipse autem impetiit regem apud Meretune, ubi private perrexerat ad quandam mulierem. Rex autem id comperiens in ostio viriliter se defendebat, donec, conspecto juvene, foras exiliens vulneravit eum, et omnes socii ejus in regem pugnantes interfecerunt eum; clamore autem audito, milites regis, qui in urbe erant, in juvenem cucurrerunt, renuentesque ab eo oblatas terras et pecuniam, pugnando omnes mortui sunt præter unum Britannum obsidem graviter vulneratum. Mane autem milites regis, qui circa erant, in atrio ubi rex occisus erat, obsederunt juvenem, et socios. Qui dixit eis: "Cognati vestri mecum sunt, vobisque dabo terram "et pecuniam secundum cor vestrum, ne pugnetis contra nos. "Idem autem obtuli sociis vestris, renuentesque perierunt." Illi autem responderunt nullam pecuniam cariorem domino suo esse eis, seque domini sociorumque sanguinem ulturos; irrumpentesque gravi prælio in portam, juvenem et lxxxiiii^or. qui

---

[1] Bellum de Consclif, rubric in a.

[2] *Helatirnum*] Hilathirnum, H. Hunt.

[3] *Alfwold*] Alfwolf, b.; Alfwld, H. Hunt.; Alfimold A.B. and below; Alfinild, A.B.

[4] *Tilbert*] Tilbeth, b. and H. Hunt.

[5] *Acle*] Ade, A.B. b.

H. Hunt. 731. cum eo erant interfecerunt; remansit solus filiolus juvenis, A.D. 784.
vulneratus tamen. Kinewlf igitur xxx°i°. anno regni sui sepultus est apud Wincestre; juvenis apud Acsenminster. Death of Kinewulf.

De Bricthric rege.

Bricthric, qui etiam de progenie Certici sæpe dicti regis erat, post Kinewlfum regnavit super Westesexe xvi. annis. Cujus anno secundo misit Adrianus papa legatos in Britanniam ad renovandam fidem, quam prædicaverat Augustinus: ipsi vero honorifice a regibus et populo suscepti, super fundamentum stabile ædificaverunt pulchre, Christi misericordia cooperante. Tenuerunt autem concilium apud Cealtide,[1] ubi Jamber[2] dimisit[3] partem episcopatus sui; ibi etiam Higeberct[4] electus est ab Offa rege. Eodem anno Egfert[5] sacratus est in regem Centensis provinciæ. Anno vero sequente, qui est annus gratiæ DCCLXXXVI. apparuit signum[6] in vestibus, quod dictu et auditu sæculis omnibus videri potest mirabile. Factumne igitur fuit ad demonstrationem motionis Jerosolymitanæ cum crucibus assumptis, quæ facta est post trecentos et undecim annos tempore junioris Willelmi, an potius factum est[7] ad correctionem gentium, ne plagam Dacorum, quæ proxime secuta est, correcti perferrent? Nos autem nihil temere diffinimus, sed Dei secreta Deo relinquimus.

Brihtric king of Wessex. Chr. S. 784, Sim. D. 786. A.D. 785. Council of Chelsea. A.D. 786. Portents.

De eodem.

Bricthricus anno regni sui quarto duxit in uxorem Eadburch filiam Offæ regis Merciorum. Unde confortatus est in regno, et provectus in superbiam. His autem diebus venerunt Daci cum tribus puppibus in Britanniam prædationis causa. Quod præpositus regis illius provinciæ videns, occurrit eis debito securius, ut comprehensos ad regium duceret castrum: nesciebat autem qui essent, vel cur appulerant. Statim vero immixtus eis occisus est. Hic primus fuit Anglorum cæsus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium diversis temporibus ab eisdem cæsa sunt, et hæ puppes[8] fuerunt quas huc Daci primitus adduxerunt.

Brihtric marries Eadburh. (A.D. 787 or 789.) First landing of the Danes.

---

[1] *Cealtide*] Cealchide, H. Hunt.
[2] *Jamber*] ambo, a. b.; Jambert, H. Hunt.
[3] *dimisit*] dimiserunt, b.
[4] *Higeberct*] archbishop of Lichfield.
[5] Egferth does not sign charters as king before 788, and was probably made king in 787, to which year, or 786, the legatine council may be referred.
[6] *signum*] crucis, add. H. Hunt.
[7] *post trecentos...factum est*] om. b.
[8] *puppes*] pupæ, A.

Council of Northumbria, 787, S.D.

Anno sequenti convenit concilium apud Northimbre in Wincenhale. H. Hunt. 732.

De eodem.

Council at Acle, 788.

Alfwold of Northumbria slain, 788. Osred succeeds, but is expelled in 789 by Ethelred, and slain in 792.

Brictrici regis sexto anno congregata est synodus apud Aclea. Sigam[1] vero nefanda proditione occidit Alwolf[2] regem justum Northimbræ. In eo autem loco, ubi rex amicus Dei occisus est, lumen cœleste sæpe visum est. Corpus vero ejus in Hagustaldensi ecclesia sepultum est, post quem Osredus regnare cœpit, sed anno sequenti proditus est, et a regno fugatus; Ethelred filius Moll item regno est restitutus. Osredus vero quarto anno postquam rex fuerat, cum congregatis viribus rediret, ut Ethelred, per quem expulsus fuerat,[3] regno expelleret; inter eundum captus est, et occisus, et sepultus apud Thinemutha.[4] Quam bene igitur dixit, qui dixit, "O cæca futuri mens hominum." Cum enim juvenis prædictus Osred tripudians et lætabundus rex fieret, quam parum æstimabat se anno secundo regali sede, anno vero quarto vitali luce privandum. Unde semper inter prospera solliciti simus, ignari quam prope sint adversa. Ea tempestate Offa rex Merciorum præcepit amputari caput Sancti Ethelbricthti.

Death of archbishop Jaenberht (A.D. 790).

His etiam diebus Jambricht[5] archiepiscopus obiit, et abbas Ethelred[6] pro eo electus est in archiepiscopum Cantuariæ. Eanbaldus vero archiepiscopus Eboracensis sacravit Badulf episcopum apud Hwiterne.[7]

De eodem.

A.D. 793. Lindisfarne destroyed by the Danes.

Brichtrici regis anno decimo, visi sunt flammei dracones volantes per aera, quod signum duæ pestes sunt secutæ. Prius dira fames, postea gens pagana a Norwagia et Dacia veniens, qui prius gentem Northimbrensem misere vastaverunt, et post in Lindisfarnensi provincia ecclesias Christi cum inhabitantibus horribiliter destruxerunt, in idibus Januarii. Qua etiam tempestate Sigga dux perfidus, qui justum regem Alfwald[8] prodiderat, deperiit.

1 *Sigam*] Sigga, below.

2 *Alwolf*] Alwold, b.; Ulfwld, H. Hunt.

3 *fuerat*] om. b.

4 *Thinemutha*] Tinemuha, b.

5 *Jambricht*] Jambrih, H. Hunt

6 *Ethelred*] Aethelheard.

7 *Hwiterne*] Hwinterne, A.

8 *Alfwald*] Alfwold, b., H. Hunt.

De eodem.

H. Hunt. 732.

Bricthrici regis anno undecimo, id est, anno gratiæ septingentesimo nonagesimo quinto, Northimbri regem suum Edelred occiderunt, qui anno illo quo rex Osred occisus fuerat, in superbiam elatus, sua relicta, novam duxerat uxorem, ignorans quod et ipse post biennium perimendus esset. Post quem Erdulf[1] regnum Northimbræ suscepit, quem Embaldus archiepiscopus, et Ethelbertus episcopus, et Higbaldus episcopus, et Baldulfus episcopus sacraverunt in regem, et elevatus est in regia sede apud Eboracum. His diebus Adrianus papa et rex magnus Offa obierunt: hic Offa triginta novem annis potenter regnavit in Mercia. Is regem Westsexæ Kenulfum minoravit, et Chentenses et Northimbras. Offæ regi successit filius ejus Egferth, centum quadraginta et uno diebus, et mortuus est. Cui successit rex Kenwlf, pater Kenelmi martyris, potentissimus. Eodem anno Eadbricth, vocatus alio nomine Pren, adeptus est regnum Kentense. Gens vero pagana prædaverunt Northimbre, et monasterium Egferth spoliaverunt apud Donemuthe; tunc vero occurrentibus eis nobilissimis et bello assuetissimis Anglorum, ducibus eorum occisis, victi ad puppes fugerunt barbari; cum vero etiam per mare fugere non cessarent in puppibus, aliquæ earum tempestate confractæ sunt, et multi virorum naufragati. Quidam vero viventes[2] capti, et juxta littus capite privati sunt. Nec multo post Kenwlf rex Mercæ, Kentensem provinciam deprædatus est, regemque eorum Pren sibi viribus imparem, et ideo per latibula et divortia delitescentem, comprehendit, et victum secum adduxit.

A.D. 795. Æthelred of Northumbria killed (796, S.D.). Eardulf succeeds. Pope Adrian dies, 795, and Offa, king of Mercia dies (A.D. 796). Egferth king of Mercia, 796. Kenulf succeeds, 796. Eadbert Pren, king in Kent. Tynemouth plundered (794).

Brictrici regis anno decimo quarto, Romani amputaverunt linguam Leoni papæ, et oculos sibi eruerunt, eumque a sede sua fugaverunt, sed ipse (ut scripta tradunt) per gratiam Christi iterum videre et loqui potuit, rursusque papa effectus est. Post triennium vero Karolus rex factus est imperator, et ab eodem Leone papa sacratus, damnavit morti illos qui papam dehonestaverant, sed postea precibus papæ mortem eorum indulsit, et in exilium eos trusit. Post triennium quoque defecit Brictric rex Westsexæ, postquam eidem genti septendecim annis nobilissime præfuit, hausto scilicet ignoranter veneno, quod uxor ejus Eadburg, filia regis

A.D. 799. Pope Leo mutilated. A.D. 800. Coronation of the emperor Charles. Death of Brihtric.

[1] *Erdulf*] Ærdulf, b.

[2] *viventes*] venientes, A.B.; corr. by a.

A.D. 798. Battle in Northumbria. Offæ, cuidam juveni paraverat, unde et utrique mortui sunt, ut in superioribus copiosius scribitur. Hoc in tempore fuit magnum prælium in Northimbre apud Vellehare, in quo periit Alric filius Hereberti, et alii multi cum eo. Singulorum autem bellorum gesta et modos et fines ad plenum determinare nimietas prolixitatis necessario prohibet. Gens enim Anglorum dura naturaliter erat et superba, et ideo bellis intestinis incessanter attrita. H. Hunt. 732.

A.D. 800 or 802. Egbert the eighth Bretwalda. Egberth igitur, anno gratiæ octingentesimo, vel ut quidam volunt octingentesimo secundo,[1] octavus numero decem regum fortissimorum, quos alibi[2] singularis excellentiæ prærogativa notavimus, defuncto Bricthrico successit, et regnavit triginta septem annis, et septem menses super Westsexe: quem in juvenili quidem ætate Bricthric prædecessor[3] ejus, et Offa rex Merceæ ab hac terra fugaverant. Exulavit igitur tribus annis cum rege Franciæ, nobiliter tamen et egregie. Defuncto autem rege prædicto, cum reversus regnum suscepisset, eodem die Edelmund consul recessit a Wicum, et veniens Kinemeresforde obviavit Wicstan consuli cum Wilsatis, et illico pugnaverunt, et ambo consules occisi sunt, et Wilsates vicerunt. H. Hunt. 733. Battle of Kempsford.

Death of Æthelheard, 805. Quarto post hunc anno decessit Edelred archiepiscopus Kentensis, et Wlfred ei successit; inde vero post biennium Cudred rex Kentensis obiit.

Exile of Eardulf. Anno sequenti Hardulf rex Northimbræ fugatus est a regno suo.

Conquest of the Britons. Egbrict decimo quarto anno regni sui prædavit in regnis Britonum ab Oriente usque ad Occidentem, nec fuit qui ejus immanitati vel conaretur resistere.

Death of Charles, 814; of Leo III., 816; of Kenulf of Mercia, 821. Anno autem post hunc proximo Karolus rex Francorum et imperator Romanorum obiit: sequenti quoque anno Sancto Leoni papæ defuncto Stephanus successit, et ei Paschalis; nec multo post Kenwlf rex Merceæ defunctus est, et ei Ceolwlf successit, sed tertio ab hinc anno regnum amisit, et Beornulf sibi illud occupavit.

Battle of Ellandune, 823, Chr. S. Egbrict xx°IIII°. anno regni sui commisit prælium contra Beornwlf regem Merceæ apud Ellendune. Unde dicitur in antiquo proverbio, "Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina "restitit, fœtore tabuit." Ibi autem maximo gentis exterminio

---

[1] On this point, and on the chronology of Egbert's reign generally, see the Introduction to the present volume.

[2] *alibi*] in secundo libro, H. Hunt.

[3] *prædecessor*] præcessor, b., H. Hunt.

H. Hunt. 733. utrinque peracto, Egbricth victor funestus exstitit. Inde vero successus suos urgens misit Edelwlf filium suum, qui postea rex factus est, Alestan[1] episcopum, et Walhard consulem cum magno exercitu in Kent, qui fugaverunt regem Balred ultra Tamesim. Tunc ergo populos Cantiæ et Sudriæ et Sudsexæ[2] rex Egbricth in dominium suscepit, quos prius cognatus ejus Pren injuste amiserat. Hoc etiam anno rex Eastangle cum gente sua recepit Egbricht regem in patronum. Et postea hoc eodem anno Estangli occiderunt Beornulf regem Merciorum; cui successit Ludecen. Eodem anno maximum prælium fuerat inter Britones et gentem Daveneschire apud Gavelforde, ubi multa millia utrinque corruerunt. Anno sequenti Ludecen rex Mercæ et quinque consules cum eo occisi sunt.

A.D. 823 (or 825). Successes of Egbert.

Death of Beornwulf of Mercia, (825), and of Ludecan (826).

Egbricth xx°vii°. anno regni sui fugavit Wilaf regem Merciorum, qui regi Ludecen successerat, regnumque sibi adquisivit. Cum ergo obtineret omne regnum ex australi parte Humbræ, duxit exercitum contra Northimbras apud Dore; illi vero regi magno devote concordiam offerentes et subjectionem, pacifice separati sunt. Anno vero sequenti rex Egbricth misericordia motus concessit Wilaf prædicto, ut regnum Merciorum teneret sub eo. Et inde rex Egbricth duxit exercitum in Northwalas, et eam sibi patrocinio armorum subdidit. Anno autem sequenti Wlfredo archiepiscopo Kentensi defuncto Ceolnod successit.

A.D. 826 or 828. Wiglaf of Mercia conquered and restored (A.D. 831) by Egbert.

Archbishop Wulfred dies (A.D. 832).

Egbricthi regis anno xxx°iii°. rediit exercitus Danorum in Angliam, anno xxx°viii°. postquam apud Donemuthe victi et fugati sunt. Primum igitur prædaverunt Sepeye, rex vero Egbricth cum exercitu suo pugnavit contra eos, qui triginta quinque maximis navibus advecti fuerant; anno sequenti apud Carram, et ibi Dacenses prævaluerunt, et ibi duo episcopi, scilicet Herefert et Wigfert,[3] et duo duces, scilicet Dudda et Osmod, perierunt.

A.D. 832 or 834. Return of the Danes.

Battle of Charmouth (833 or 835).

Anno vero sequenti venit exercitus Danorum navalis in Westwales, et Walenses cum Dacis coadunati sunt, et contra regem Egbricth insurrexerunt; rex vero secunda usus fortuna eos gloriose contrivit, et fortissimos fortiter effugavit apud Hengistendune.

Battle of Hengist's Down (834 or 836).

Anno his proximo Egbricth rex magnus, et monarchas Britanniæ decessit. Regnorum, quæ in manu propria habebat, filios

Death of Egbert (836 or 837).

---

[1] *Alestan*] Alestan, b., bishop of Sherborn.

[2] *Sudsexæ*] et Essexæ, add. a. b., H. Hunt.

[3] These bishops are called in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Wigthen and Hereferth, who were successively appointed bishops of Winchester, the latter probably as coadjutor to the former.

Egbert's successors. fecit hæredes; Ethelwlfum super Westsexe; Ethelstan vero super Kent et Sudsexe et Eastsexe. Sed cum jam ad monarchiam Angliæ pervenimus, et ad plagam horribilem, quæ per Danos illata est, liber proprius[1] rebus novis donandus est. H. Hunt. 734.

Quarta plaga Britanniæ, quæ per Danos facta est.

Sketch of the Danish Invasion. In principio historiæ nostræ quinque plagis percussam diximus Britanniam, quarum de quarta, quæ per Danos facta est, præsenti libro tractabimus. Hæc siquidem longe immanior, longe crudelior cæteris fuit. Romani siquidem Britanniam brevi sibi subjugaverunt, et lege dominantium splendide rexerunt. Picti vero et Scotti crebras irruptiones ex Boreali parte Britanniæ faciebant, sed nec eam ex omni parte aggrediebantur, et nonnunquam perniciose repulsi, tempore non pauco ab invasione cessabant. Saxones autem pro viribus paulatim terram bello capessentes, captam obtinebant, obtentam ædificabant, ædificatam legibus regebant. Necnon et Normanni, cito et breviter terram subdentes sibi, victis vitam et libertatem legesque antiquas regni jure concesserunt. De quibus suo tempore dicendum est. Dani vero terram undique creberrime et diutissime insilientes et assilientes, eam non obtinere, sed prædari et perdere studebant, et omnia destruere, non dominari cupiebant. Qui si quando vincerentur, nihil proficiebat, cum alibi classis et exercitus major ex improviso insurgeret; miroque modo cum reges Anglorum in Orientalem partem contra eos pugnaturi tenderent, antequam hostilibus turmis appropinquarent, advolabat nuncius dicens: "Rex, quonam tendis? classis paganorum innumerabilis ex Australi parte Angliæ littora occupavit, urbesque et villas depopulans, omnia cædi et incendio tradit." Eadem die accurrebat alius dicens: "Rex, quo fugam capescis? terribilis exercitus in Occidentali parte Angliæ appulit, contra quos nisi festinus revertaris, te fugisse existimantes, cæde et flamma persequentur a tergo." Eadem die vel crastina veniebat alter nuncius, currens et anhelans, qui diceret, "Quo tenditis proceres? Daci Borealibus plagis appulsi, jam domos vestras combusserunt, jam res vestras asportaverunt, jam pueros sursum jactatos lancearum acumine susceperunt, jam conjuges vestras quasdam vi oppresserunt, quasdam secum abduxerunt." Sic ergo tot malis rumoribus et sinistris nunciis perturbati, rex et populus manibus et corde dissolvebantur, et animis consternati tabescebant. Igitur

H. Hunt. 735. H. Hunt. 736.

---

[1] *liber proprius*] *i.e.* the Fifth book of Henry of Huntingdon.

nec cum vincerent lætitia, ut assolet, erat eis ulla, nec spes salutis aliqua. Cur autem tanto furore Dei justitia in eos desæviret, vel quare tam fortiter ira ejus exarserit, causa hæc est. The Danish Invasion.

In Anglorum primitiva ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita ut reges et reginæ, duces et principes, et ecclesiarum præsules, cœlestis regni desiderio succensi, vel monachatum vel spontaneum exilium, ut præmonstravimus, appeterent. Processu vero temporis adeo in eis virtus omnis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam proditione et nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent, quod maxime apparet in historia regum Northimbræ. Sicut autem in regalibus gestis impietas eorum descripta est, ita uniuscujusque ordinis et officii homines dolo et proditioni insistebant, nec erat dedecori nisi pietas, et causa dignissima cædis innocentia. Immisit ergo eis Dominus omnipotens, velut apium examina, gentes crudelissimas, quæ nec ætati nec sexui parcerent, scilicet Dacos cum Gothis, Northwagenses cum Swathedis, Wandalos cum Fresis: qui ab exordio regni Ethelwlfi regis, usque ad adventum Normannorum et Willelmi regis, per annos ducentos et triginta terram hanc vehementer affligentes et desolantes vastaverunt. Qui etiam nonnunquam, ex affinitate Britanniæ, Dei vindices et stimuli etiam Gallias pro meritis crudeliter invaserunt. Sed jam ad ordinem historiæ nostræ redeundum est. Punishment of the English for their neglect of religion.

De rege Adelwlf.

Adelwlf igitur primo anno regni sui, cum ipse adversus prædictos hostes in una parte regni sui persisteret, undique confluente paganorum multitudine, misit Wlfhard consulem cum parte exercitus ad debellandum Dacos, qui cum triginta tribus navibus apud Hamtonam appulerant; ubi magna strage hostium patrata, clarissime triumphavit. Misit etiam rex Adelwlf Edelhelm consulem, ut pugnaret contra alium exercitum apud Port cum exercitu Westsexæ. Cumque diu conflixissent, occiso prædicto consule, Daci victores extiterunt. A.D. 837 or 839. Battles at Southampton and Portland.

Anno vero sequenti Herbertus consul pugnavit contra eos apud Merscware; Dacisque vincentibus, et suis fugientibus, occisus est. Eodem anno paganorum exercitus per Orientales partes Angliæ perrexit, scilicet per Lindeseie et Eastangle, et Cantiam, et gentem innumerabilem ferro trucidaverunt. A.D. 838 or 840. Battle of Merscware.

Anno vero post hunc proximo, terram profundius introiens, exercitus circa Cantuariam et Rovecestriam et Lundoniam multitudinem magnam stravit. A.D. 839 or 841.

A.D. 840 or 842. Battle at Charmouth. Adelwlf quinto anno regni sui cum parte exercitus pugnavit contra gentem triginta quinque puppium apud Carrum; et Daci victores fuerunt. Licet enim parvus esset numerus puppium, magnus tamen erat numerus eorum qui in puppibus fuerant. (H. Hunt. 736.) A.D. 845 or 847. Battle at the Parret's mouth. Anno vero ab hoc quinto Alstan episcopus[1] venerabilis, et dux Ernulfus cum Sumersetensibus, et dux Osredus cum Dorsetensibus, pugnaverunt contra Dacorum exercitum apud Pedredesmuthe, et Deo auxiliante multos eorum prostraverunt, et victoriæ splendorem obtinuerunt.

A.D. 851. London and Canterbury spoiled. Adelwlfus decimo sexto anno regni sui, et Edelbaldus filius suus, congregatis omnibus copiis suis pugnaverunt cum magno exercitu barbarorum, qui cum ducentis quinquaginta navibus appulerant ad Temesmuthe, urbesque præclaras, et multis inclytas annis, Lundoniam scilicet et Cantuariam, fregerunt, et fugaverunt Berctwlfum regem Merciorum cum exercitu suo, qui nunquam postea viguit; cui sequenti anno defuncto, Burhred successit. (H. Hunt. 737.) Post hæc audaciores effecti Dani, omnis exercitus eorum ad Sudrie congregatus, regalibus cuneis obviaverunt apud Akelea. Battle of Ockley. Commissum est igitur inter maximos exercitus tantum et tam grave prælium, quantum nullus retro audierat in tota Anglia unquam fuisse commissum.[2] Videres igitur viros bellatores more segetis utrinque ruere, sanguinisque fluvios capita et membra occisorum secum volvere; scribere autem singulariter singula ut sunt gesta nonne nimiæ et fastidiosæ prolixitatis esset? Concessit ergo Deus fortunam belli Suis fidelibus, et in Eo confidentibus; inimicis autem Suis et contemptoribus ruinam et inenarrabilem contritionem. Rex itaque Edelwlfus, victor illius magni certaminis, gloriose claruit. Battle of Sandwich. Eodem anno Edelstan rex Cantiæ, et dux Ealhere, navali prælio contra Dacos pugnaverunt apud Sandwic, et magna strage hostium facta, novem puppes eorum ceperunt, aliæ vero fugerunt. Battle in Devonshire. Consul quoque nomine Cheorl cum gente Daveneschire pugnavit contra paganos apud Wienorne,[3] multosque eorum percussit, et victor exstitit. Hic igitur annus Anglorum genti fortunatus exstitit. Hoc anno primum quidem paganorum exercitus per totam hyemem in hac patria conversatus est apud Tenect.

A.D. 853. Æthelwulf aids Burhred in Mercia. Adelwlfus decimo octavo anno regni sui adjuvit Burhred regem Merciorum ad subjugandum sibi Nordwalenses potentissime, sociavitque ei filiam suam in matrimonio: habebat

[1] Of Sherborn.

[2] Here MS. B. has a leaf inserted containing the annals of Ethelred from Henry of Huntingdon.

[3] *Winorne*] Wienorne, H. Hunt.; Wienbeorne, B., in marg.; Wieganbeorge, Chr. S.

H. Hunt., 737. autem filios quatuor, qui omnes post eum reges fuerunt, id est, Adelbald, Adelbricth, Adelred, Alured. Hunc Aluredum misit pater suus rex Adelwlfus, anno præfato, Romam ad Leonem papam, cum esset infans annorum quinque, quem idem papa in regem postea benedixit, et loco filii suscepit. Hoc anno dux Ealhere[1] cum Kentensibus, et Huda cum Sudriensibus, pugnaverunt contra exercitum paganorum apud Tenect; et magna multitudo ex utraque parte occisa est, et submersa naufragio, et ambo duces prædicti mortui sunt. A.D. 853. The four sons of Æthelwulf. Alfred sent to Rome. Battle in Thanet.

Adelwlfus insignis rex Westesexæ, xix°. anno regni sui totam terram suam decimavit, et ecclesiis dedit, propter amorem Dei, et redemptionem sui. Postea vero cum magno honore Romam perrexit, filiumque suum Eluredum, quem præ cæteris amabat secum adducens uno ibi anno conversatus est. Et inde rediens filiam Karoli Calvi regis Franciæ assumpsit in uxorem, et eam secum in hanc patriam perduxit; et cum duobus annis eam tenuisset, diem obiit[2] apud Wincestriam. Hic primum fuerat episcopus apud eandem urbem, sed Egbricthto patre suo defuncto, necessitate cogente factus est rex, et accepta nobili uxore quatuor prædictos filios genuit. Circa hoc tempus pagani perendinaverunt tota hyeme apud Sepeye, id est, insulam ovium. A.D. 855. Æthelwulf endows churches, goes to Rome; marries a daughter of Charles the Bald, and dies.

Adelbaldo autem filio suo reliquit prædictus rex moriens regnum hæreditarium Westsexæ, Adelbricto vero alteri filio suo reliquit regnum Cantiæ et Sudsexæ et Estsexæ. Ambo igitur fratres optimæ indolis juvenes regnum suum, dum uterque vixit, felicissime tenuerunt. A.D. 858. Æthelbald and Æthelbert succeed.

Adelbaldus rex Westsexæ, cum regnum suum quinque annis in pace tenuisset, morte immatura præreptus est. Planxit autem omnis Anglia Adelbaldi regis juventutem, et factus est luctus vehemens super eum, et sepelierunt eum apud Sireburne. Sensitque post hæc Anglia quantum in eo amiserit. A.D. 860. Death of Æthelbald.

Edelbrict frater regis prædicti regnavit post eum in Westsexe, qui prius erat rex Kentensis. In diebus ejus venit navalis exercitus, et egredientes destruxerunt Wincestriam, sic Reign of Æthelbert.

Virg. Æn. ii. 363. "Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos."[3]

Edelbricto post decem annos defuncto Edelredus successit annis vi.; cui successit rex Elfredus annis A.D. 866. Æthelred king.

---

[1] *Ealhere*] Healhere, b.

[2] *obiit*] et sepultus est, B., in a different hand: om., A. a. b.

[3] Here B. has inserted in the margin the few following lines of H. Hunt. "Tunc vero dux . . . sus- "cepit insignia." M. H. B. 737–738.

Reign of Alfred.

xxviii., cujus genealogia cum gestis, et eventibus suis posterius describitur.

De Regibus Westsexæ.

List of the Kings of Wessex.

Reges Westsexe. Cerdic, xv. annis.
Kinric filius ejus, xxvi. annis.
Cheuling filius ejus, xxxi. annis.
Chelric, vi. annis.
Chelwlf, xiiii. annis.
Kinigils, Christianus primus, baptizatus a S. Birino.
Kenwalh filius ejus, xxxi. annis.
Sexburga regina, uno anno.
Escwine, ii. annis.
Kentwine, ix. annis.
Cedwalla, ii. annis, et Romæ in albis obiit.
Ine, xxxvi. annis, et postea Romæ obiit.
Adelard, xiii. annis.
Cuthred, xvi. annis.
Sigebricth crudelis, i. anno, et expulsus est.
Kinewlf, xxvi. annis; et postea occisus est.
Brictric, xvi. annis; Dani primi venerunt.
Egbertus, xxxv. annis; hic fuit monarcha totius Angliæ.
Adelwlfus, xviii. annis.
Adelbald, v. annis.
Adelbricth, vi. annis.
Adelred, frater ejus, v. annis.
Alured, litteratus, xxix. annis.
Edward, xxiv. annis.
Adelstan, frater[1] ejus, xvi. annis.
Edmundus, vi. annis et dimidio.
Edred, ix. annis et dimidio.
Edwi, iii. annis et ix. mensibus.
Edgarus Justus, xvi. annis.
Edwardus Martyr, iiii. annis.

---

[1] *frater*] filius, a, b.

Ethelred, frater ejus, xxxviii. annis.[1] List of the Kings of Wessex.
Edmundus Irneside, ix. mensibus.
Cknut, Danus, xix. annis.
Harold, filius ejus, v. annis.
Hardecnut, ii. annis.
Edwardus Justus, xxiiii. annis.
Harold, ix. mensibus.
Willelmus Bastard, xxi. annis.
Willelmus Ruffus, xiii. annis.
Henricus, Leo justiciæ, xxxv. annis et tribus mensibus.

Simeon, 137. F. Wig. 549. Asser, 467.

Genealogy of King Alfred.

[2] Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCC°XL°IX°. Angulsaxonum rex Elfredus in illa plaga quæ dicitur Berrocscire nascitur, cujus genealogia tali serie contexitur. Elfred rex, filius Adelwlfi regis, qui fuit Egberti, qui fuit Ealmundi, qui fuit Eafæ, qui fuit Eoppa,[3] qui fuit Ingild: Ingild et Ine famosus Occidentalium rex Saxonum, germani duo fuerunt; qui Ine Romam perrexit et ibi præsentem vitam finiens cœlestem patriam cum Christo regnaturus adiit: qui fuerunt filii Coenred, qui fuit Ceolwald, qui fuit Cutha, qui fuit Cuthwine, qui fuit Ceaulin, qui fuit Cynric, qui fuit Creda, qui fuit Cerdic, qui fuit Elesa, qui fuit Esla, qui fuit Gewis, a quo Britones totam illam gentem Gewis nominant: qui fuit Wig, qui fuit Freawine, qui fuit Freothegar, qui fuit Brand, qui fuit Bealdeag, qui fuit Woden, qui fuit Frithewald, qui fuit Frealaf, qui fuit Frithewulf, qui fuit Fingoldulf, qui fuit Geta, quem Getam jamdudum pagani pro Deo venerabantur; qui fuit Cetua, qui fuit Bean, qui fuit Sceldua, qui fuit Heremod, qui fuit Itermod, qui fuit Hathra, qui fuit Wala, qui fuit Beadwig, qui fuit Sem, qui fuit Noe, qui fuit Lamech, qui fuit Matussalæ, qui fuit Enoch, qui fuit Malaleel, qui fuit Cainan,[4] qui fuit Enos, qui fuit Seth, qui fuit Adam. Mater quoque Elfredi Osburh nominabatur, religiosa nimium fœmina, "nobilis ingenio, nobilis et genere," quæ erat filia Oslac famosi pincernæ regis Adelwlfi, qui Oslac Gothus erat natione. Ortus enim erat de

His mother Osburh.

Origin of Osburh.

---

[1] *Ethelred . . . annis*] om. a. b.

[2] The compiler now resorts to that portion of the History of Simeon of Durham which is drawn from Florence of Worcester, and through him from Asser, and is to be found in Twysden, c. 137, &c. It is not easy to say in all cases from which version the particular sentence is taken, or whether the compiler may not have had a copy of Asser before him at the same time, as well as Simeon and Florence. The marginal references to Simeon, are to Twysden's Edition.

[3] *Eoppa*] Eowwa, Asser.

[4] *qui fuit Cainan*] om. b.

A.D. 849. Gothis et Jutis, de semine scilicet Stuf et Wichtgar, duorum fratrum et etiam comitum, qui accepta potestate Vectæ insulæ ab avunculo suo Cerdic rege, et Cynric filio suo consobrino eorum, paucos Britones ejusdem insula accolas, quos in ea invenire potuerunt, in loco qui dicitur Wicthgaraburch, occiderunt. Cæteri vero accolæ ejusdem insulæ aut occisi erant aut exules aufugerant. Simeon, 138. F. Wig. 550. Asser, 469.

A.D. 851. Canterbury despoiled by the Danes. Sim. 120, 138. F. Wig. 550. Asser, 469.

Anno DCCC°L°I°. Cheorl[1] Domnaniæ comes, cum Domnaniis pugnavit contra Danos, et vicit. Eodem anno magnus exercitus paganorum cum cccl. navibus in ostium Tamesis fluminis veniens, Doroberniam, id est, urbem Cantuariorum, depopulati sunt, et Bertwlfum Merciorum regem, qui contra illos ad pugnam venerat, in fugam verterunt. Posthæc audaciores effecti Dani, omnis exercitus eorum ad Suthrige est congregatus. Quod audiens bellipotens Ethelwlfus, congregato exercitu cum filio suo Ethelbaldo in loco qui Akelea dicitur, conserto prælio paganos superans, inaudita cæde mactavit.

A.D. 852. Burhred, king of Mercia. Simeon, 139. F. Wig. 550. Asser, 469.

Anno DCCC°L°II°. rex Merciorum Berthwlfus vita decessit, cui Burhred successit. Ipso anno Ethelstan rex et Alchere comes magnum exercitum paganorum apud Sandwic superaverunt, et cunctis fere occisis, de navibus eorum novem[2] rapuerunt.

A.D. 853. Alfred is sent to Rome. Simeon, 139. F. Wig. 551. Asser, 470.

Anno DCCC°L°III°. Burhred Merciorum rex, suffultus auxilio Ethelwlfi regis, Mediterraneos Britones bello aggressus est, vicit, et suæ ditioni subegit. Eodem anno rex Ethelwlfus filium suum Elfredum, cum esset annorum quinque Romam cum multo nobilium agmine transmisit; quem Sanctus Leo papa sui patris rogatu ordinans unxit in regem, et in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit, et ad patrem cum benedictione remisit.

A.D. 854. Wulfere archbishop of York. Battle in Thanet. Marriage of Burhred.

Anno DCCC°L°IV°. Wulfree suscepto pallio confirmatus est in archiepiscopatum Eboracensem, regnante Osbrecto super Northimbros; Eardulf quoque suscepit episcopatum Lindisfarnensem. Ea tempestate Alchere comes cum Cantuariis, et Wada dux cum Suthriis, in insula Tened contra paganos acriter pugnaverunt, et in primo congressu vincentes, tandem, plurimis utrinque cadentibus, utrique duces occubuerunt. Hoc anno Ethelwlfus Occidentalium Saxonum rex tradidit nuptum filiam suam Merciorum regi Burhredo, in villa regia quæ dicitur Cipanhame, cum affluentia rerum omnium.

Æthelwulf's donation to the Church.

Anno DCCC°L°V. magnus paganorum exercitus tota hyeme in insula Sceapege, id est, in insula ovium, hyemaverunt. Eodem anno Ethelwlfus rex decimam totius regni sui partem ab

---

[1] *Cheorl*] Karl, S. D. 138. | [2] *novem*] om. a. b.

Simeon, 140. F. Wig. 551. Asser, 470. omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit, et in sempiterno graphio in cruce Christi, pro redemptione animæ suæ et antecessorum suorum, uni et trino Deo immolavit; sicque magno cum honore Romam perrexit, filiumque suum Elfredum, quem plus cæteris dilexit, quemque jam antea Romam miserat, etiam nunc secum illo deducens, ibidem anno integro remoratus est. Quo peracto ad patriam suam remeavit, adducens secum Juthinam[1] Karoli Francorum regis filiam. Simeon, 140. F. Wig. 552. Asser, 472. Vixit vero postquam Roma rediit duobus annis. Qui inter cætera bona quæ gessit opera, omni anno trecentas mancusas denariorum Romam portari præcepit; centum in honore Sancti Petri, ad emendum oleum quo impleantur omnia luminaria illius ecclesiæ in vigilia Paschæ, et similiter in gallicantu; centum etiam in honore Sancti Pauli apostoli eadem de causa; centum vero mancusas universali papæ apostolico. Defuncto autem illo et apud Wintoniam sepulto, Ethelbald filius ejus duobus ac dimidio annis Occidentalium Saxonum post patrem regni gubernacula rexit, et Juthitam Karoli regis filiam, quam pater suus habuerat, infami scelere, duxit uxorem. Eadem tempestate sanctissimus Edmundus, ex antiquorum Saxonum prosapia oriundus, Orientalium Anglorum regnum suscepit.

A.D. 855. His visit to Rome. A.D. 856. He marries Judith, a daughter of Charles the Bald. A.D. 858. Death of Æthelwulf. Edmund, king of East Anglia.

Anno DCCC°LX°. Ethelbaldus defunctus est, et in Scireburna sepultus, et Ethelbert frater suus ei succedens, Cantiam Suthreiam,[2] Sudsexam quoque suo dominio mancipavit; in cujus diebus magnus paganorum exercitus de mari adveniens, et Wintoniam civitatem hostiliter invadens depopulatus est. Quibus ad mare cum ingenti præda repedantibus, Osric Hamtunensium comes cum suis, et Ethelwlfus[3] cum suis Bearrocensibus, viriliter obviaverunt, consertoque prælio pagani passim trucidantur, cæteris per fugam dispersis. Edelbert itaque, quinque annis in regno pacifice et amabiliter peractis, cum magno suorum dolore defunctus est, et in Sciréburna juxta fratrem suum sepultus est.

A.D. 860. Æthelbert king. The Danes beaten by the men of Berkshire.

Simeon, 141. Anno DCCC°LX°III°. Sanctus Swithunus episcopus Wintoniensis hoc anno transivit ad Dominum.

A.D. 863. Death of St. Swithun.

Simeon, 141. F. Wig. 553. Asser, 473. Anno DCCC°LX°IV°. pagani hyemaverunt in insula Tened, firmumque fœdus cum Cantuariis pepigerunt: quibus pecuniam pro fœdere conservando Cantuarii dare promiserunt; interea tamen vulpino more pagani noctu clam castris erumpentes, fœdere dirupto majoris spe lucri, totam orientalem Cantiæ plagam depopulati sunt.

A.D. 864. The Danes in Kent.

---

[1] *Juthinam*] Juthutam, a, b.
[2] *Suthreiam*] supremam, Savile.
[3] *Ethelwulfus*] comes, add. S. Dun.

A.D. 866. Æthelred succeeds in Wessex.

Anno DCCC°LX°VI°. Ethelred, regis Edelberti frater, Occidentalium Saxonum regni gubernacula suscepit. Eodem anno magna paganorum classis de Danubia Britanniam advenit, et in Estengle hyemavit, ibique exercitus ille magna ex parte equestris factus est. Simeon, 141. F. Wig. 553. Asser, 473.

A.D. 867. The Danes ravage Northumbria.

Anno DCCC°LX°VII°. prædictus paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis ad Eboracum civitatem migravit, omnia vastando usque ad Thinemutham. Eo tempore orta seditione inter Northimbros, regem suum legitimum Osbricth nomine regno expulerant, et tyrannum quendam Ella nomine, non de regali prosapia genitum, in regni apicem levaverant; sed advenientibus paganis, pro communi utilitate aliquatenus sedata discordia, Osbrict et Ella, viribus adunatis et exercitu congregato, Eboracum adeunt. Quibus advenientibus mox pagani in urbem refugiunt, et intra mœnia se defendere procurant. Quorum fugam et pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra urbis mœnia eos persequi et murum frangere cœperunt; cumque jam fracto muro multi Christianorum in civitatem simul cum paganis introissent, pagani dolore et necessitate compulsi super eos atrociter irrumpunt, cædunt, fugant, prosternunt, intus et extra. Illic maxima ex parte omnes Northumbrensium cæsi, occisis duobus regibus, occubuerunt; reliqui vero, qui evaserunt, pacem cum Danis fecerunt. Quibus prædicti pagani sub suo dominio regem Egbertum præfecerunt, regnavitque super Northimbros ultra Tine vi. annis. Hæc gesta sunt Eboraci xii. kalendas Aprilis, feria sexta ante Dominicam Palmarum. Eodem anno Ealstan episcopus Sciréburnensis ecclesiæ defunctus, et in Scireburna sepultus est. Simeon, 142. F. Wig. 553. Asser, 474.

They are besieged in York.

Asser, 475.

The Northumbrian kings are slain.

The Danes make Egbert king of Northumbria.

A.D. 868. Alfred's marriage.

Anno DCCC°LX°VIII. cometis manifestissime visa est. Venerabilis Elfredus, frater Etheredi regis, uxorem de Mercia, nobilem scilicet genere filiam Ethelredi Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur Mucil, id est, magnus, subarravit et duxit. Cujus mater Eadburh nominabatur, de regali genere Merciorum; venerabilis scilicet fœmina et per multos annos post patris obitum castissima vidua letho tenus permansit. Eodem anno prædictus paganorum exercitus Northimbros relinquens Snotingham adiit, et in eodem loco hyemavit. Cum quibus Burhred Merciorum rex pacem pepigit.

The Danes winter at Nottingham.

A.D. 869. Northumbria ravaged.

Anno DCCC°LX°IX°. exercitus prædictus rursus ad gentem Northanhimbrorum profectus est, ibique anno integro permansit debacchans et insaniens, occidens et perdens plurimos viros ac mulieres. Simeon, 124.

Simeon, 124. Anno DCCC°LXX°. congregata sunt Danorum multa millia, quorum duces fuerunt Inguar et Hubba, qui ad Orientales Anglos venientes apud Teodford hyemaverunt. Ea tempestate rex Eadmundus super omnia regna Orientalium Anglorum regnabat, vir sanctus et justus per omnia, quique eodem anno contra præfatum exercitum atrociter et viriliter cum suis pugnavit, sed quia Dominus eum martyrio coronandum præviderat, ibidem gloriose occubuit.[1] Quo anno Ceolnoth archiepiscopus Doroberniæ defunctus est; cui successit Etheredus.

A.D. 870. East Anglia ravaged: Martyrdom of St. Edmund.

Simeon, 143. F. Wig. 554. Asser, 476.

Anno DCC°LXX°I°. prædictus paganorum exercitus Occidentales Saxones adiens, Readingum venit in meridiana Tamensis fluminis ripa, in illa plaga quæ dicitur Bearrocsira; tertioque adventus sui die, duo comites eorum cum magna multitudine in prædam equitaverunt, aliis interim vallum facientibus inter duo flumina, Tamesen, et Cynetam a dextra parte ejusdem villæ regiæ; quibus Ethelwlfus Bearrocensis plagæ comes cum suis in loco, qui Anglice Englafeld, id est, campus Anglorum dicitur, obviavit. Ubi animose pugnatum est ex utraque parte, quousque altero paganorum comite occiso, et maxima exercitus parte deleta, cæterisque fuga lapsis, Christiani victoria potirentur. Post quatuor vero dies Ethered et Elfred frater ejus congregato exercitu Redingum venerunt, cædendo et prosternendo usque ad portam arcis quoscunque de paganis extra arcem invenire poterant. Tandem pagani totis portis erumpentes totis viribus bellum perquirunt, ibique diu et atrociter ex utraque parte dimicatum est, ac demum Christianis terga vertentibus, victoria cessit paganis; ibique Adelwlfus comes præfatus occubuit. Post quatuor item dies rex Ethered cum fratre suo Elfred,

A.D. 871. The Danes seize Reading. They beat Æthelred and Alfred there.

---

[1] "Hic Sanctus Eadmundus unc-"tus est in regem Orientalium An-"glorum die Natalis Domini in villa "quæ dicitur Bures, ab Hymberto "episcopo de Elmham." B. in margin, in rubric. This MS. has also the following note, "Yngwar et "Ubbe. Beorn was þe þridde Loþe-"brokes sunes leþeperen Criste.— "Ubba apud Ubbelawe in Ebora-"censi Colonia post multas cædes "Christianorum, Deo volente inter-"fectus est. Beorn postquam ec-"clesiam de Scapeie destruxisset "et virgines sanctas inibi violasset, "justo Dei judicio, prope Rovecestriam in villa quæ dicitur Frendes-"beri, armatus et equo insidens, "lanceam habens in manu erectam, "ultione divina, cum equo et armis "suis a terra vivus absorptus est, et "usque nunc permanet fossa qua "absorptus est, et in ævum perma-"nebit in regali et trita semita, xx. "prope pedum, et in ejus fundo sem-"per durat aqua quasi cum cruore "infecta."

A.D. 871. Æthelred moves to Ashdown.

Battle of Ashdown.

Simeon, 143. F. Wig. 555. Asser, 476.

adunata omni virtute exercituum suorum, contra præfatum exercitum in loco qui dicitur Eschesdun, id est, mons fraxini, totis viribus et plena voluntate in bellum prodeunt. Sed pagani in duas se turmas dividentes æquali testudine bellum parant. Habebant enim tunc duos reges et multos comites; concedentes mediam partem exercitus duobus regibus, et alteram omnibus comitibus. Quod videntes Christiani, etiam ipsi exercitum in duas turmas dividentes, testudines non segnius constituunt. Sed Elfred citius et promptius ad locum certaminis venit; erat enim tunc frater suus rex Ethelred in tentorio in oratione positus, audiens missam, nimiumque affirmans se inde non discessurum, antequam sacerdos missam finiret, et divinum pro humano nolle deserere servitium. Quæ Christiani regis fides multum apud Deum valuit, ut in sequentibus declarabitur. Decreverant ergo Christiani, ut Ethelred rex cum suis copiis contra duos paganos reges bellum iniret; Elfret vero frater illius cum suis cohortibus contra omnes paganorum duces belli sortem sumere deberet. Quibus ita dispositis, cum rex in oratione positus moras innecteret, et pagani parati ad locum certaminis citius advenissent, Elfret tunc secundarius cum diutius hostiles acies ferre non posset, nisi aut bello retrorsum cederet, aut ante fratris adventum in bellum prorumperet, demum viriliter aprino more Christianas copias contra hostiles exercitus produxit, ac divino fretus auxilio, et testudine ordinabiliter condensata, confestim contra hostes vexilla movet. Tandem rex Etheredus expletis orationibus, quibus erat occupatus, advenit, et invocato magno mundi Principe, mox se certamini dedit. Sed in hoc loco nescientibus intimandum est, quod locus ille certaminis belligerantibus inæqualis erat. Nam pagani editiorem locum præoccupaverant, Christiani ab inferiori loco aciem dirigebant. Erat quoque in eodem loco arbor quædam spinosa, brevis admodum, circa quam hostiles inter se acies cum ingenti omnium clamore hostiliter convenerunt. Cumque aliquamdiu animose et acriter hinc et inde utrique pugnarent, pagani divino judicio Christianorum impetum diutius non ferentes, maxima parte suorum occisa, opprobriosam arripuere fugam. Quo in loco alter de duobus paganorum regibus et quinque comites occisi occubuerunt, et multa millia illorum in eodem loco, et per totam campestrem Eschesdune latitudinem ubique sparsim occisa corruerunt. Cecidit ergo illic Baiseg rex, et comes Sidroc senex, et alter comes Sidroc junior, Osbern comes, Freana comes, Hareld comes, et totus paganorum exercitus usque ad noctem, et usque ad diem alteram, quousque ad arcem, qui evaserant, pervenissent, in fugam versus est. His ita gestis, ite-

Simeon, 144. F. Wig. 555. Asser, 476.

Asser, 477.

Simeon, 144. F. Wig. 555. Asser, 477.

A.D. 871. Battle of Basing.

rum post quatuor[1] dies Ethered rex una cum fratre Elfredo adunatis viribus contra paganos pugnaturus Basengam adiit; quibus hostiliter convenientibus, et diu simul certantibus, tandem vicere pagani. Rursus duobus evolutis mensibus rex Etheredus et frater ejus Elfredus cum paganis, qui se in duas diviserant turmas, apud Meretun pugnantes diu victores existunt, adversariis omnibus in fugam versis; sed illis in prælium redeuntibus multi ex his et ex illis corruunt, et pagani victoria potiuntur.

Battle at Merton.

Rex Ethelred obiit.

Simeon, 144. F. Wig. 555. Asser, 477.

A.D. 871. Alfred succeeds Æthelred.

Eodem anno post Pascha rex Ethelred, quinque annis in regno per multas tribulationes strenue peractis, defunctus est; huic germanus suus Elfredus in regnum successit, anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCC°LXX°I°. Hic poetarum Saxonicorum peritissimus, in Dei servitio vigilantissimus, et in exsequendis judiciis erat discretissimus; cui regina sua Elswitha duos filios, Eadwardum et Egelwardum, et tres filias, Egelfledam Merciorum dominam, Ethelgivam sanctimonialem, et Elfthtritham peperit. Expleto uno mense, quo regnare cœpit, in monte qui dicitur Wiltun contra paganos cum paucis acerrime belligeravit. Sed, proh dolor! hostes victoria potiuntur: nihil enim mirandum, quod Christiani parum in prælio numerum habebant. Erant enim in uno anno octo præliis contra paganos attriti, in quibus unus rex paganorum et novem duces cum innumeris cohortibus occisi sunt.

His family. He is defeated at Wilton. Simeon, 145.

A.D. 872. Werefrith, bishop of Worcester.

Anno DCCC°LXX°II°., defuncto Hwicciorum episcopo Alchuno, Sanctæ Wigornensis ecclesiæ nutricius, et vir in divinis scripturis doctissimus, Werefrithus septimo idus Junii, die Pentecostes,[2] ab Etheredo Doroberniæ archiepiscopo antistes est ordinatus; qui jussu regis Elfredi libros dialogorum beati papæ Gregorii de Latinitate in Saxonicam linguam transtulit. Ea tempestate Northimbræ regem suum Egbertum, et archiepiscopum suum Wlfere expulerunt. Paganorum exercitus Lundoniam adiit, ibique hyemavit, cum quo Merci pacem pepigerunt.

The Northumbrians expel Egbert.

A.D. 873. The Danes winter in Lindsey.

Anno DCCC°LXX°III°. memoratus exercitus Lundoniam deserens in Northanhimbrorum regionem primum perrexit, et ibi hyemavit in plaga quæ dicitur Lindesig apud Torkeseie, cum quo iterum Merci pacem pepigerunt. Egbertus rex Northanhimbrorum moriens successorem habuit Rigsig, qui tribus

Rigsig king of Northumbria.

---

[1] *quatuor*] quatuordecim, Sim. D. et Asser.

[2] This date falls in the year 873, the death of bishop Alchun belonging perhaps to 872.

A.D. 873. annis regnavit. Wlfere quoque in suum archiepiscopatum receptus est. Simeon, 145.

A.D. 874. The Danes winter at Repton: Anno DCCC°LXX°IV°. supra memoratus exercitus Lindisse deserens, Merciam[1] adiit, et hyemavit in loco qui dicitur Reopadun.[2] Burredum quoque Merciorum regem de regno suo expulerunt anno regni sui xxii°., quique Romam adiens ibidem defungitur, et in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ in schola Saxonum honorifice sepelitur. Simeon, 145. F. Wig. 558. Asser, 478.

they set Ceolwulf over Mercia. Dani quoque post ejus expulsionem regnum Merciorum dominio suo subdiderunt; commendaverunt illud cuidam militi ipsius gentis nomine Ceolwlfo, ea ratione, ut quando vellent sine dolo accipere et habere possent. Simeon, 127. F. Wig. 558. Asser, 478.

A.D. 875. The Danes subdue Northumbria. Anno DCCC°LXX°V°. paganorum exercitus Reopadun deserens, in duas se divisit turmas, cujus altera pars cum Alfdene in regionem Northanhimbrorum perrexit, et totam Northanhimbrorum regionem dominio suo subdidit. Simeon, 145. F. Wig. 558. Asser. 478.

Tunc Erdulfus episcopus Lindisfarnensis, et Edredus abbas, corpus Sancti Cuthberti de insula Lindisfarnensi tollentes per septem annos passim vagabantur. Simeon, 145.

Altera autem pars exercitus cum Guderum et Oskitel et Amundo, tribus regibus, apud Grantebrige hyemavit. Rex vero Elfredus cum sex navibus paganorum navali prælio pugnans unam cepit, cæteræ fugerunt. Simeon, 145. F. Wig. 558. Asser, 478.

A.D. 876. Halfdene divides Northumbria. Anno DCCC°LXX°VI°. rex paganus Halfdene Northimbriam sibimet suisque divisit. Ricsig rex Northimbrorum moritur, cui secundus Egbert succedit. Rollo paganus genere Danus cum suis Normanniam penetravit xv°. kalendas Decembris. Hic primus dux Normannorum, annis xxx.,[3] postea baptizatus vocatus est Rodbertus. Simeon, 145. Rise of Rollo.

The Danes move from Cambridge, to Exeter. Præfatus exercitus nocte de Grantebrige exiens, castellum quod dicitur Werham intravit; quorum subitum adventum rex Saxonum cognoscens, fœdus cum eis pepigit, ea conditione, ut ab ejus regno discederent acceptis obsidibus. Ipsi vero more solito obsides et juramenta non servantes nocte quadam, fœdere dirupto, ad Exancestre diverterunt, quod Britannice dicitur Caerwisc. Simeon, 145. F. Wig, 558. Asser, 478.

A.D. 877. They winter at Chippenham. Anno DCCC°LXX°VII°. exercitus prædictus Exancester derelinquens Cippanham[4] villam regiam adiit, ibique hyemavit. Elfred vero rex his diebus magnas sustinuit tribulationes, et inquietam vitam agebat. Eodem denique anno Ingwar et Haldene cum xxiii^{bus}. navibus de Demetica[5] regione, in qua Simeon, 146.

---

[1] *Merciam*] in Orrerciam, b.
[2] *Reopadun*] Leopadun, b.
[3] *annis xxx.*] om. b.
[4] *Cippanham*] Cippaham, b.
[5] *de Demetica*] de Metica, a, b.

Simeon, 146. F. Wig. 559. Asser, 481. hyemaverant, egressi ut lupi feroces, post multas ibi Christianorum strages patratas, post combustiones cœnobiorum, ad Domnaniam enavigaverunt, et ibi a ministris regis Elfredi fortissimis, cum mille ducentis viris occisi sunt ante arcem Cynwith, in qua se prædicti regis ministri, refugii causa, concluserant. A.D. 877. The Danes are defeated at Cynwith;

Rex autem Elfred, aperto confortatus oraculo per Sanctum Cuthbertum, contra Danos pugnavit, quo ipse sanctus jusserat tempore et loco, et victoria potitus est; semperque deinceps hostibus terribilis et invincibilis erat.

Simeon, 146. F. Wig. 559. Asser, 482. Rex quippe in Domino confidens, venit cum immenso exercitu ad locum qui dicitur Edthandun, quo juxta paganorum immensas phalanges invenit ad bellum paratas. Commisso itaque prælio gravi, per longa tempora diei pagani victi et prostrati sunt; cæteri conclusi regis exercitu, ob famis et frigoris asperitatem mœrentes,[1] et regis austeritatem metuentes, lacrymosis precibus pacem postulant, et obsides cum juramentis offerunt. Rex vero ipsorum, Guthrum nomine, Christianum se velle fieri testatus est: quæ rex Elfred omnia cum concessisset, prædictus paganorum rex cum xxx. electissimis de exercitu suo viris ad eum, in loco qui dicitur Aalr,[2] pervenit; quem rex Elfred in filium adoptionis suscipiens, de fonte sacri baptismatis elimavit,[3] multisque muneribus ditavit tam ipsum quam et omnes socios ejus, qui cum ipso baptizati erant. Mansit autem apud regem xii. diebus in magna gloria; cui rex Eastangliam dedit, in qua Sanctus Eadmundus regnaverat. (Simeon, 129.) and again by Alfred at Ethandun. A.D. 878. Guthrum is baptized, and placed in East Anglia.

Simeon, 129. F. Wig. 560. Asser, 482. Anno DCCC°LXX°VIII°.[4] prædictus paganorum exercitus de Cippanhame, ut promiserat, Cyrencestre adiit, ibique uno permansit anno. Eodem vero anno immensus paganorum venit exercitus de transmarinis partibus in Tamensi fluvio, et prædicto se cuneo sociavit, quo anno eclipsis solis facta est inter nonam et vesperas. A.D. 879. The Danes move from Chippenham to Cirencester.

Anno DCCC°LXX°IX°. paganorum exercitus de Cyrencestre egressus, ad Orientales Anglos accessit; ipsam que regionem dividentes inhabitare cœperunt. Pagani qui in Fulanhame hyemaverant, Franciam visitare cœperunt, et apud Gent uno anno perendinavit. (Simeon, 147.) A.D. 880. They colonize East Anglia. The Danes from Fulham go to Ghent.

---

[1] *mœrentes*] verentes. Savile.

[2] *Aalr*] Aasalr, a, b.; Aarl, Sim. D.

[3] *elimavit*] et vocavit eum Ethelstan, B. in marg., from F. Wig. 560.

[4] *DCCC°LXX°VIII°.*] From this point to 935, the MSS. of Hovoden have wrong dates. The true ones are given in the margin from MSS. a.b.

[5] *Pagani . . . cœperunt*] om. a, b.

A.D. 881. The Danes invade France.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°. præfatus exercitus equis ascensis in Francorum finibus devenit. At Franci, conserto cum eis diutissimo prælio, cum triumpho reversi sunt. Pagani equis adquisitis, hac illacque discurrunt omnia devastantes. Sim. 129, 147. F. Wig. 560. Asser, 483.

The monks of Fleury fly.

His diebus plurima in eadem gente monasteria concussa sunt ac desolata. Nam et fratres cœnobii[1] Sancti Benedicti abbatis ipsius reliquias a tumulo, quo locatæ fuerant, eruentes et secum auferentes, huc illucque discurrebant. Simeon, 147.

A.D. 882. The Danes winter on the Maese. Alfred victorious.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°I°. exercitus prædictus in ulteriora Franciæ per flumen Mese navibus pertractis, ibidem anno uno hyemavit. Eodem anno rex Elfred navali prælio confligens contra naves paganorum vicit, et duas cepit occisis omnibus qui in eis fuerant. Posthæc etiam principes duarum navium multis vulneribus afflixit, donec armis depositis cum supplici prece sese illi dederunt.

A.D. 883. The Danes settle in Northumbria.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°II°. sæpe dictus paganorum exercitus occupans Cundoth ibidem per annum grassatur.

Exercitus vero, qui ducente Alfdene pagano rege Northumbriam invaserat, jam sine duce remanserat, occiso, sicut supradictum est, ipso Alfdene et Ingwar a ministris Elfredi regis. Jam vero subactis sibi indigenis, terræ dominium usurpavit, ibique manere paravit, et vastatas Northumbriæ provincias incolere. Tunc Sanctus Cuthbertus abbati Edredo per visionem assistens præcepit, ut episcopo et omni exercitui Anglorum et Danorum diceret, quatenus Guthredum filium Hardecnut, quem Dani vendiderant in servum cuidam viduæ apud Hwitingham, dato redemptionis pretio redimerent, et redemptum in regem sibi levarent. Quod factum est tertio decimo anno regni Elfredi regis. Guthredo itaque in regem promoto, sedes episcopalis, quæ prius erat in Lindisfarnensi insula, instauratur in Cestre,[2] quæ antiquitus dicebatur Cunecacestre,[3] post septem annos transmigrationis ex insula Lindisfarnensi. Tunc et legem pacis, quam ipse Sanctus Cuthbertus per prædictum abbatem mandaverat, ut scilicet quicunque ad corpus illius fugerit pacem a nullo infringendam per xxxvii. dies habeat, tam rex Guthredus quam Elfredus perpetuo conservandam censuerunt;[4] ad hoc autem, in augmentum prioris episcopatus, totam terram inter Tine et Teisam[5] præfati duo reges omnium consensu Sancto Cuthberto perpetuo possidendam addiderunt. Jam enim multo ante defecerat episcopus Hagustal- Simeon, 147. Simeon, 148.

Guthred is made king.

The see of Lindisfarne removed to Chester le Street.

Endowments of St. Cuthbert.

[1] quod Floriacum dicitur, Sim. D.

[2] *Cestre*] Cestræ, b.

[3] Antiquum nomen de Chestre in ye strete, a, Rubric.

[4] *censuerunt*] conscensuerunt, b.

[5] *De terris infra Tyne et Tese datis;* Rubric in a.

Simeon, 148. densis ecclesiæ. Quicunque autem hæc statuta, quocunque ingenio infringere tentaverit, hunc infernalibus pœnis tradendum perpetuo anathemate damnarunt. A.D. 883. Endowments of St. Cuthbert.

Simeon, 139. Sane ad episcopatum Lindisfarnensem pertinebant antiquitus Lugubalia, id est, Luel, et Northam, omnes quoque ecclesiæ ab aqua quæ vocatur Weda,[1] usque ad Tinam Australem, et ultra desertum usque ad occidentem. Pertinebant illo tempore ad præfatam ecclesiam, et hæ mansiones, Carnham et Culterham et duæ Gedewardæ ad Australem plagam fluminis Teviete, quas Ecgredus episcopus condidit, et Mailros et Tigbre[chingham, et Eouercon ad occidentalem partem Edwinesburch, et Peverham et Aldham et] Tinnigham et Colingham, et Bricgham, et Tillemuthe, et Northam supradictam, quæ antiquitus Ubbanford dicebatur. Wercewrde quoque ipsius ecclesiæ possessio erat, donante rege Ceolwlfo, cum omnibus suis appendiciis. Hanc enim mansionem ipse rex abrenuntians mundo, secum ecclesiæ Lindisfarnensi contulit, in qua monachus factus cœlesti regno militavit. Cujus corpus postea delatum in ecclesiam supradictæ villæ Northam, multis ibidem (ut fertur ab habitatoribus loci ipsius) claruit miraculis. Hoc rege, jam monacho facto, efficiente, data est Lindisfarnensis ecclesiæ monachis licentia bibendi vinum vel cervisiam: ante enim non nisi lac vel aquam bibere solebant, secundum antiquam traditionem Sancti Aidani, primi ejusdem ecclesiæ antistitis, et monachorum, qui cum illo de Scotia venientes, ibidem donante rege Oswaldo mansionem acceperant; et cum magna districtione Deo servire gaudebant. Præterea memoratus episcopus Ecgredus ædificans ecclesiam in loco qui dicitur Geinforde donavit eam Sancto Cuthberto; condidit etiam Billingham in Heorternysse, et duas alias villas, Ueclif et Wigelif ad Australem plagam fluminis Teise, quas Sancto Cuthberto ad victum ei servientium dedit; similiter et Wdecestre et Hwitingham, et Edulfingham et Æcgwlingaham, donante rege Ceolwulfo, fuerant antiquitus Sancti Cuthberti.[2]

Munificence of king Ceolwulf;

See above, p. 8.

of bishop Egred.

Simeon, 148. F. Wig. 560. Asser, 484.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°III°. Marinus papa scholam Saxonum in Roma morantium, pro amore et deprecatione regis Elfredi, ab omni tributo et telone liberavit benigne; qui etiam multa dona prædicto regi transmisit, inter quæ dedit ei non parvam illius sanctæ crucis partem, in qua Filius Dei pro salute hominum pependit. Prædictus paganorum exercitus per flumen Sunne adiens Embenum, ibidem per annum grassatur.

A.D. 884. Pope Marinus frees the English school at Rome.

The Danes at Amiens.

---

[1] *Weda*] Tweda, Sim. D.

[2] This enumeration of the estates of the see is transferred from the year 854 in Simeon; ed. Twysden, c. 139, 140. MS. a. has in margin "Geynford, Billyngham, Wecliff, "Wygcliff, Whitchester, Whetyng- "ham, Edlyngeham."

A.D. 884. John Scotus visits England.

Cujus[1] regis Elfredi tempore venit Angliam Johannes Scottus, vir perspicacis ingenii, et multæ facundiæ, qui dudum relicta patria, Franciam ad Karolum Calvum transierat, a quo magna dignatione susceptus, familiarium partium habebatur, transigebatque cum eo tam seria quam joca, individuus comes et mensæ et cubili erat. Multæ facetiæ, ingenuique leporis, quorum exempla hodieque constant; ut sunt ista: Assederat ad mensam contra regem ad aliam mensæ partem; procedentibus poculis consumptisque ferculis, Karolus fronte hilarior post quædam alia, cum vidisset Johannem quiddam fecisse quod Gallicanam comitatem offenderet, urbane increpuit, et dixit "Quid distat inter sottum et Scottum?" retulit ille solemne convitium in auctorem, et respondit "Mensa[2] tantum:" quid hoc dicto facetius? Interrogaverat rex de morum differenti studio; respondit Johannes de loci distante spacio Nec vero rex commotus est, quod miraculo scientiæ ipsius captus, adversus magistrum nec dicto insurgere vellet: sic enim eum usitate vocabat. Item regi convivanti cum minister patinam obtulisset, quæ duos pisces prægrandes, adjecto uno minusculo, contineret, dedit ille magistro, ut accumbentibus duobus juxta se clericis departiretur. Erant illi giganteæ molis, ipse perexilis corporis. Tunc qui semper aliquid honesti comminiscebatur ut lætitiam convivantium excitaret, retentis sibi duobus majoribus, unum minorem duobus distribuit. Arguenti iniquitatem participationis regi, "Immo," inquit, "bene feci, et æque. "Nam est hic unus parvus," de se dicens, "et duo grandes," pisces tangens; itemque ad eos conversus, "hic sunt duo magni," clericos innuens, "et unus exiguus," piscem nihilominus tangens. Caroli ergo rogatu Hierarchiam Dionysii Areopagitæ in Latinum de Græco verbum e verbo transtulit. Quo fit, ut vix intelligatur Latina littera, quæ volubilitate magis Græca, quam positione construitur nostra. Composuit etiam librum quem περὶ φύσεων μερισμοῦ,[3] id est, de naturæ divisione, intitulavit, propter perplexitatem quarundam quæstionum solvendam, bene utilem, si tamen ignoscatur ei in quibusdam. Quibusdam[4] a Latinorum tramite deviavit, dum in Græcos acriter oculos intendit. Quare etiam hæreticus putatus est, scripsit-

Simeon, 148.

Story of Charles the Bald and John.

Works of John Scotus.

[1] *Cujus*] Hujus, b. after Sim. D. The whole story from this point down to *altaris ponentes* occurs almost totidem verbis in William of Malmesbury's *Life of St. Aldhelm; Gesta Pontiff.*, lib. v. (ed. Migne, 1652; Wharton, ii. 27; Gale, 360, 361.

[2] *Mensa*] Tabula, b.

[3] περὶ φύσεων μερισμοῦ] peri phision merimnoy, a.b. and Sim. D.

[4] *Quibusdam*] om. b.; quibus, Sim. D.

Simeon, 149. que contra eum quidam Florus: sunt enim re vera in libro περὶ φύσεων perplurima, quæ nisi diligenter discutiantur, a fide Catholicorum abhorrentia videantur. Hujus opinionis particeps uisse dinoscitur Nicholaus papa, qui ait in Epistola ad Karolum, "Relatum est apostolatui nostro, quod opus beati Dio-"nysii Areopagitæ, quod de divinis nominibus vel cœlestibus "ordinibus Græco descripsit eloquio, quidam vir Johannes "genere Scottus nuper in Latinum transtulerit; quod juxta "morem nobis mitti, et nostro judicio debuit approbari; præ-"sertim cum idem Johannes, licet multæ scientiæ esse prædi-"cetur, olim, non sane sapere in quibusdam frequenti rumore "dicatur." Propter hanc ergo infamiam, tæduit eum Franciæ, venitque ad regem Elfredum, cujus munificentia illectus, et magisterio ejus, ut ex scriptis regis intelligitur, Melduni resedit. Ubi post aliquot annos a pueris, quos docebat, graphiis foratus animam exuit tormento gravi et acerbo, ut dum iniquitas valida, et manus infirma, sæpe frustraretur, et sæpe impeteret, amaram mortem obiret. Jacuit aliquamdiu inhonora sepultura in beati Laurentii ecclesia, quæ fuerat infandæ cædis conscia, sed ubi divinus favor multis noctibus super eum lucem indulsit igneam, admoniti monachi in majorem transtulerunt ecclesiam, et ad sinistram altaris posuerunt.[1]

A.D. 884. Was John Scotus a heretic? Story of his death.

Sim. 130, 149. F. Wig. 561. Asser, 483. Anno DCCC°LXXX°IV°. supradictus exercitus paganorum in duas se turmas divisit: una in Orientalem Franciam secessit: altera rediens in Cantiam, civitatem Rovecestre obsedit. Sed viriliter repugnantibus civibus, superveniens rex Elfredus cum exercitu paganos ab obsidione compulit ad naves, relicta ibi arce, quam ante portas prædictæ urbis extruxerant, nec non et præda sua cum hominibus et equis, quos secum de Francia adduxerant. Quo anno classis ab Elfredo rege directa ad defensionem locorum circa[2] Estangliam, cum venissent ad ostium fluminis Stur, invenerunt ibi xvi. naves piratarum, quas omnes comprehenderunt, interfectis omnibus qui in eis erant. Qui autem fugere poterant ex Danis catervatim undique congregavere naves, consertoque navali prælio cum Anglis, ubi dormiebant somno inerti, occisa est inermis multitudo, et Dani victores extiterunt. Ea tempestate Karlemannum Occidentalium Francorum, id est, Alemannorum regem in venatione, singulari congressu aper dente dilacerans occidit, cujus frater Ludovicus præcedente

A.D. 885. The Danes besiege Rochester: are driven to their ships. Alfred's fleet seizes a Danish fleet at the mouth of the Stour; but is defeated. Death of Carloman, k. of France.

---

[1] The story of the murder does not belong to John Scotus, but to John of Old Saxony, who is mentioned below. Cf. Asser.

[2] *circa*] contra, b.; cura, a.

A.D. 885. Lewis and Carloman. anno defunctus fuerat, etiam ipse rex Francorum. Fuerant enim ambo filii Lodevici regis Francorum, qui supra memorato anno, quo eclipsis solis facta est, decessit.[1] Ipse quoque filius Carli regis Francorum erat, cujus filiam Juthitam rex Occidentalium Saxonum Ethelwlfus duxit reginam. Quo anno magnus paganorum exercitus de Germania in regionem antiquorum Saxonum navibus advehitur, contra quos adunatis viribus Saxones et Frisones bis uno anno pugnaverunt, et victoriam adepti sunt. Eodem quoque anno Carlus Alamannorum rex, Occidentalium Francorum regnum, et omnia regna, quæ sunt inter mare Tirrenum et sinum maris qui antiquos Saxones et Gallos dividit, voluntario omnium consensu, præter Armoricanum regnum, accepit. Hic Carlus erat filius Lodovici regis, Ludovicus germanus Karli regis Francorum patris Jutthittæ prædictæ; qui duo germani fuerunt filii Ludovici, qui erat filius Karoli magni illius antiqui et sapientissimi, filii Pippini regis. Simeon, 149. F. Wig. 561. Asser, 483.

Charles the Fat rules all the kingdoms of the Franks.

A.D. 886. The Danes besiege Paris. Anno DCCC°LXXX°V°. memoratus exercitus, qui prius in Orientalium Francorum regnum secesserat, iterum ad Occidentales Francos rediens, per flumen Sigenæ[2] pervenit Parisium, ubi per annum obsidens civitatem, civibus viriliter defendentibus, munitionem irrumpere nequibat. Elfredus rex post incendia urbium stragesque populorum Lundoniam honorifice restauravit, et habitabilem fecit, quam etiam Etheredo Merciorum comiti commendavit servandam. Ad quem regem omnes Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant, aut cum paganis sine captivitate erant, venerunt, et voluntarie se dominio ejus subdiderunt. His temporibus præfuit ecclesiæ Cantuariensi Plegmundus archiepiscopus.[3] Simeon, 150. F. Wig. 561. Asser, 489.

Alfred restores London.

A.D. 887. The Danes remove from Paris to Chezi. Anno DCCC°LXXX°VI°. supradictus exercitus Parisius deserens, nihil ibidem agere prævalens, classem per Segenam, usque ad locum qui Catiei[4] dicitur, direxit, ubi per annum grassantes, anno sequenti ostium fluminis Iona subintrarunt, magnoque regionis damno per annum ibi morati sunt. Hoc anno Karolus rex Francorum, sexta hebdomada postquam ab[5] Hernulfo filio fratris sui de regno fuerat expulsus, moritur: quo defuncto, regnum in quinque divisum est, sed principalior pars provenit Ernulfo, cui alii quatuor fidelitatem sponte sua juraverunt,

Charles the Fat dies.

---

[1] That is, in the year 879.

[2] *Sigenæ*] Sequanæ, Sim. D.

[3] *His . . . archiepiscopus*] An anticipation. Plegmund did not succeed before 889 or 890. See below, an. 889.

[4] *Catiei*] Caziei, b. and Sim. D., as also Chr. S.—Chezi.

[5] *ab*] om. b.

Simeon, 150. F. Wig. 562. Asser, 491. quia nullus eorum ex paterna progenie poterat esse legitimus hæres præter solum Ernulfum: apud illum enim remansit imperium. Talis autem erat regni divisio. Ernulfus obtinuit regiones ad Orientem Reni fluminis; Hrodulfus mediterraneum regnum, Odo Occidentale, Beorngar et Wido Longobardiam, omnesque regiones, quæ ex illa parte montis sunt. Sed hæc ita inter se divisa regna magnis sese mutuo concusserunt bellis, alterque alterum se regno pepulerunt reges. Hoc anno Ethelhelm comes Wiltunensium eleemosynam regis Elfredi detulit Romam. A.D. 887. Division of the Empire. Earl Æthelhelm carries alms to Rome.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°VII°., inter innumera bona quæ rex Elfredus gessit, duo nobilissima construxit monasteria; unum monachorum in loco qui dicitur Ethlingege, id est, nobilium insula, ubi diversi generis adunatis monachis, primitus Johannem presbyterum et monachum, genere Ealdsaxonum, abbatem constituit: aliud quoque monasterium juxta Orientalem portam Sceaftesbirig habitationi sanctimonialium nobile construxit: in quo propriam filiam Ethelgeofam, devotam Deo virginem, abbatissam constituit. Quæ duo monasteria terrarum possessionibus omnibusque divitiis locupletavit. A.D. 888. Foundation of Athelney and Shaftesbury abbeys.

Simeon, 150. F. Wig. 564. Anno DCCC°LXXX°VIII°. Ethelredus archiepiscopus Doroberniæ defunctus est, cui Pleigmundus successit. A.D. 889. Plegmund archbishop.

Anno DCCC°LXXX°IX°.[1] Guthrum rex, quem, ut præfati sumus, de sacro fonte rex Elfredus suscipiens, nomen ei Ethelstan imposuit, hoc anno obiit. Hic in Orientali Anglia cum suis habitavit, et provinciam illam post martyrium sancti regis Eadmundi primitus incoluit et possedit. A.D. 890. Death of Guthrum-Æthelstan.

Anno DCCC°XC°. Wlfere archiepiscopus Eboracensis obiit, anno sui archipræsulatus tricesimo nono. A.D. 892. Death of Wulfhere.

Simeon, 151. F. Wig. 565. Anno DCCC°XC°II°. Rex paganus Hesten cum lxxx. parionibus ostium Tamensis intrans munitionem sibi apud Mideltun ædificavit. A.D. 893. Hasting at Milton.

Anno DCCC°XC°III°. Guthred rex Northimbrorum obiit. Northimbrenses pagani pacem cum Elfredo juramentis stabiliere. A.D. 894. Peace with the Northumbrian Danes.

Simeon, 151. F. Wig. 566. Anno DCCC°XC°IV°. Pagani naves suas per fluvium Tamensem, et postmodum per amnem Ligean sursum traxerunt, sibique munitionem prope ipsum amnem xx. milliariis a Lundonia ædificare cœperunt. A.D. 895. The Danes in the Thames and Lea.

Simeon, 151. F. Wig. 567. Anno DCCC°XC°V°. Æstatis tempore, magna pars civium Lundoniensium, et de vicinis locis quamplures, munitionem, quam sibi pagani construxerant, destruere moliuntur, sed illis fortiter A.D. 896. Attacked by the Londoners.

---

[1] *DCCC°LXXX°IX°.*] DCCC°XCI°., Sim. Dun. B. has the verses on Alfred by Henry of Huntingdon, inserted on a slip.

A.D. 896. resistentibus Christiani in fugam vertuntur, quatuorque de ministris regis Elfredi occiduntur. Simeon, F. Wig.

A.D. 897. Naval measures of Alfred. Anno DCCC°XC°VI°. paganorum exercitus in Estanglia et Northimbria residentium furtivam prædam circa ripas maris agentes, terram Occidentalium Saxonum graviter vexabant, maxime longis celeribusque navibus, quas ipsi ante plures annos fabricarant; adversus quos bis longiores, altiores, celeriores, minusque nutantes ex præcepto regis Elfredi fabricantur naves, quarum violentia prædictæ hostium superari possent. Quibus in mare missis, mandat rex, ut [quos] capere possent vivos caperent, et quos vivos capere nequirent, occiderent; unde actum est, ut eodem anno XXX. naves Danicorum piratarum comprehenderentur, quorum quidam occiduntur, quidam ad regem vivi perducuntur, et in patibulo suspenduntur.

A.D. 898. Rollo besieges Chartres. Anno DCCC°XC°VII°. Rollo primus Normannorum dux cum exercitu suo Carnotensem civitatem obsedit, sed episcopus ejusdem civitatis, Walzelinus Ricardum[1] Burgundiæ ducem, et Ebalum[2] Pictavensem comitem provocans in auxilium, et tunicam Sanctæ Mariæ manibus ferens, Rollonem ducem divino nutu fugavit, et civitatem liberavit. Simeon, 151.

A.D. 900. Æthelbald archbishop of York. Anno DCCC°XC°VIII°. Ethelbaldus archiepiscopus Eboracensis ordinatur. Simeon, 152.

A.D. 901. Death of king Alfred. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCC°XC°IX°.,[3] rex Elfredus, piissimi regis Ethelwlfi filius, xx. et ix. annis sexque mensibus regni sui peractis, indictione quarta, mortem obiit, v. kalendas Novembris, et Wintoniæ in Novo monasterio sepultus est. Simeon, 151. F. Wig. 567.

Character of Edward the Elder. Huic filius ejus successit, Edwardus, cognomento senior, litterarum cultu patre inferior, sed dignitate, potentia pariter et gloria superior. Nam, ut in sequentibus clarebit, multo latius quam pater fines regni sui dilatavit. Siquidem civitates multas ædificavit, nonnullas vero destructas restauravit; totam Eastsaxoniam, Eastangliam, Northimbriam, pluresque etiam Merciæ provincias, quas Dani multo possederant tempore, manibus illorum potenter extorsit. Merciam post obitum suæ germanæ Ethelfledæ totam obtinuit et possedit; Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Stretgledwalorum,[4] omnesque Occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditionem accepit. Reges et duces ab

---

[1] Richard the Justiciar, brother-in-law of Charles the Bald, 897–921.

[2] *Ebalum*] Ebles, count of Poictiers, 902–932, is said to have married a daughter of Edward the Elder.

[3] *DCCC°XC°IX°.*] The editions of Simeon of Durham have this entry under 899 A.D.

[4] *Stretgledwalorum*] Stredgelwalorum, b.; Stredgledwalorum, a.

Simeon, 151. F. Wig. 568. eo prælio victi, cæsique quamplurimi. Ex muliere nobilissima Egcwinna filium suum primogenitum Ethelstanum; ex regina autem sua Edgiva filios tres: Edwinum, Eadmundum, Eddredum, filiamque Deo devotissimam virginem Eadburgam, tresque insuper habuit filias. Quarum unam Otto Romanorum imperator octogesimus nonus, alteram vero in conjugem habuit rex Occidentalium Francorum Karolus; cujus amitam, Karoli scilicet imperatoris filiam, uxorem duxit rex Occidentalium Saxonum Ethelwlfus. Tertiam autem filiam in uxorem habuit rex Northanhimbrorum Sithricus. Hoc anno Erdulf[1] episcopus Lindisfarnensis obiit, cui Guthredus successit. Osbricth etiam regno pulsus est. A.D. 901. Family of Edward the Elder.

Simeon, 152. F. Wig. 568. Anno DCCCC°. strenuissimus dux Athulfus, Ealhswithæ reginæ, matris Eadwardi, germanus, et venerabilis abbas de Scotia Virgilius obierunt. Sanctus etiam presbyter Grimboldus, unus magistrorum Elfredi regis, gaudia scandit regni cœlestis. A.D. 903. Death of Athulf, Virgil and Grimbold.

Anno DCCCC°II°. Cantuarienses cum multitudine Danicorum piratarum in loco qui Holme dicitur, pugnaverunt, et victores exstiterunt. A.D. 904. Battle of Holm.

Simeon, 152. F. Wig. 569. Anno DCCCC°III°. Religiosa Christi famula regina Elhswitha mater regis Eadwardi vita decessit, quæ sanctimonialium monasterium Wintoniæ construxit. A.D. 905. Queen Ealhswitha dies.

Anno DCCCC°VI°. Paganorum exercitus de Eastanglia et Northimbria,[2] invictum esse regem Eadwardum scientes, pacem cum eo faciunt, in loco qui lingua Anglorum Ytingafort[3] dicitur. A.D. 906. Peace with the Danes.

Anno DCCCC°V°. Civitas quæ Karlegion Britannice, et Legaceastre dicitur Saxonice, jussu Etheredi ducis et Egelfledæ restaurata est. A.D. 908. Chester rebuilt.

Anno DCCCC°VI°. Sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris ossa de Barthonig in Merciam translata sunt. Rex invictissimus Eadwardus, quia pactum, quod secum Dani pepigerant, prævaricati sunt, Westsaxonum et Merciorum exercitum in Northimbriam misit: qui cum illo venissent per xl. ferme dies eam devastare non cessantes, quamplures Danorum occiderunt; et reges ducesque eorum cum rege Eadwardo pacem, quam fregerant, redintegrare compulerunt. A.D. 910. Edward lays waste Northumbria.

Anno DCCCC°VII°., in provincia Steffordensi, in loco qui dicitur Teotenhale, inter Anglos et Danos insigne prælium actum est; sed Angli potiti sunt victoria. A.D. 911. Battle of Tottenhall.

---

[1] *Erdulf*] Æthelwulf, b. Eardulf died in A.D. 900.

[2] *Northimbria*] Northymbrorum, b.

[3] *Ytingafort*] Ytingaford, b. and Sim. D.

A.D. 912. Æthelfleda governs Mercia. Anno DCCCC°VII°. Etheredus, subregulus Merciorum, vir magnæ probitatis, vita decessit, post cujus mortem uxor illius Egelfleda, regis Elfredi filia, regnum Merciorum, exceptis Lundonia et Oxeneforda, quas suus germanus rex Eadwardus sibi retinuit, non brevi tempore strenuissime rexit. Simeon, 152. F. Wig., 569.

A.D. 913. Bridgenorth built. Anno DCCCC°IX°.[1] Egelfleda Merciorum domina, ii°. nonas Maii, cum exercitu, [ad locum][2] qui Sceargete dicitur, venit, ibidemque arcem munitam construxit; dehinc in Occidentali plaga Sabrinæ fluminis, in loco qui dicitur Brige, ædificavit aliam. Simeon, 153. F. Wig. 569.

A.D. 914. Tamworth restored. Anno DCCCC°X°. Æstatis initio, Egelfleda Merciorum domina cum Mercensibus ad Tamwirthig perrexit, ipsamque urbem restauravit. Niel rex occisus est a fratre Sithrico.[3] Simeon, 153. F. Wig. 570.

A.D. 915. Werefrith bishop of Worcester dies. Anno DCCCC°XI°. Defuncto Wicciorum episcopo Wigorniæ[4] Werfretho, magnæ sanctitatis et scientiæ viro, qui, ut supra dictum est,[5] regis Elfredi rogatu Dialogum papæ Gregorii in Saxonicam verterat linguam, Ethelhunus successit. Egelfleda Merciorum domina urbem condidit, quæ Eadesbirig dicitur, et in fine autumni alteram, quæ Warewic nominatur.

A.D. 916. Edward takes Bedford. Anno DCCCC°XII°. Rex invictissimus Eadwardus ante festivitatem Sancti Martini Bedefordam adiit, et eam cum habitantibus ejus in deditionem accepit, ibidemque per xxx. dies moratus, urbem in Australi plaga amnis Usæ condi præcepit.

A.D. 917. Æthelfleda takes Bricenanmere. Anno DCCCC°XIII°. Egelfleda Merciorum domina in terram Britonum ad expugnandam arcem apud Bricenanmere misit exercitum, qui expugnata arce uxorem regis Britonum cum xxxiv. hominibus captivos in Merciam adduxerunt. Simeon, 153. F. Wig. 571.

A.D. 918. She takes Derby. Anno DCCCC°XIV°. Egelfleda Merciorum domina ante kalendas Augusti Dorbeiam[6] infringendo expugnavit, ipsamque provinciam obtinuit; cujus ministri quatuor de carioribus in porta urbis fortiter pugnantes occisi sunt.

A.D. 919. Death of Æthelfleda. Anno DCCCC°XV°. Egelfleda Merciorum domina, insignis prudentiæ, et justitiæ, virtutisque eximiæ fœmina, octavo anno ex quo sola regnum Merciorum strenuo moderamine rexit, xix. kalendas Julii obiit, et unicam filiam suam Elfwinam ex Etheredo subregulo susceptam hæredem regni reliquit; cujus corpus Glavornam delatum, in ecclesia Sancti Petri est honorifice tumulatum. Simeon, 153. F. Wig. 572.

A.D. 920. Manchester rebuilt. Anno DCCCC°XVI°. rex Eadwardus misit in Northimbriam Merciorum exercitum, ut urbem Mameceastre[7] instaurarent,

---

[1] Under 909, B. has in the margin the account of the consecration of the seven bishops; and under 919 the verses of Henry of Huntingdon on Ethelfleda.

[2] *ad locum*] om. A. B. a. b.

[3] *Niel . . . . Sihtrico*] Taken from Sim. D. (ed. Twysden, p. 133). The second version places it under the year 920, p. 153.

[4] *Wigorniæ*] om. b.

[5] *ut supradictum est*] Above p. 41.

[6] *Dorbeiam*] Derbeiam, Sim. D.

[7] *Mameceastre*] Mammecestre, S.D.

Simeon, 153. F. Wig. 572. et in ea fortes milites collocarent. Posthæc Elfwinnæ neptæ suæ potestatem regni Merciorum penitus ademit, et in West Saxoniam duci præcepit. Rex quoque Sitricus infregit Devenport. A.D. 920. Edward takes possession of Mercia.

Anno DCCCC°XVII°. Rex Scottorum cum tota gente sua, et Regnaldus rex Danorum cum Danis et Anglis Northimbriam incolentibus, rex etiam Stretcledwalorum[1] cum suis, regem Eadwardum seniorem sibi in patrem et dominum elegerunt, firmumque fœdus cum eo pepigerunt. A.D. 921. Commendation of the Scots, Danes and Strathclyde Britons.

Simeon, 154. F. Wig. 572. Anno DCCCC°XVIII°. Clito Ethelwardus, regis Eadwardi germanus, xvii°. kalendas Novembris defunctus, in Wintonia sepelitur. Hwicciorum episcopo Athelhuno defuncto, Wilfertus succedit. A.D. 922. Death of Æthelward.

Edwardus rex Anglorum senior obiit.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCC°X°IX°., invictissimus rex Anglorum[2] Eadwardus senior, qui cunctis Britanniam incolentibus Anglorum, Scottorum, Cumbrorum, Danorum pariter et Britonum populis gloriosissime præfuit, post multas res egregie gestas, regni sui anno xxiv^{to}., in regia villa quæ Fearndun nominatur, indictione xv^{a}., ex hac vita transiens, Athelstano filio suo regni gubernacula reliquit; cujus corpus Wintoniam delatum in novo monasterio regio more sepelitur. A.D. 924. Edward dies, and is buried at Winchester.

Adelstanus rex efficitur.

Simeon, 154. F. Wig. 573. Ethelstanus vero in Kingestune, id est, in[3] regia villa, in regem levatur, et honorifice ab Athelmo[4] Dorobernensi archiepiscopo consecratur, cujus temporibus oritur puer strenuus Dunstanus in Westsaxoniæ finibus. Æthelstan succeeds.

Anno DCCCC°XX°. Strenuus et gloriosus rex Anglorum Athelstanus sororem suam, cum magno honore et gloria, Northanhimbrorum regi Sithrico, Danica stirpe progenito, in matrimonium dedit. A.D. 925. He gives his sister to Sihtric.

Anno DCCCC°XX°I°. Northimbrorum rex Sithricus vita decessit, cujus regnum rex Athelstanus, filio illius Guthfredo, qui pa ri in regnum successerat, expulso, suo adjecit imperio. Omnes etiam reges totius Albionis, regem scilicet Occidentalium Britonum Huwal, dehinc regem Scottorum Constantinum, A.D. 926. He seizes Northumbria.

---

[1] *Stretcledwalorum*] Stretcledwallorum, b. and Sim. D.

[2] *Anglorum*] om. b.

[3] *in*] om. b.

[4] *Athelmo*] It is questionable whether Athelm or Wulfhelm his successor crowned Athelstan. Cf. Wharton, *Ang. S.* i. 99, 100, and *Chr. S.*

A.D. 928. Æthelstan receives the submission of the Welsh kings.

regemque Wentorum Wuer, prælio vicit et fugavit. Hi omnes ubi se viderunt non posse strenuitati illius resistere, pacem ab eo petentes, in loco qui dicitur Eamotun, iv^to. idus Julii, convenerunt, datoque sacramento firmum cum eo fœdus pepigerunt. Simeon, 154. F. Wig. 573.

A.D. 929. Bishops of Worcester.

Anno DCCCC°XX°II°. Hwicciorum episcopo Wilferto defuncto, successit Kinewoldus.

A.D. 932. Bishops of Winchester.

Anno DCCCC°XX°III°. Vir eximiæ sanctitatis Frithestanus, Wintoniensis episcopus, ordinato pro se in episcopatum viro religioso Brynstano, Wintoniæ resedit, et anno sequenti transivit ad Dominum.

A.D. 933. Death of Eadwin.

Anno DCCCC°XX°IV°. Rex Ethelstanus jussit Eadwinum fratrem suum in mare submergi.[1] Simeon, 154.

A.D. 934. Æthelstan conquers the Scots.

Anno DCCCC°XX°V°. Strenuus et gloriosus[2] rex Anglorum Athelstanus, quia rex Scottorum Constantinus fœdus, quod cum eo pepigerat, fregit,[3] cum multo exercitu Scotiam tendens ad sepulcrum Sancti Cuthberti venit, illius patrocinio se suumque iter commendavit, multa et diversa dona, quæ regem decerent, ei obtulit, nec non et terras; æterno igni contradens cruciandos, quicunque ei aliquid ex his subtraxerint: deinde maxima vi hostes subegit, Scottiam usque Dunfoeder et Wertermorum, terrestri exercitu vastavit, navali vero usque Catenes depopulatus est:[4] unde vi compulsus rex Constantinus filium suum obsidem cum dignis muneribus illi dedit; paceque redintegrata rex in Westsaxoniam rediit. Sanctus Brynstanus eodem anno obiit. Simeon, 134. Simeon, 154, F. Wig. 573.

A.D. 935. Elphege the Bald bp. of Winchester.

Anno DCCCC°XXX°V°. Religiosus monachus Elphegus, cognomento Calvus, beati Dunstani propinquus, suscepit episcopatum Wintoniensis ecclesiæ. Simeon, 155. F. Wig. 573.

A.D. 937. Battle of Brunanburh.

Anno DCCCC°XXX°VII°. Hibernensium multarumque insularum rex paganus Anlafus, a socero suo rege Scottorum Constantino incitatus, ostium Humbræ fluminis cum valida classe, id est, cum DC. et XV. navibus[5] ingreditur; cui rex Athelstanus fraterque suus Clito Eadmundus, in loco qui dicitur Brunanburch cum exercitu occurrerunt, et prælio a principio diei in vesperum tracto, quinque regulos septemque duces, quos adversarii sibi in auxilium conduxerant, interfecerunt; tantumque sanguinis quantum eatenus in Anglia nullo in bello fusum est, fuderunt; et reges Anlaphum et Constantinum, regem quoque

---

[1] *Anno . . submergi*] om. b.; 933, S. D.

[2] *et gloriosus*] om. a. b.

[3] *fregit*] dirupit, a. b. and Sim. D.

[4] *cum . . . . depopulatus est*] From the earlier version, ed. Twysden, p. 134; *unde . . . . . obiit* from the second, p. 154.

[5] *id est . . . navibus*] From the earlier version, Twysden, p. 134.

Simeon, 155. F. Wig. 573. Cumbrorum,[1] ad naves fugere[2] compulerunt, magnoque cum triumpho reversi sunt. Illi vero summam infelicitatem de interitu sui exercitus consecuti, cum paucis redeunt in sua. A.D. 937.

Rex Athelstanus obiit.

Simeon, 155. F. Wig. 574. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCC°XL°., strenuus et gloriosus rex Anglorum Athelstanus, anno xvi°. regni sui, indictione xiv^{a}., sexto kalendas Novembris, feria quarta,[3] apud Glavornam vita decessit, et ad Maidulfi urbem delatus honorifice est tumulatus. Cui frater suus Eadmundus, xviii°. ætatis suæ anno, in regnum successit. A.D. 940. Æthelstan dies, and is buried at Malmesbury. Edmund succeeds.

Edmundus frater Athelstani regis rex efficitur.

Anno DCCCC°XL°I°. Northimbrenses fidelitati, quam magnifico regi Anglorum Eadmundo debebant infidelitatem præferentes, regem Norregensium Anlafum sibi in regem elegerunt. A.D. 941. Anlaf chosen king of Northumbria.

Ricardus senior factus est dux Normannorum.

Ricardus senior suscepit comitatum Normannorum, et tenuit
Simeon, 134. lii. annis. Anno autem primo regni Eadmundi regis rex Onlaf primo venit Eboracum, deinde ad Austrum tendens Hamtonam obsedit, sed nihil ibi proficiens vertit exercitum ad Tamewrde, et vastatis omnibus per circuitum, dum rediens ad Legaceastre perveniret, occurrit ei rex Edmundus cum exercitu. Nec erat ei[4] difficilis pugna, quoniam duo archiepiscopi, Odo et Wlstan, placatis alterutrinque[5] regibus, pugnam sedaverunt. Pace itaque facta, terminus utriusque regni erat Wethlingastrete; Edmundus ad australem plagam, Onlaf ad aquilonalem, regnum tenuerunt. Onlaf vastata ecclesia Sancti Baltheri, et incensa Tinningham, mox periit. Unde Eboracenses Lindisfarnensem insulam vastantes, multos occiderunt. Filius vero Sithrici nomine Onlaf regnavit super Northimbros. He divides England with Edmund.

Simeon, 155. F. Wig. 574. Anno DCCCC°XL°II°. Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus quinque civitates, Lindicolniam, Snotingham, Deorbeiam, Leogereceastriam, et Stanfordiam manibus Danorum penitus extorsit; totamque Merciam in sui potestatem redegit. Hic Dei servo A.D. 942. Edmund recovers Mercia.

---

[1] *regem . . . Cumbrorum*] Also from the earlier version.

[2] *fugere*] om. b.

[3] Both Indiction and day of the week belong to A.D. 941. Cf. Chr. Sax.

[4] *ei*] om. b.

[5] *alterutrinque*] alterutrum, A. B. a. b.

A.D. 942. Dunstano summus, et ejus consiliis gloriosus, a quo diversis honoribus sublimatus Glestoniæ in qua educatus est, abbatis jure præficitur. Simeon, 155. F. Wig. 574.

A.D. 943. Edgar born. Anno DCCCC°XL°III°. Magnifico regi Edmundo cum sua regina Sancta Elfgiva filium peperisset Eadgarum, Sanctus Dunstanus audivit quasi in sublimi [voces] psallentium atque dicentium, "Pax Anglorum ecclesiæ exorti nunc pueri nostrique Dun-"stani tempore." Anlaf baptized. Eodem anno idem rex Onlafum regem, cujus supra meminimus, de lavacro sanctæ regenerationis suscepit, regioque munere donavit; et parvo post tempore Reignoldum Northanhimbrorum regem, dum ab episcopo confirmaretur, tenuit, sibique in filium adoptavit.

A.D. 944. Northumbria subdued. Anno DCCCC°XL°IV°. Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus duos reges, Anlafum regis videlicet Sihtrici filium, et Reignoldum Guthferthi, de Northimbria expulit, eamque suæ ditioni subegit. Simeon, 156. F. Wig. 574.

A.D. 945. Cumberland given to Malcolm. Anno DCCCC°XL°V°. Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est, illamque regi Scottorum Malculmo eo tenore dedit, ut terra marique sibi fidelis existeret.

A.D. 946. Murder of king Edmund. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCC°XL°VI°. Magnificus rex Anglorum Eadmundus, die festivitatis Sancti Augustini doctoris Anglorum, dum in regia villa, quæ Anglice Puclecirce[1] dicitur, suum dapiferum manibus pessimi cleptoris Leovæ,[2] ne occideretur, vellet eripere, v. annis vii.que mensibus regni sui[3] peractis, indictione quarta, septimo kalendas Junii,[4] feria tertia, ab eodem interficitur; et Glastoniam delatus a beato Dunstano abbate sepelitur; cui Edredus frater suus in regnum successit, et a Sancto Odone archiepiscopo in Kingestune rex est consecratus.

A.D. 947. The Northumbrians revolt. Anno DCCCC°XL°VII°.[5] Wlstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus proceresque Northimbrenses omnes, in villa quæ dicitur Taddenesclyf, egregio regi Anglorum Edredo fidelitatem juraverunt, sed non illam diu tenuerunt, nam Eiricum quendam Danica stirpe progenitum super se regem levaverunt.

A.D. 948. Eadred ravages the North. Ripon burnt. Anno DCCCC°XL°VIII°.[6] Pro infidelitate Northimbrensium, egregius rex Anglorum Edredus totam Northimbriam devastat; in qua devastatione monasterium quod dicitur in Hripum, a Sancto Wilfrido episcopo quondam constructum, igne est combustum. Redeunte vero domum rege, exercitus de Eboraca erumpens civitate, in loco qui dicitur Cesterford, de extrema parte exercitus regis multam stragem dedit. Unde rex nimis offensus voluit illico redire, et totam illam terram penitus Simeon, 156. F. Wig. 575.

---

1 *Puclecirce*] Pudecyrce, a. b.
2 *Leovæ*] Leonem, Sim. D.; Leof, a.
3 *regni sui*] om. b.
4 *Junii*] Julii, a. b.
5 *DCCCC°XL°VII°*.] 949, Sim. Dun., 156, and F. Wig.; 947, Chr. S.
6 *DCCCC°XL°VIII°*.] 950, Sim. Dun., 156, and F. Wig.; 948, Chr. S.

Simeon, 156. F. Wig. 575. delere. Verum hoc cognito, Northimbrenses timore perterriti Eiricum, quem sibi regem præfecerant, abjecerunt; regis injurias honoribus, detrimenta muneribus expleverunt, ejusque offensam pecunia non modica placaverunt. A.D. 950.

Anno DCCCC°L°I°. Sanctus Elfegus cognomento Calvus, Wentanus episcopus, qui beatum Dunstanum monachatu et presbyteratus gradu decoravit, huic vitæ modum fecit; cui Elfsinus in episcopatum successit. Owel quoque rex Britonum obiit. A.D. 951. Death of Elphege the Bald.

Anno DCCCC°L°II°. Inclytus rex Anglorum Edredus Eboracensem archiepiscopum Wlfstanum in Juthanbyrig arctam posuit in custodiam, quia frequenter apud eum certis ex causis accusabatur. A.D. 952. Archbishop Wulfstan imprisoned.

Anno DCCCC°L°III°. Wlfstano Eboracensi archiepiscopo a custodia soluto, episcopalis honor apud Dorceceastre restituitur. A.D. 952. Released.

Jam deficientibus (ut supra diximus) Northimbrensium regibus, qualiter vel quibus comitibus ipsa provincia subjacuerit, hic placet inserere.

Incipit de omnibus comitibus Northimbrensibus.

Simeon, 204. Ultimus[1] regum illius provinciæ (ut paulo ante dictum est) fuit Eiricus, quem Northimbrenses, violata fide quam regi Eadredo juraverant, sibi regem fecerunt. Quare offensus rex jussit ut tota provincia funditus vastaretur. Illico Northimbrenses, expulso rege suo, atque occiso a Mancus[2] filio Onlafi, juramentis et muneribus placaverunt regem Eadredum, commissa provincia Osulfo comiti: qui regnante postmodum Eadgaro, socium accepit Oslacum; deinde Osulfus ad Aquilonalem plagam Tinæ, Oslac vero super Eboracum et ejus fines curas administrabat. Huic successit Waltef senior, qui successorem habuit filium Ucthredum. Is, cum regnante Egelredo rex Cnuto hostiliter invaderet Northimbriam, necessitate compulsus, se cum suis ad Cnutonem contulit, factoque juramento et obsidibus datis, peremptus est a quodam Dano prædivite Thurebrando, cognomento Hold, permittente Cnutone. In cujus locum frater ejus Eadulfus Cudel substituitur. Reliquerat autem comes Uctredus tres filios, Aldredum, Eadulfum, Cospatricum; quorum duo primi comites fuerunt Northimbrorum, alter post alterum; tertius vero sine comitatus honore habuit

History of the earls of Northumbria. Oswulf and Oslac. Waltheof I. Uhtred. Eadulf Cudel.

[1] *Ultimus*] Here the compiler betakes himself to Simeon's later history. The history of the Northumbrian earls is given by him under the year 1072, ed. Twysden, 204.

[2] *a Mancus*] amacco, A.; a Macco, b.; a Maccus, Sim. D. Cf. Todd, War of the Gaedhill, pp. 285, 290.

History of the earls of Northumbria. filium Uctredum, cujus filius erat Eadulfus, cognomento Rus, Simeon, 204. qui postea ducem se exhibuit eorum qui Walcherum episcopum occiderunt, ipseque dicitur sua illum interfecisse manu; sed mox et ipse a fœmina occisus, sepultus est in ecclesia apud Gedewrde, sed post a Turgoto quondam[1] priore Dunelmensis ecclesiæ et archidiacono talis inde spurcitia projecta. Post Aldred. Eadulfum Cudel, Aldredus filius præfati comitis Uctredi, suscepto comitatu, in vindictam patris occisi, homicidam Thurebrandum occidit. Cujus Thurebrandi filius Carl, et præfatus comes Aldredus, dum vitæ suæ invicem insidiarentur, tandem repacificantur, sed non multo post Aldredus nil mali suspicans dolo in sylva, quæ Risewde vocatur, a Carl, conjurato sibi Eadulf II. fratre, occiditur. Post fratris interitum Eadulfus comes efficitur Northimbrensium, qui cum superbia extolleretur, Britones, id est Walas, satis atrociter devastavit, sed tertio post anno, cum ad Hardecnut reconciliandus in pace venisset, interfectus Siward. est a Siwardo, qui post illum totius provinciæ Northanhimbrorum, id est, ab Humbra usque ad Twedam, comitatum habuit. Tostig. Cui mortuo successit Tosti: quo propter graves injurias quas intulerat Northimbrensibus de Anglia expulso, ducatus illius Morkar. Morcharo[2] committitur a rege Eadwardo, et postmodum a rege Willelmo. Morkarus vero, quoniam alias gravibus negotiis Oswulf II. impeditus fuerat, comitatum ultra Tine tradidit Osulfo adolescenti, filio præfati comitis Eadulfi. Capto postmodum et custodiæ mancipato Morkaro, rex Willelmus comitatum Osulfi Copsi. commisit Copsio, qui erat partis Thosti comitis, viro consiliario et prudenti. Iste Sancto Cuthberto devotus donavit ser- Sim. Dun. de Dunelm. Eccl. iii. 14. vientibus in sua ecclesia, scilicet Dunelmensi, has terras; in Merscum decem carrucatas terræ et dimidiam, et ejusdem villæ ecclesiam Sancti Germani, et in Tortuna duas carucatas,[3] et in Theostrota x. bovatas terræ, et in Readeclive dimidiam carrucatam, et in Gisburham unam carrucatam terræ. Pulsus a Copsio de comitatu Osulfus, in fame et egestate sylvis latitans et montibus; tandem collectis quos eadem necessitas compulerat sociis, Copsium in Niwebirn convivantem[4] concludit. Qui inter tumultuantes turbas lapsus, dum lateret in ecclesia proditus, incendio ecclesiæ compellitur ad ostium usque procedere, ubi in ipso ostio manibus Osulfi detruncatur, quinta hebdomada commissi comitatus, iiii^{to}. idus Martii. Mox sequenti autumno, et ipse Osulfus cum in obvii sibi latronis

[1] *quondam*] om. b.
[2] *Morcharo*] Macharo, b.
[3] *carucatas*] caricatas, a. b.
[4] *convivantem*] Sim. D.; om. b.

Simeon, 204. lanceam præceps irrueret, illico confossus interiit. Quo mortuo, Cospatricus filius Maldredi filii Crinani Willelmum regem adiens, multa emptum pecunia adeptus est comitatum Northimbrensium. Nam ex materno sanguine attinebat ad eum honor illius comitatus; erat enim ex matre Algitha, filia Ucthredi comitis, quam habuit Elgiva filia Etheldredi regis. Hanc Algitham pater dedit in conjugium Maldredo filio Crinani. Tenuit autem Cospatricus comitatum donec ei rex auferret, imponens illi quod consilio et auxilio affuisset eis qui comitem Rodbertum Cumin cum suis in Dunelmo peremerant, licet ipse ibi præsens non fuisset, et quia in parte hostium fuisset cum Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur.[1] Fugiens ergo ad Malcolmum, non multo post Flandriam navigio petit. Cui post aliquantum tempus Scotiam reverso, donavit ei rex supradictus Dunbar cum adjacentibus terris in Lodeneio, ut ex his, donec lætiora redirent tempora, se suosque procuraret: sed non multo post exacto tempore usque ad extrema infirmatus, accitis ad se Aldwino[2] et Turgoto monachis, qui tunc in Mailros pauperes rebus et Spiritu pro Christo degebant, confessione peccatorum intima magnisque pœnitentiæ lamentis, terminans vitam apud Ubbanford,[3] quod est Northam, in ipso ecclesiæ exitu sepultus est. Dederat autem eis duo dorsalia honesta, ut in quocunque loco sedem manendi acciperent, ea ibidem in sui memoriam reponerent; quæ adhuc in Dunelmensi reservantur ecclesia.[4] Iste Cospatricus est pater Dolfini, Walthevi, et Cospatrici. Post Cospatricum datus est comitatus Walthevo, Siwardi comitis filio, qui ei tam ex patris quam ex matris prosapia debebatur. Fuerat enim Siwardi comitis filius ex filia Aldredi quondam comitis, Elfleda.[5] Capto postmodum Walthevo, commissa est cura comitatus Walchero episcopo usque ad diem occisionis suæ. Inde rex dedit illum honorem Albrio. Quo in rebus difficilibus parum valente, patriamque reverso, idem rex Rodbertum de Mulbreio præfecit comitem Nordhimbris; sed eo capto, rex Willelmus junior, et post eum rex Henricus, Northimbriam in manu sua tenuerunt.[6]

[Margin notes: History of the earls of Northumbria. — Simeon, 205. — Cospatric. — Waltheof II. — Alberic. — Robert de Mowbray.]

[1] *imponens .... necarentur*] From the earlier details of the year, c. 203.

[2] *Aldwino*] Alfwino, a.b.

[3] *Ubbanford*] Umbanforde, b.

[4] *Sed ... ecclesia*] om. Sim.

[5] *qui ... Elfleda*] Inserted from a later passage, c. 205.

[6] *tenuerunt*] His ob notitiam personarum per excessum interpositis, ad historiæ nostræ ordinem redeamus: ins. b.

De obitu egregii regis Anglorum Edredi.

A.D. 955. Eadred dies.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCC°L°V°., egregius rex Anglorum Edredus, decimo anno regni sui, ægrotavit et desperatus est. Qui missa celeri legatione, confessionum suarum patrem, beatum scilicet Dunstanum abbatem, accersivit. Quo festine ad palatium tendente, et medium jam iter peragente, vox desuper clara sonuit ipso audiente: "Rex Edredus nunc "in pace quiescit." Ad hanc vocem equus cui insedit, pondus vocis angelicæ ferre non valens, absque ulla sessoris læsione cum interitu suo in terram corruit. Regis autem corpus Wintoniam defertur, et ab ipso abbate Dunstano in Veteri monasterio sepulturæ honestissime traditur. Cujus fratruus Clito Edwius, regis scilicet Eadmundi et Sanctæ Elfgivæ filius reginæ, monarchiam imperii suscepit; et eodem anno in Kingstune ab Odone archiepiscopo rex consecratus est.

Simeon, 156. F. Wig. 575. — Simeon, 157. F. Wig. 575.

Eadwig succeeds.

A.D. 956. Exile of Dunstan.

Anno DCCCC°L°VI°, Beatus Dunstanus abbas, a rege Anglorum Edwio pro justitia ascriptus,[1] mare transiit, et in monasterio quod Blandinium dicitur sub exilii sui tempore mansionem accepit. Wlstanus Eboracensium archiepiscopus vii°. kalendas Januarii defunctus est, in Undalam tumulatus, cui vir reverendus successit Oskitellus.[2]

A.D. 957. Edgar becomes king of Mercia.

Anno DCCCC°L°VII°. Rex Anglorum Edwius, quoniam in commisso regimine insipienter egit, a Mercensibus et Northimbrensibus contemptus relinquitur, et suus germanus Clito Eadgarus ab eis rex eligitur; sicque res regum sejuncta est, ut flumen Tamense regnum disterminaret amborum. Mox rex Mercensium Eadgarus beatum Dunstanum abbatem cum honore et gloria de exilio revocavit. Excurso dehinc parvi spatii tempore, pastor Wigornensis[3] ecclesiæ Coenwaldus, vir magnæ humilitatis et monasticæ professionis, defungitur. Pro quo beatus Dunstanus ad episcopatum eligitur, et ab Odone Dorobernensi archiepiscopo consecratur.

Dunstan bishop of Worcester.

A.D. 958. Odo separates Eadwig and Elfgiva.

Anno DCCCC°L°VIII°. Sanctus Odo, Doroberniæ archiepiscopus, regem Westsaxonum Edwium, et Elfgivam, vel quia, ut fertur, propinqua illius exstiterit, vel quia ipsam sub propria uxore adamavit, ab invicem separavit. Eodem anno idem archipræsul, vir quidem clarus ingenio et virtute laudabilis, spiritu quoque prophetiæ pollens, humanis excessit rebus, angelorum

Simeon, 157. F. Wig. 576.

[1] *ascriptus*] proscriptus, Sim. D.

[2] *Oskitellus*] He had been bishop of Dorchester since 950.

[3] *Wigornensis*] Wingornensis, b., here and below; Winensis, A.

Simeon, 157. F. Wig. 576. manibus ad Paradisum deductus. Huic successit Wenstanus[1] episcopus Ælfsinus, et pro ipso ad episcopatum Wintoniensis ecclesiæ ordinatus est Brihtelmus. A.D. 958. Odo dies.

Anno DCCCC°L°IX°. Elfsinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, dum Romam pro petendo pallio tenderet, in Alpinis montibus gelu niveque obstrictus defecit. Rex etiam Westsaxonum Edwinus, quatuor annis regni sui peractis, defunctus, Wintoniæ in Novo monasterio est sepultus. Cujus regnum suus germanus rex Mercensium Edgarus, ab omni Anglorum populo electus, anno ætatis suæ xvi°., adventus vero Anglorum in Britanniam quingentesimo decimo, trecentesimo autem sexagesimo tertio ex quo Sanctus Augustinus et socii ejus Angliam venerunt, suscepit, divisaque regna in unum copulavit. Brichtelmus[2] Dorsetensium episcopus, ad primatum[3] Cantuariæ sedis eligitur; sed quia ad tantam rem minus erat idoneus, jussus a rege Cantuaria discedit, atque ad relictam nuper ecclesiam suam redit. Dehinc beatus Dunstanus, ecclesiæ Wigornensis episcopus, nutu divino et sapientum consilio, primæ metropolis Anglorum primas et patriarcha constituitur. A quo et cæteris sapientibus rex Anglorum ipse Eadgarus decenter instructus passim improbos oppressit, rebelles sub asperitatis jugo corrigendo redarguit, justos et modestos dilexit, destructas Dei Simeon, 158. F. Wig. 576. ecclesias renovavit et ditavit; abjectis etiam ex cœnobiis clericorum sæcularium venenis,[4] ad laudem Summi Creatoris, monachorum et sanctimonialium catervas aggregavit, et plus quam quadraginta monasteria cum eis constitui præcepit. Quos omnes ut fratres honorabat, et ut filios carissimos diligebat, admonens per se pastores, quos ipsis præposuit, ut illos regulariter et irreprehensibiliter vivere admonerent, quatenus Christo et sanctis Ejus in omnibus placerent.

A.D. 959. Death of Elfsin. Eadwig dies, and Edgar succeeds to the whole kingdom. Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno DCCCC°LX°. Sanctus Dunstanus ad Romuleam urbem profectus, indictione tertia, pallium a Johanne papa suscepit, sicque per pacis itinera ad patriam remeavit. Paucis inde mensibus interjectis regalia petit limina, januam regiæ pietatis suggestione preceque pulsat humillima, ut religiosum, mitem humilemque monachum, sui prædecessoris Odonis fratruelem, beatum Oswaldum, quem in timore divino, sanctisque virtutum operibus, verissime probaverat excrevisse, promoveret

A.D. 960. Dunstan goes to Rome. Oswald bishop of Worcester.

---

[1] *Wenstanus*] Wintoniensis, interlined in the same hand, b.

[2] Brihtelm was bishop of Wells, 956–973.

[3] *primatum*] patriarchatum, Sim. D.

[4] *sæcularium venenis*] sæcularium neniis, b.

A.D. 960. ad pontificale decus Wigornensis ecclesiæ. Annuit rex Eadgarus quod sanctus petebat Dunstanus, et ab ipso inthronizatur ad summum sacerdotium beatus Oswaldus. Simeon, 158. F. Wig. 576.

A.D. 963. Ethelwold bishop of Winchester. Anno DCCCC°LX°III°. Sanctus Ethelwaldus[1] venerabilis abbas, a beato Dunstano educatus, mortuo Brichtelmo,[2] episcopatum Wintoniensis ecclesiæ suscepit, et eodem anno jussu regis, expulsis clericis, Vetus monasterium cum monachis instituit. Hic namque regem, cujus eximius erat consiliarius, ad hoc maxime provocavit, ut clericos a monasteriis expelleret, et monachos sanctimonialesque in eis collocaret.

A.D. 964. Marriage of Edgar and Elfthritha. Anno DCCCC°LX°IV°. Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus Ordgari ducis Dompnaniæ filiam, Elfthritham nomine, post mortem viri sui Elfwoldi gloriosi ducis Orientalium Anglorum, in matrimonium accepit, ex qua duos filios, Eadmundum et Egelredum, suscepit; habuit etiam prius ex Egelfleda candida, Ordmeri ducis filia, Eadwardum postea regem et martyrem, et de Sancta Elfthritha[3], virginem Deo devotissimam, Edgitam. Eodem anno rex idem monachos in Novo monasterio et in Mideltune collocavit, et illis Ethelgarum, et istis Kinewardum abbates constituit. Simeon, 158. F. Wig. 577.

A.D. 967. Edgar founds Romsey. Anno DCCCC°LX°VII°. Rex Anglorum[4] pacificus Eadgarus in monasterio Rumeseie, quod avus suus rex Eadwardus senior construxerat, sanctimoniales collocavit, Sanctamque Merwinnam super eas abbatissam constituit.

A.D. 968. Bishops of Chester-le-Street. Anno DCCCC°LX°VIII°. Aldredus episcopus apud Sanctum Cuthbertum in Cunecacestre vita decessit. Cui Elfsius in episcopatum successit.

A.D. 969. Expulsion of seculars from the Mercian monasteries. Anno DCCCC°LX°IX. Rex Anglorum pacificus Eadgarus Sancto Dunstano Dorobernensis, et beato Oswaldo Wigornensis, et Sancto Ethelwaldo Wintoniensis ecclesiæ episcopis[5] præcepit, ut expulsis clericis, in majoribus monasteriis per Merciam constructis monachos collocarent.[6] Unde Sanctus Oswaldus sui voti compos effectus, clericos Wigornensis ecclesiæ monachilem habitum suscipere renuentes, de monasterio expulit; consentientesque

---

[1] *Ethelwaldus*] Ælwoldus, b.; Ethelwoldus, Sim. D.

[2] Brihtelm, bishop of Winchester, succeeded Elfsy in 960, and died in 963; he was a kinsman of king Edgar, who recognizes him as such in a charter, Kemble, C.D. MCCXXVII., A.D. 960.

[3] *Elfthritha*] Wlftritha, b.

[4] *Anglorum*] om. b.

[5] *et beato . . . episcopis*] episcopo, b.

[6] *collocarent*] collocaret, b.

Simeon, 158. F. Wig. 577. vero hoc anno ipso teste monachizavit,[1] eisque Winsinum, magnæ religionis virum, loco decani præfecit. A.D. 969.

Translatio Sancti Swithuni Wintoniensis episcopi.

Simeon, 159. F. Wig. 577. Anno DCCCC°LXX°. Sanctæ ac venerabiles antistitis Swithuni reliquiæ, peractis a sepultura ejus centum et decem annis, indictione xiv^a^.,[2] idus Julii, feria vi^a^., sublatæ sunt de monumento a Sancto Ethelwoldo venerabili præsule, et ab Elstano Glastoniensis, et Ethelgaro Novi monasterii abbatibus, et in basilica apostolorum Petri et Pauli decentissime sunt reconditæ. A.D. 970. Translation of St. Swithun.

Anno DCCCC°LXX°I°. Clito Eadmundus, regis Eadgari filius, obiit, et in monasterio Rumesige honorifice est sepultus. Non multo post Ordgarus[3] dux Domnaniæ, socer regis Eadgari, decessit, et in Exancestre sepultus est. A.D. 971. Death of Edmund and Ordgar.

Anno DCCCC°LXX°II°. Rex pacificus Anglorum Eadgarus Novi monasterii ecclesiam, a patre suo rege Eadmundo inceptam, a se vero perfectam, honorifice dedicari fecit. Defuncto Eboracensi archiepiscopo Oskitello, suus propinquus Sanctus Oswaldus, Wigornensis episcopus, pro eo in archiepiscopatum eligitur. A.D. 972. Oswald archbishop of York.

Anno DCCCC°LXX°III°. Rex pacificus Eadgarus, anno ætatis suæ xxx°., indictione [I^a^.], v°.[4] idus Maii, die Pentecostes, a beatis præsulibus Dunstano et Oswaldo, et a cæteris totius Simeon, 159. F. Wig. 578. Angliæ antistitibus in civitate Accamanni benedicitur, et maximo honore et gloria consecratur, et in regem inungitur. Interjecto deinde tempore, ille cum ingenti classe Septentrionali Britannia circumnavigata, ad Legionum civitatem appulit. Cui subreguli ejus octo, Kinath scilicet rex Scottorum, Malcolmus rex Cumbrorum, Maccus plurimarum rex insularum, et alii quinque, scilicet Dufnal, Siferth, Huwald, Jacob, Juchil, ut mandarat, occurrerunt, et quod sibi fideles, et terra et mari cooperatores esse vellent, juraverunt. Cum quibus die quadam scapham ascendit, illisque ad remos locatis, ipse clavum gubernaculi arripiens, eam per cursum fluminis [De][5] perite gubernavit, omnique turba ducum et procerum simili navigio comitante, a palatio ad monasterium Sancti Jo- A.D. 973. Edgar crowned at Bath. He sails round Britain. Is rowed by seven kings on the Dee.

---

[1] *hoc . . . monachizavit*] huic ipse monachizavit antistes, ed. Savile.

[2] *indictione xiv^a^.*] Indictione xiii., Sim. Dun., rightly.

[3] *Ordgarus*] Eadgarus, b.

[4] [*I^a^.*], *v°.*] quinta, A. B. a.

[5] *De*] om. A.

A.D. 973. Edgar at Chester. hannis Baptistæ navigavit, ubi facta oratione, eadem pompa ad palatium remeavit. Quod dum intraret, optimatibus fertur dixisse, tunc demum quemque suorum successorum se gloriari posse regem Anglorum fore, cum tot regibus sibi obsequentibus potiretur pompa talium honorum. Sanctus Oswaldus pallium a Stephano cxxxiv^to^. papa suscepit. Simeon, 159. F. Wig. 578.

A.D. 974. Earthquake. Anno DCCCC°LXX°IV°. Hoc anno terræ motus per totam Angliam factus est magnus.[1]

A.D. 975. Death of Edgar. Anno DCCCC°LXX°V°. Anglici orbis basileus, flos et decus antecessorum regum, pacificus rex Eadgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis quam Romulus Romanis, Cyrus Persis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Karolus Magnus Francis, Arturus Britannis, postquam cuncta regaliter consummavit, anno ætatis suæ xxxii°., regni autem illius in Mercia et Northimbria xix°., ex quo vero per totam Angliam regnavit xvi°., indictione iii^a^., viii°. idus Julii, feria v^a^. ex hac vita transivit, filiumque suum Eadwardum et regni et morum reliquit hæredem. Corpus vero illius Glastoniam delatum regio more est tumulatum. Simeon, 160. F. Wig. 578. Account of his fleet. Is itaque dum viveret $\overline{\text{III}}$.DC^as^. robustas sibi congregaverat naves, ex quibus Paschali emensa solemnitate omni anno MCC. in Orientali, MCC. in Occidentali, MCC. in Septentrionali insulæ plaga coadunare, et ad Occidentalem cum Orientali classe, et illa remissa ad Borealem cum Occidentali, ipsaque remissa cum Boreali ad Orientalem classem remigare: eoque modo totam insulam omni æstate circumnavigare consueverat, viriliter hoc agens ad defensionem contra exteros regni sui, et suum suorumque ad bellicosos usus exercitium. Hyeme autem et vere infra regnum usquequaque per omnes provincias Anglorum transire; et quomodo legum jura et suorum statuta decretorum a principibus observarentur, neve pauperes a divitibus[2] præjudicium passi opprimerentur, diligenter solebat investigare. In uno fortitudini, in altero justitiæ studens, in utroque rei publicæ et regni utilitatibus consulens. Hinc hostibus circumquaque timor, et omnium sibi subditorum erga eum excreverat amor. Cujus decessu totius regni status est perturbatus, et post tempus lætitiæ, quod illius tempore vigebat pacifice, cœpit tribulatio undique advenire. Nam princeps Expulsion of the monks from the Mercian monasteries. Merciorum Elfere, quampluresque regni primates, magnis obcæcati muneribus, abbates cum monachis de monasteriis, in quibus rex pacificus Eadgarus eos locaverat, expulerunt, et clericos cum uxoribus suis[3] introduxerunt. Sed huic vesaniæ

[1] *factus est magnus*] om. a.b.; maximus, Sim. D.

[2] *divitibus*] potentibus, a. b. and Sim. D.

[3] *suis*] om. b.

Simeon, 160. F. Wig. 578. viri timorati, dux Orientalium Anglorum Ethelwinus Dei amicus, et suus germanus Elfwoldus, et Bricthnothus comes vir religiosus, restiterunt, et in synodo constituti, se nunquam ferre posse dixerunt, ut monachi ejicerentur de regno, qui omnem religionem tenuerunt in regno. Congregato dein exercitu, monasteria Orientalium Anglorum maxima strenuitate defenderunt. Dum hæc aguntur, de rege eligendo inter regni primores oborta est dissensio. Quidam namque regis filium Eadwardum, quidam vero fratrem ejus elegerunt Egelredum: quam ob causam archipræsules Dunstanus et Oswaldus, cum coepiscopis, abbatibus, ducibusque quamplurimis, in unum convenerunt, et Eadwardum, ut pater suus præceperat, elegerunt, electum consecraverunt, et in regem unxerunt. Cometis stella autumnali tempore visa est.

A.D. 975. They are defended by Æthelwin, Elfwold, and Brihtnoth.

Simeon, 160. F. Wig. 579. Edward elected king.

Anno DCCCCºLXXºVIº. fames valida Angliam invasit. A.D. 976. Famine.

Anno DCCCCºLXXºVIIº. in Estanglia, apud villam quæ Kirding[1] nominatur, maxima synodus celebratur. Dehinc apud Calne regiam villam, dum alia celebraretur, totius Angliæ majores natu, qui ibidem congregati fuerant, excepto Sancto Dunstano, de solario corruerunt: quorum quidam mortui sunt, quidam vero mortis periculum vix evaserunt.

A.D. 977. Synod of Calne.

Rex Anglorum Eadwardus occiditur.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini DCCCCºLXXºVIIIº., rex Anglorum Eadwardus jussu novercæ Elfthrithæ[2] reginæ, in loco qui Corvesgeate dicitur, a suis injuste perimitur, et apud Werham non regio more sepelitur. Cujus frater Egelredus Clito egregius, moribus elegans, pulcher vultu, decorus aspectu, indictione viª., die Dominica, xviii.[3] kalendas Maii, post Paschalem festivitatem, a sanctis archiepiscopis Dunstano et Oswaldo, et decem episcopis, in Kingestune ad regni fastigium est consecratus.

A.D. 978. Murder of Edward. Æthelred II. crowned.

Prædixit autem ei beatus Dunstanus prophetico spiritu plenus, quod multas in regno passurus esset tribulationes, his verbis. "Quoniam aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui, quem occidit mater tua, "propterea audi verbum Domini; hæc dicit Dominus: "Non deficiet gladius de domo tua, sæviens in te omnibus "diebus vitæ tuæ, interficiens de semine tuo, quousque reg- "num tuum transferatur in regnum alienum, cujus ritum et "linguam gens cui præsides non novit: nec expiabitur nisi

Dunstan's prophecy. Simeon, 172. F. Wig. 590.

---

[1] *Kirding*] Kirthling, a.b.
[2] *Elfthrithæ*] Ætheldrithæ, b.
[3] *xviii.*] viii. A., wrongly.

A.D. 978. "longa vindicta peccatum tuum, et peccatum matris tuæ, et "peccatum virorum qui interfuere consilio ejus nequam."[1] Simeon, 173.

Igitur post hæc nubes per totam Angliam media nocte nunc sanguinea nunc ignea visa est. Dehinc in radios diversos et colores varios mutata, circa auroram disparuit. Simeon, 161. F. Wig. 579.

A.D. 979. Translation of St. Edward.

Anno DCCCCºLXXºIXº. Dux Merciorum Elferus cum multitudine populi Werham venit, sanctumque corpus pretiosi regis et martyris Eadwardi de tumulo sublevari præcepit, ubi miracula facta fuerant. Quod dum esset nudatum, sanum atque incolume ab omni clade et contagione inventum est; lotum deinde novisque vestimentis indutum, ad Sceaftesbirig est delatum, et honorifice tumulatum.

A.D. 980. Southampton, Thanet, and Cheshire ravaged.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXº. Suthamtonia a Danicis piratis devastatur, et ejus cives omnes fere vel occisi, vel captivi sunt abducti. Nec multo post Tenedland insulam idem devastavit exercitus. Quo etiam anno civitatis Legionum provincia a Norwegensibus piratis devastatur.

A.D. 981. St. Petrock's destroyed.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºIº. Sancti Petroci confessoris monasterium in Cornubia devastatum est a piratis, qui anno præterito Suthamtoniam vastaverunt; qui deinde in Dompnania et in ipsa Cornubia circa ripas maris frequentes prædas agebant.

A.D. 982. Portland ravaged. London burnt.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºIIº. Ad provincias Dorsetensium tres naves piratarum applicuerunt, et Portland devastaverunt. Civitas Lundonia igne cremata est.

A.D. 983. Death of Alfhere.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºIIIº. Dux Merciorum Alferus, regis Anglorum Edgari propinquus, decessit, ejusque ducatum filius suus Alfricus suscepit. Simeon, 161. F. Wig. 580.

A.D. 984. Death of St. Æthelwold.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºIVº. Sanctus Athelwoldus Wintoniensis episcopus, indictione [x]ii[a]., kalendis Augusti, e sæculo migravit ad Dominum, cui successit Batonicus abbas Elphegus, Hic in monasterio, cui Dehorhirst vocabulum est, religionis habitum susceperat.

A.D. 985. Æthelred besieges Rochester.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºVIº. Rex Anglorum Egelredus propter quasdam dissensiones civitatem Hrofi obsedit, et visa capiendi illam difficultate, iratus discessit, et terras Sancti Andreæ apostoli devastavit. Dux Merciorum Alfricus, Alferi ducis filius, Anglia expellitur.

A.D. 987. Epidemic.

Anno DCCCCºLXXXºVIIº. Hoc anno duæ retro sæculis Anglorum genti incognitæ pestes, scilicet febris hominum et lues animalium, quæ Anglice Scitha[2] vocatur, Latine autem fluxus interraneorum dici potest, totam Angliam plurimum vexaverunt;

---

[1] This prophecy occurs in Simeon or Florence in connexion with the death of Ethelred. It is taken from Osbern's *Life of Dunstan*, Ang. Sac., ii. 113.

[2] *Scitha*] Scittha, a.b.

Simeon, 161. F. Wig. 580. et clade pervalida, tam homines afficiendo, quam animalia penitus consumendo, per omnes fines Angliæ inedicibiliter sævierunt. A.D. 987.

A.D. 988. Watchet destroyed. Anno DCCCC°LXXX°VIII°. Wecedeport a Danicis piratis devastatur, a quibus etiam satrapa Domnaniæ Goda nomine, et miles fortissimus Strenuwoldus, cum aliis nonnullis perimuntur, sed tamen ex illis plurioribus occisis, Angli loco dominantur funeris. Beatus Dunstanus archiepiscopus, indictione prima, xiv°. kalendas Junii, Sabbato, ex hac vita transivit, et cœli regna petivit, pro quo Ethelgarus Seolesigensis episcopus archipræsulatum suscepit, et uno anno tribusque mensibus tenuit. (Death of Dunstan.) (Simeon, 162. F. Wig. 580.)

A.D. 989. Anno DCCCC°LXXX°IX°. Defuncto Aldredo[1] episcopo[2] Aldunus succedit.

A.D. 991. Ipswich destroyed. Anno DCCCC°XC°I°. Gippeswic a Danis depopulatur. Horum duces fuerunt Justin, et Guthmund filius Steitan,[3] cum quibus non multo post, strenuus dux Orientalium Saxonum Bricthnothus, juxta Meldunam prælium commisit; sed utrinque multitudine occisa, ipse dux occubuit; Danica vero fortuna vicit. (Battle of Maldon.) Quo insuper anno, Sirici Dorobornensis archiepiscopi, et ducum Athelwardi et Alfrici consilio, Danis tributum, quod erat decem millia librarum, primitus datum est, ut a crebris rapinis et incendiis, et hominum occisionibus, quas circa ripas maris frequenter agebant, desisterent, pacemque firmam cum eis tenerent. (Tribute first paid to the Danes.)

Dedication of Ramsey Abbey. Sanctus Oswaldus archiepiscopus monasterium Ramense, quod ipse, et Dei amicus dux Orientalium Anglorum Ethelwinus construxerant, divino adjutus auxilio et confortatus adminiculo, vi°. idus Novembris, feria tertia[4] dedicavit.

A.D. 992. Death of Oswald. Anno DCCCC°XC°II°. Sanctus Oswaldus archiepiscopus, indictione quinta, pridie kalendas Martii, feria secunda, ante pedes pauperum, ubi mandatum more solito faciebat,[5] transiens ex hac vita, sicut ante prædixerat, regni cœlestis gaudia conscendit, et Wigorniæ[6] in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, requiescit. (Simeon, 162. F. Wig. 581.) Cui venerabilis Medeshamstundensis abbas Aldulfus successit. (Aldulf archbishop of York.) Nec diu post excessum beati patris Oswaldi, egregiæ dux memoriæ Ethelwinus, Dei amicus, defunctus est, et in[7] Ramesege honorifice sepultus.

A.D. 993. Bamborough plundered. Anno DCCCC°XC°III°. Hoc anno prædictus exercitus Danorum

---

[1] *Aldredo*] Elfsio, Sim. D. and Flor. Wig., rightly, ad. ann. 990.

[2] *episcopo*] archiepiscopo, A. B. Of Chester le Street.

[3] *Steitan*] Steytan, Sim. D.; Stertan, a.

[4] The 8th of November 991 was Sunday.

[5] *ante pedes . . . . faciebat*] om. Sim. D.

[6] *Wigorniæ*] Wingornæ, b.

[7] *in*] om. b.

A.D. 993. The Danes ravage Northumbria.

Bebbanburg infregit, et omnia,[1] quæ in ea reperta sunt secum asportavit. Dehinc ad ostium Humbræ fluminis cursum suum dirigens, in Lindissege et Northimbria multis villis incensis, hominibusque cæsis, magnam prædam cepit; contra quos provinciales quamplures conglobati properanter ascenderunt, sed cum prœlium essent commissuri duces exercitus, Frana videlicet, Frithegist et Godwinus, quia ex paterno genere Dani fuerunt, suis insidiantes auctores, fugæ primitus exstiterunt. Simeon, 162. F. Wig. 581.

A.D. 994. Anlaf and Sweyn attack London,

Anno DCCCC°XC°IV°. Anlafus rex Norreganorum, et Swen rex Danorum, die Nativitatis Sanctæ Mariæ cum xciv^or^. trieribus Lundoniam advehuntur; quam mox infringere et incendere conantur, sed Dei Suæque genitricis Mariæ juvamine, non sine parvo sui exercitus detrimento a civibus repelluntur.

and ravage Wessex.

Unde furore simul et tristitia exasperati, eadem die recesserunt inde, et primitus in Eastsexonia et Cantia, circaque ripas maris, deinde in Suthsaxonia Suthamtunensique provincia villas incendunt, agros devastant, et sine respectu sexus vel ætatis quamplures ferro et flamma absumunt, prædamque ingentem agunt; ad postremum vero equos sibi rapientes, multasque provincias debacchando discurrentes, nec sexui quidem muliebri, vel innocuæ parvulorum pepercerunt ætati, quin universos atrocitate ferina contraderent morti. Tunc rex Egelredus, procerum suorum consilio, ad eos legatos misit promittens tributum et stipendium ea conventione illis se daturum, ut a sua crudelitate omnino desisterent. Qui petitioni regis adquiescentes, ad suas reversi[2] sunt naves, et sic ad Suthamtun totus congregatus exercitus, ibidem hyemaverunt. Quibus de tota Westsaxonia stipendium dabatur; de tota vero Anglia tributum, quod erat sexdecim millia librarum, dependebatur. Simeon, 163. F. Wig. 581.

Exact tribute from Æthelred.

Anlaf is confirmed at Andover.

Interea jussu regis Egelredi, Wintoniensis episcopus Elfegus, nobilisque dux Ethelwaldus,[3] regem Anlafum adierunt, obsidibusque datis, illum ad regiam villam Andeafaran, ubi rex manebat, cum honore deduxerunt. Quem rex honorifice suscepit, confirmari ab episcopo fecit, sibique in filium adoptavit, et regio munere donavit. Ille vero se non amplius ad Angliam cum exercitu venturum regi Egelredo promisit, et post hæc ad naves rediit. Æstate quoque imminente ad patriam devectus sua promissa bene custodivit. Simeon, 163. F. Wig. 582.

A.D. 995. Translation of St. Cuthbert.

Anno DCCCC°XC°V°. Aldunus episcopus transtulit de Cestre in Dunholm corpus Sancti Cuthberti.

---

[1] *omnia*] om. b.

[2] *reversi*] regressi, b.

[3] *Ethelwaldus*] Æthelwardus, b., Sim. D.

Simeon, 163. F. Wig. 582. Anno DCCCC°XC°VI°. Elfricus Doroberniæ archiepiscopus consecratur. A.D. 996. Elfric archbishop.

Anno DCCCC°XC°VII°. Danorum exercitus, qui remanserat in Anglia, circumnavigata Westsaxonia, ostium Sabrinæ fluminis intravit, et nunc Septentrionalem Britanniam, nunc Cornubiam, nunc in Domnaniam Wecedport devastavit, villisque quamplurimis incensis, multas hominum strages dedit. Deinde Penwithsteort regyrato, in ostium fluminis Tameræ, Dompnaniam et Cornubiam sequestra[n]tis, navibus devectus prosilivit, nulloque prohibente, usque ad Lidefordam suum continuavit incendium, et cædes hominum reiteravit. Ad hæc etiam Ordulfi primatis monasterium, quod Tavistoke dicitur, combussit, ingentique præda onustus, ad naves repedavit, eodemque in loco hyemavit. A.D. 997. The Danes ravage the Western coast. Tavistock burnt.

Anno DCCCC°XC°VIII°. Memoratus paganorum exercitus ostium fluminis quod dicitur Frome[1] appulsus, [Dorsetaniam maxima ex parte devastavit. Dein frequenter insulam Vectam adiit; sæpe] Dorsetaniam repetiit, ac more solito prædæ institit; et quotiescunque in Vecta jacuit, de Suthsaxonia et Suthamtunensi provincia sibi victum accepit. Adversus tantam tempestatem multoties congregatus exercitus est, sed quoties prælium essent commissuri, Angli, aut insidiis aut aliquo infortunio impediti, terga verterunt, et hostibus victoriam dederunt. A.D. 998. Dorsetshire and the Isle of Wight ravaged.

Anno DCCCC°XC°IX°. Sæpedictus exercitus paganorum ostium Tamensis fluminis ingressus, per flumen Meodewege[2] Rovecestre advehitur, eamque paucis diebus obsidione cinxit. Ad quos repellendos conglobati Cantuarienses asperum cum eis prælium ineunt; sed multis ex his et ex illis cæsis, Dani loco dominantur fluminis. Hinc equites effecti occidentalem Cantiæ plagam ferme totam sunt demoliti. Qua re cognita, rex Anglorum Egelredus, suorum primatum consilio, et classem et pedestrem congregavit exercitum. Verum dum paratæ erant naves, duces exercitus moram de die in diem cœptis innectentes, populum graviter vexabant. Ad ultimum vero nec pedestris, nec classica manus quicquam communis utilitatis agebat, præter populi laborem, pecuniæ perditionem, hostium incitationem. A.D. 999. Kent ravaged. Simeon, 164. F. Wig. 582. The English constantly defeated. Simeon, 164. F. Wig. 583.

Anno M°. Danorum classis præfata Normanniam petiit. Rex Anglorum Egelredus terram Cumbrorum depopulatus est fere totam. Hic suæ classi mandavit, ut circumnavigata Septentrionali Britannia in loco constituto sibi occurreret; sed vi ventorum præpedita non potuit; insulam tamen quæ Monege dicitur devastavit. A.D. 1000. Æthelred ravages Cumberland and Anglesey.

---

[1] *Frome*] Forme, b. | [2] *Meodewege*] Moedwege, b.

A.D. 1001. The Danes enter the Exe. Anno M°I°. Memoratus paganorum exercitus de Normannia Angliam revectus, ostium fluminis Eaxe ingreditur, et mox ad expugnandam urbem Exancestriam egreditur. Sed dum murum illius destruere moliretur, a civibus urbem viriliter defendentibus repellitur. Unde nimis exasperatus, more solito villas succendendo, agros depopulando, homines cædendo, per Domnaniam vagatur. Quare Domnanienses et Sumerseatunenses [1] in unum congregati, in loco qui dicitur Penho [2] certamen cum eis ineunt. Sed Angli pro militum paucitate Danorum multitudinem non ferentes fugam capessunt; illi vero multa strage facta [3] victores existunt. Deinde adeptis caballis, per totam fere Domnaniam pejora prioribus mala gesserunt, ingentique præda capta, naves repetierunt. Inde ad Vectam insulam cursum direxerunt, et modo in ea, modo in Suthamtonia, modo in Dorsetania, nullo obsistente, diu solito prædæ institerunt, et in homines ferro, et in villas igne sunt in tantum grassati; ut cum illis nec classica manus navali, nec pedestris exercitus certare auderet prælio terrestri. Idcirco et regi non parva mœstitia, et populis indiscibilis incerat tristitia. Simeon, 164. F. Wig. 583.

They ravage Devonshire,

Hampshire and Dorsetshire.

A.D. 1002. Æthelred pays a fresh tribute to the Danes. Anno M°II°. Rex Anglorum Egelredus, habito consilio cum regni sui primatibus, utile duxit a Danis dextras accipere, illisque, ut a malis cessarent, stipendium dare, et placabile tributum solvere. Hujus rei gratia dux Leofsius ad eos transmissus est, qui cum venisset, stipendium et tributum ut acciperent flagitavit. Illi vero legationem ejus libenter amplectentes petitis adquieverunt, et pro tenenda pace quantum tributi sibi dependeretur, statuerunt. Nec diu post viginti quatuor millia libræ illis persolvebantur. Interea idem dux Leofsius nobilem virum Eafic [4] summum regis præpositum occidit, unde rex ira succensus, patria illum expulit. Eodem anno rex Egelredus uxorem duxit Emmam, Saxonice Elfgivam vocatam, ducis Normannorum Ricardi primi filiam. Aldulfus archipræsul Eboracensis, coepiscopis, abbatibus, presbyteris, monachis, religiosis quoque viris aggregatis, Sancti Oswaldi archipræsulis ossa, anno regis Egelredi xx°v°., indictione xv^{ta}., xvii°. kalendas Maii, feria iv^{a}., e tumulo levavit, et in scrinio quod apparaverat honorifice locavit. Et non multo post, id est, pridie nonas Maii, ipse defunctus, in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ Wigorniæ est sepultus; cui successit abbas Wlstanus. Quo etiam anno rex Egelredus omnes Danos [5] Angliam incolentes Simeon, 165. F. Wig. 583.

He marries Emma.

Translation of S. Oswald.

Æthelred massacres the Danes.

[1] *et Sumerseatunenses*] om. b.
[2] *Penho*] Penhō, A.
[3] *facta*] om. b.
[4] *Eafic*] Easig, Ed.
[5] *Danos*] om. b.

Simeon, 165. F. Wig. 583. majores et minores utriusque sexus jussit occidi, quia illum suosque primates vita regnoque privare, et totius Angliæ dominium suæ ditioni conati sunt subdere. A.D. 1002.

Simeon, 165. F. Wig. 584. Anno M°III°. Rex Danorum Swein, per incuriam et proditionem Normannici comitis Hugonis, quem regina Emma Domnaniæ præfecit, civitatem Excestram infregit, spoliavit, murum ab orientali usque ad occidentalem portam destruxit, cum ingenti præda naves repetiit. Post hæc vero cum Wiltoniensem provinciam devastaret, fortis exercitus de Suthamtunensi et Wiltunensi provincia congregatus, viriliter et constanter adversus hostes pugnaturus ascendit. Sed cum tam prope essent exercitus, ut alter alterum videre potuisset, Alfricus dux supra memoratus, qui loco ducis Anglis tunc[1] præfuit, antiquas arces statim prodidit, et simulata infirmitate vomere cœpit, dicens, se magnam infirmitatem incurrisse, et ob hoc cum hostibus dimicare non posse. Cujus inertiam et timiditatem ut vidit exercitus, a suis inimicis sine pugna divertit mœstissimus: unde dictum est in antiquo[2] proverbio, "Tremescente duce in "prælio, cæteri omnes præliatores efficiuntur pavidiores." Swein autem videns Anglorum inconstantiam, ad civitatem Wiltoniam suum duxit exercitum, eamque devastavit et incendit; simili quoque modo Serbyriam[3] consumpsit, et post suas naves repetiit. A.D. 1003. Sweyn takes Exeter, ravages Wiltshire, and destroys Wilton and Salisbury.

Anno M°IIII°. Rex Danorum Swein cum sua classe Northwic advectus, illam devastavit et incendit. Tunc magnæ strenuitatis dux Estanglorum Ulfketel, quia ex improviso venit, nec spatium congregandi contra eum exercitum habuit, habito cum majoribus Estangliæ consilio, pacem cum eo pepigit. Verum ille dirupto fœdere, tertia post hæc hebdomada cum copiis suis latenter e navibus prosiliens, Theodfordam invasit, devastavit, nocte una in ea mansit, diluculo incendit. Quo cognito dux Ulfketel quibusdam de provincialibus mandavit, ut hostium naves confringerent; at illi vel non audebant, vel jussa perficere negligebant. Ipse vero quamcitius potuit, interim clam suum congregans exercitum, adversus hostes audacter ascendit. Quibus ad naves repedantibus non æqua manu militum illis occurrit, durissimumque cum eis prælium commisit. Multisque ex his et ex illis cæsis, nobiliores quique de Estanglia corruerunt, Dani vero vix evaserunt. Sed si vires Estanglorum jam adessent, naves suas Dani nullo modo repeterent; ut enim ipsi testati sunt, durius et asperius bellum in Anglia A.D. 1004. Sweyn burns Norwich: and Thetford. Ulfketel encounters the Danes.

---

[1] *tunc*] om. b.
[2] *antiquo*] om. b. aliquo, A.
[3] *Serbiriam*] Setbyriam, b.; Serasbyriam, Sim. D.

A.D. 1004. nunquam experti sunt, quam quod illis dux Ulfketel intulerat. Simeon, 165. F. Wig. 584.

A.D. 1005. Sweyn retires to Denmark. Anno M°V°. Hoc anno dira magnaque fames Angliam invasit. Quapropter rex Danorum Swein Denemerciam revertitur, post non longum tempus reversurus.

A.D. 1006. Elphege archbishop of Canterbury. Anno M°VI°. Alfricus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit, cui Wintoniensis episcopus Elfegus successit, et pro illo Kenulfus episcopatum suscepit. Mense Julio Danorum classis innumera Angliam advecta, portum Sandicum subiit, et cæde et incendio quæque consumens, modo in Cantia, modo in Suthsaxonia maximam prædam egit. Ob hoc rex Egelredus de Mercia et West Saxonia exercitum congregavit, et fortiter cum eis dimicare statuit. Sed illi cum eo palam confligere nullatenus voluerunt, verum nunc in his, nunc in illis locis frequenter rapinas exercuerunt, et mox ad naves solito repedabant, eoque modo per autumnum Anglorum vexabant exercitum. Quo demum imminente hyeme domum redeunte, illi cum enormi præda Vectam insulam adiere, et ibidem usque ad Nativitatem Domini mansere. Qua adveniente, quia rex tunc temporis in Scrobesberiensi provincia morabatur, per Suthamtunensem provinciam ad Bearrukeschire venerunt, et Redingum[1] et Walingfordam, Ceolesiam, vicosque quamplures combusserunt. Inde moventes Eascesdune transito Cwichelmelawe[2] adierunt. Unde per aliam viam revertentes, juxta Kenetam incolas loci paratos ad prælium offenderunt, statimque cum eis prælium commiserunt, illosque fugaverunt, et postmodum cum præda quam ceperant ad naves repedarunt. Simeon, 166. F. Wig. 585.

Æthelred levies an army against the Danes.

They ravage Berkshire.

A.D. 1007. Tribute levied on all England for the Danes. Anno M°VII°. Rex Anglorum Egelredus primatum suorum consilio nuncios ad Danos legans, eis mandavit, quod sumptus et tributum eo tenore illis dare vellet, ut a rapinis desisterent, et pacem cum eo firmam tenerent. Cujus postulationi consenserunt, et ex eo tempore de tota Anglia sumptus illis dabatur, et tributum, quod erat xxxvi. millia librarum, persolvebatur.

Edric Streone made governor of Mercia. Quo etiam anno rex Egelredus Edricum quendam, cognomento Streone, Merciorum constituit ducem. Qui licet regis filiam Edgitam in conjugium habuisset, tamen multimoda versutia perfidus, et patriæ proditor, et publicus hostis, ut in sequentibus apparebit, frequenter expertus, dignum quandoque sub rege Cnuto[3] fraudium suarum finem sortitus est.

---

[1] *Redingum*] Rediggum, b.

[2] *Cwichelmelawe*] Cwikelmeslawe, b.; Cwichelmeslawe, Sim. D.

[3] *Cnuto*] Canuto, b.

Simeon, 166. F. Wig. 585. Anno M°VIII°. Rex Anglorum Egelredus de trecentis et decem cassatis unam trierem, de novem vero loricam et cassidem fieri, et per totam Angliam naves intente præcepit fabricari. Quibus paratis, electos in eis milites cum alimentis posuit, et, ut ab exterorum irruptionibus fines regni sui defenderent, illas ad Sandicum portum congregavit. Eo tempore frater perfidi ducis Edrici Streone, Brictricus, homo lubricus, ambitiosus[1] et superbus, apud regem injuste accusavit Suthsaxonicum ministrum Wlnothum. Qui ne caperetur mox fugam iniit, et ix.[2] navibus adquisitis circa ripas maris rapinas frequentes exercuit. Ubi autem regiæ classi nunciatum est, quod si quis illum vellet facile capere posset; octoginta trieribus assumptis ad persequendum illum Brictricus profectus est. Sed dum diu prospere navigasset, subito validissima tempestas oborta naves conquassavit, diverberavit, et in aridam projecit; quas Wolnothus non multo post exussit. Ea re cognita, rex cum ducibus et proceribus domum rediit. Classis vero jussu illius Lundoniam adiit, sicque totius populi labor maximus periit.

A.D. 1008. Æthelred prepares a fleet, at Sandwich.

Wulfnoth burns some of the king's ships, and the plan fails.

Simeon, 166. F. Wig. 586. Anno M°IX°. Danicus comes Turkillus cum sua classe ad[3] Angliam venit. Exinde mense Augusto alia classis Danorum innumerabilis, cui præerant duces Hemmingus et Ailafus, ad Tenedland insulam applicuit, et prædictæ classi sine dilatione se junxit. Simeon, 167. F. Wig. 586. Deinde ambæ Sandicum portum subeunt, et e navibus prosilientes civitatem Cantuariam hostiliter adeunt, eamque infringere cœperunt. A quibus mox cives Cantuarienses cum orientalibus Cantuariis dextras petentes acceperunt, et eis tria millia librarum pro[4] firma pace dederunt. Illi autem naves repetentes ad Vectam insulam cursum direxerunt, dein in Suthsaxonia et Suthamtunensi provincia circa ripas maris, uti consueverant, frequenter prædam egerunt, et villas quamplures incenderunt. Quocirca rex Egelredus de tota Anglia exercitum congregavit, et per provincias mari vicinas adversus illorum irruptiones locavit. Sed illi pro hoc non destiterunt, quin pro situ ubique locorum rapinas agerent. Quadam igitur vice, dum illi solito longius a mari prædatum descenderent, et onerati præda redirent, viam, quam ad naves suas reversuri erant, rex præoccupavit multis armatorum millibus[5] instructus, et, ut totus exercitus erat, mori vel vincere paratus. At perfidus dux Edricus Streona gener ejus, et insidiis et perplexis orationibus, ne prælium inirent, sed ea vice suos hostes abire permitterent, omnibus modis elaboravit. Suasit et persuasit,

A.D. 1009. The jarl Turkill invades England: ravages Kent and Wessex.

Edric Streone prevents Æthelred from fighting.

---

1 *ambitiosus*] ambiguosus, A.
2 *ix.*] xx., a.b., S.D.
3 *ad*] om. b.
4 *pro*] om. b.
5 *millibus*] militibus, b.

A.D. 1009. The Danes ravage Kent and Essex. et a manibus Anglorum Danos, ut patriæ proditor, eripuit, et abire permisit. Illi vero ab eis divertentes, magno cum gaudio ad naves suas regressi sunt. Post hæc emensa Sancti Martini festivitate, in Cantiam devecti, et in Tamensi flumine hyemalem stationem elegerunt, et sumptus de Eastsaxonia, aliisque provinciis utrique ripæ fluminis vicinis, sibi rapuerunt. Sæpe etiam Lundoniam civitatem aggressi, expugnare moliti sunt, sed a civibus, non sine parvo suorum detrimento, repulsi sunt. Simeon, 167. F. Wig. 586.

A.D. 1010. They burn Oxford; Anno MºXº. Memoratus Danorum exercitus, mense Januario, navibus exilientes, et per saltum qui dicitur Ciltern Oxenfordam [1] adeunt, eamque devastantes incendunt, et sic in utraque parte Tamensis fluminis in redeundo prædam agunt. Quibus cum nuntiatum fuisset, exercitum adversus illos Lundoniæ congregatum, et cum eis prælium commissurum; pars exercitus per septentrionalem ripam gradientis, in loco qui dicitur Stane transivit, et in unum congregati, prædæque ubertate ditati, per Suthreiam ad suas repedarunt naves, quas tempore Quadragesimali, dum consisterent in Cantia, refecerunt. Post Pascha Estangliam advecti, et prope Gipeswic navibus egressi, ad locum qui Rigmere dicitur, ubi ducem Ulfketellum cognovere cum exercitu consedisse, perrexerunt, et durum cum eo prælium tertio nonas Maii commiserunt. Sed cum pugna vehemens esset, Estangli terga verterunt, quodam Danico ministro Turketello, cognomine Mercheavod [2] fugam primitus incipiente. Verum Grantebrigenses viriliter pugnantes diu restiterunt, victi demum fugerunt. In eo prælio gener regis Ethelstanus, nobilis minister Oswius cum filio, Wlfricus Leofwini filius, Edwius Effici germanus, et multi alii nobiles ministri, populusque innumerabilis corruerunt. Dani vero loco funeris dominati, Eastangliam obtinuerunt; et equites effecti, tribus mensibus per totam provinciam discurrere, prædas agere, villas cremare, homines et animalia non cessabant trucidare.[3] Exin Teodfordam et Grantebrige devastantes cremaverunt. His gestis pedites navibus devecti, equites vero equis subvecti, Tamensem fluvium repetierunt. Paucis diebus interjectis, iterum prædaturi exeunt, et recto tramite ad Oxenefordensem provinciam tendunt, eamque primitus, deinde Bukinghamnensem, Bedefordensem [4] provincias, villasque cremando homines

(margin: defeat the East Angles; and conquer East Anglia. Simeon, 168. F. Wig. 586.)

[1] *Oxenfordam*] Horenefordam, Ed. Sav.

[2] *Mercheavod*] Mirenheafed, Sim. D.

[3] *trucidare*] In paludibus etiam ididem per omnia fecerunt; add. b. and S.D.

[4] *provinciam . . . Bedefordensem*] Heortfordensem, b.

Simeon, 168. F. Wig. 587. et animalia trucidando depopulantur, et post ad naves suas cum ingenti præda regrediuntur. Post hæc, circa festum Sancti Andreæ apostoli, Northamtuniam, et in circuitu ejus quantum volebant, igni tradiderunt, et inde Tamensem fluvium transeuntes, Westsaxoniam adierunt; et Caningamersce majorique parte Wiltoniensis provinciæ cremata, solito more cum præda magna suas ad naves circa Natale Domini reversi sunt. A.D. 1010. The Danes ravage Mercia and Wiltshire.

Anno M°XI°. Eastanglia, Eastsaxonia, Middelsaxonia, Heortfordensi, Bukinghammensi, Oxenefordensi, Bedefordensi,[1] Grantebrigensi provinciis, medietate quoque Huntedunensis provinciæ, magnaque parte Northamtunensis pagi; in australi vero plaga Tamensis fluminis, Cantia, Suthreia, Suthsaxonia, Suthamtunensi, Wiltoniensi, Barrokescirensi provinciis, a prædicto Danorum exercitu ferro flammaque demolitis; rex Anglorum Egelredus, et regni sui primates, ad illos miserunt legatos, pacem ab eis petentes, et ut a populatione desisterent, stipendium et tributum eis promittentes. Quibus auditis, ut rei probavit exitus, non sine dolo et simulatione, oblatis consenserunt. Licet etiam eis affluenter sumptus pararetur, et ad sua vota tributum penderetur, non tamen destiterunt, quin turmatim per provincias ubilibet discurrentes, villas devastarent, rebus suis miseros quosdam spoliarent, quosdam vero[2] necarent. Eodem anno Danorum exercitus, vastata magna parte Angliæ, ad ultimum, inter Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ et Sancti Michaelis festivitatem, urbem Cantuariam circumvallantes obsederunt. Vicesimo autem obsidionis die, per insidias Elmeri archidiaconi, quem Sanctus Elphegus, ne morti traderetur, prius eripuit, pars civitatis incenditur, exercitus ingreditur, urbs capitur; alii ferro[3] jugulantur; alii flammis consumuntur. Plures quoque de muris præcipites dantur; nonnulli per verenda suspensi deficiunt; matronæ crinibus per plateas civitatis distractæ, demum flammis injectæ moriuntur: parvuli a matrum uberibus avulsi, aut lanceis excipiuntur, aut superacto carro minutatim[4] conteruntur. A.D. 1011. Æthelred sues for peace. The Danes take Canterbury.

De Sancto Elphego Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.

Interea archipræsul Elfegus capitur, vincitur, tenetur, et variis modis afficitur. Almarus abbas monasterii Sancti Augustini abire permittitur. Capiuntur Godwinus Hrofensis episcopus, Leofruna abbatissa monasterii Sanctæ Mildrithæ, Elfregus regis præpositus, monachi quoque et clerici, populusque innumerabilis utriusque sexus. Exin ecclesia Christi Elphege is taken.

[1] *Bedefordensi*] om. b.
[2] *vero*] om. b.
[3] *ferro*] vero, A.
[4] *minutatim*] minuatim, b.

A.D. 1011. Elphege imprisoned.

spoliata comburitur; grex monachilis, et turba virilis, sed et muliebris, nec non infantilis decimatur: decimus vitæ reservatur. Quatuor monachis, et octingentis viris, decimatorum summa perficitur. Populo cæso, urbe spoliata, et tota cremata, archipræsul Elfegus vinctus extrahitur, impellitur, graviter sauciatur. Hinc ad classem ducitur, post in carcerem truditur, ibique septem mensibus affligitur. Interim ira Dei in homicidam populum desæviens, ex eis duo millia per diros internorum cruciatus prostravit. Cæteri quoque simili modo percussi, a fidelibus commonentur, ut pontifici satisfaciant, sed differunt. Prævalebat interim clades, et nunc denos, nunc vicenos, nunc plures in simul absumebat.

Simeon, 168. F. Wig. 587.

Simeon, 169. F. Wig. 587.

A.D. 1012. Martyrdom of St. Elphege.

Anno MºXIIº. perfidus dux Edricus Streona, et omnes Angliæ primates, ante Pascha Lundoniæ congregati sunt, et ibi tam diu morati sunt, quousque tributum Danis promissum, quod erat xlviii. millia librarum, persolveretur. Interea sacrosancto Dominicæ requiei Sabbato, archipræsuli Elpfego a Danis proponitur conditio, ut si vita et libertate velit potiri, tria millia librarum persolvat. Illo nolente, necem ejus usque ad aliud sabbatum protelant; quo adveniente, adversus illum exarserunt ira magna, et quia vino nimis inebriati fuerant, et quia prohibuerat ne quis pro sua redemptione quicquam daret eis. Proinde de carcere ducitur, et ad eorum concilium protrahitur. Quo viso, mox illi de sedibus prosiliunt, aversis securibus illum dejiciunt, lapidibus, ossibus, bovinis capitibus obruunt. Ad ultimum quidam Thrum nomine, quem confirmarat pridie, impia motus pietate, securim capiti illius infixit. Qui statim in Domino, decimo tertio kalendas Maii obdormivit, et victorem spiritum cum triumpho martyrii direxit ad cœlos. Cujus corpus die sequenti Lundoniam defertur, a civibus honorifice suscipitur, et ab episcopis Ednotho Lindicolnensi,[1] et Alfhuno Lundoniensi, in ecclesia Sancti Pauli sepelitur. Post hæc tributo soluto, et pace juramentis firmata, Danica classis, ut prius erat congregata, longe lateque dispergitur. Sed cum rege xlv. naves[2] remansere, eique fidelitatem juravere, et adversus exteros Angliam defensuros eo tenore[3] promiserunt, ut eis victum tegimenque præberet.

Simeon, 169. F. Wig. 588.

His body is removed to London.

A.D. 1013. Living, archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno MºXIIIº. Livingus[4] archiepiscopatum Doroberniæ suscepit. Mense Julio, rex Danorum Swanus cum valida classe ad Sandicum portum est appulsus, ibique paucis diebus moratus discessit; et Eastanglia circumnavigata, ostium Humbræ flu-

[1] *Lindicolnensi*] more correctly, of Dorchester.

[2] *naves*] om. b.

[3] *eo tenore*] om. b.

[4] *Livingus*] bishop of Wells.

Simeon, 169. F. Wig. 588.

A.D. 1013.

Sweyn encamps at Gainsborough, and receives the submission of Northumbria, Lindsey, and the Five burghs.

minis intravit, de quo, in flumen Trentam ingressus, ad Gainesburg navigavit, ubi et castra posuit. Cui sine cunctatione comes Ucthredus, et Northimbrenses et Lindissienses primitus, deinde Fifburgenses, mox etiam omnis populus qui habitabat in septentrionali plaga Wethlingastrete, id est, strata quam filii Wethle[1] regis ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale per Angliam straverunt, deditionem obtulerunt, et pace cum illo stabilita obsidibusque datis, fidelitatem ei juraverunt. Quibus præcepit, ut equos et alimenta suo exercitui præpararent. His impletis, et classe cum obsidibus Cnuto filio suo commendata, sibi lectos[2] auxiliarios de deditis sumens, adversus Australes Mercios expeditionem movit, et pertransita Wathlingastrete, suis edictum posuit, videlicet, ut agros devastarent, villas cremarent, ecclesias spoliarent, quicquid masculini sexus in manus veniret, sine respectu misericordiæ jugularent, fœminas ad suam libidinem explendam reservarent, et omnia quæ possent mala peragerent. Quibus ita facientibus, et rabie ferina debacchantibus, venit Oxenefordam, et illam quam citius potuit[3] obtinuit, obsidibusque acceptis, festinato Wintoniam properavit. Quo cum venisset, crudelitatis ejus magnitudine cives Wintonienses perterriti, pacem cum eo sine mora fecerunt, et obsides quos vel quot expetiit dederunt.

He takes Oxford, reduces Winchester, and besieges London.

Simeon, 170. F. Wig. 588.

Quibus acceptis, versus Lundoniam movit exercitum; de quo multi in Tamensi fluvio submersi interierunt; quia nunquam pontem neque vadum quærere voluerunt. Cumque Lundoniam venisset, multis modis illam vel dolo capere, vel vi expugnare conatus est. Sed rex Anglorum Egelredus cum civibus, et juvamine Danici comitis Turkilli sæpe memorati, qui secum tunc temporis intus erat, muros urbis viriliter defendit, et illum abegit. Qui repulsus primo Walingfordam, dein Batham, obvia quæque more solito rapiendo et demoliendo, adiit; ibique exercitum suum recreando constituit.[4] Tunc venit ad eum Athelmarus[5] Domnaniæ comes, et cum eo occidentales ministri, et pace cum illo facta, obsides illi dederunt. Quibus omnibus ad velle peractis, ad suam classem reversus, ab omni Anglorum populo rex appellabatur et habebatur, licet cuncta fere tyrannice faceret. Cives etiam Lundonienses obsides illi miserunt, et pacem cum eo fecerunt. Metuebant enim furorem illius in tantum super se exardescere, ut omni-

Æthelred repulses him; and he takes Wallingford and Bath.

He is acknowledged as king.

---

[1] *Wethle*] Watle, b.

[2] *lectos*] letos, A.B.

[3] *quam citius potuit*] citius quam putavit, S.D.; citius quam prius putavit, a.b.; citius quam potuit, A.B.

[4] *recreando constituit*] refrigerando consedit, Sim. D. and F. W.

[5] *Athelmarus*] Adelmarus, b.

A.D. 1013. Æthelred sends his wife and children to Normandy. bus suis rebus ablatis, vel oculos illorum erui, vel manus vel pedes detruncari juberet. Quod cum vidisset rex Egelredus, reginam Emmam Normanniam ad suum fratrem secundum Ricardum Normannorum comitem, et filios suos Eadwardum et Elfredum, cum magistro illorum Elfhuno Lundoniensi episcopo, et Elfsium Medesbuhrhamstudensem[1] abbatem, naviter misit. Ipse vero cum Danica classe, quæ in Tamensi jacebat, in loco qui Grenewic nominatur, aliquantum permansit; et post ad Vectam insulam devectus, Nativitatem Domini in illa celebravit. Qua peracta, Normanniam devehitur, et a Ricardo comite honorifice suscipitur. Interea Swanus tyrannus, suæ classi sumptus affluenter parari, et tributum fere importabile solvi præcepit. Similiter per omnia comes Turkillus, classi quæ apud Grenewic jacebat, solvi mandavit. Et super hæc omnia, uterque illorum, quotiescunque eis libuerat, prædas egerunt, et multa mala fecerunt.

Simeon, 170. F. Wig. 588.

He follows them.

Simeon, 170. F. Wig. 589.

A.D. 1014. Sweyn threatens St. Edmund's. Anno M°XIV°. Swanus tyrannus, post innumerabila et crudelia mala,[2] quæ vel in Anglia vel in aliis terris gesserat, ad cumulum suæ damnationis, ex oppido ubi corpus pretiosi martyris et regis Eadmundi incorruptum requiescit, quod nemo prius audebat facere, ex quo id oppidum datum fuerat memorati Sancti ecclesiæ, grande tributum ausus est exigere. Quod si cito non penderetur, se proculdubio ipsum oppidum cum oppidanis crematurum, ipsius martyris ecclesiam funditus eversurum, clericos variis modis cruciaturum, sæpissime minatus est. Insuper et ipsi martyri multis modis frequenter detrahere, et ipsum nihil sanctitatis habere, fuit ausus dicere. At quia modum suæ malitiæ noluit ponere, ultio divina non permisit blasphemum diutius vivere. Denique cum imminente vespera diei, qua in generali placito, quod apud Geagnesburg[3] tenuerat, hæc eadem minitans iteraret, atque Danorum cuneis circumvallatus esset densissimis, Sanctum Eadmundum ex adverso venientem solus vidit armatum. Quem cum vidisset, expavit, et nimio cum clamore vociferari cœpit, "Succurrite," inquiens, "commilitones, succurrite, ecce, Sanctus Eadmundus "me venit occidere." Et cum hæc diceret, acriter a sancto confossus cuspide, de emissario, cui insederat, decidit, et usque ad noctis crepusculum, magno cruciatus tormento, tertio nonas Februarii, miserabili morte vitam finivit. Quo mortuo, filium ejus Canutum sibi regem constituit classica manus Danorum. At majores natu totius Angliæ, ad regem Egelredum pari consensu nuncios festinanter misere, dicentes se nullum

Simeon, 171. F. Wig. 589.

He dies at Gainsborough.

Canute king of the Danes.

---

[1] *Medesbuhrhamstudensem*] Medeshamstundensem, b., Sim. Dun.

[2] *mala*] magna, b.

[3] *Geagnesburg*] Gainesburh, b.

Simeon, 171. F. Wig. 589. plus amare vel amaturos esse quam suum naturalem dominum, si ipse vel rectius gubernare vel mitius eos tractare vellet quam prius tractaverat. Quibus auditis, Eadwardum filium suum cum legatis suis ad eos dirigens, majores minoresque gentis suæ amicabiliter salutavit, promittens se illis mitem devotumque dominum futurum, in omnibus eorum voluntati consensurum, consiliis adquieturum, et quicquid sibi, vel suis, ab illis probrose dictum, vel contrarie factum fuerat, placido animo condonaturum, si omnes unanimiter et sine perfidia illum recipere vellent in regnum. Ad hæc cuncti benigne responderunt. Deinde amicitia plenaria ex utraque parte et verbis et pacto confirmatur. Ad hæc principes se non amplius Danicum regem admissuros in Angliam, unanimiter spoponderunt. His gestis, ab Anglis in Normanniam mittitur, rex festinato Quadragesimali tempore reducitur, et ab omnibus honorabiliter excipitur. Interea Canuto et Lindisiensibus convenit, ut caballis exercitui suo paratis, prædatum simul descenderent. Sed antequam essent parati, venit illo rex Egelredus cum exercitu valido, et Canuto cum classica manu expulso, Lindeseiam totam depopulans, flammisque consumens, omnes incolas quos poterat occidit. Ille vero fugæ præsidio celeriter arrepto, versum Austrum cursum dirigens brevi Sandicum ad portum est appulsus, et obsides, qui de tota Anglia patri suo dati fuerant, in terram exposuit, illorumque manibus truncatis, auribus amputatis, naribus præcisis, abire permisit, et deinceps profectus est Denemarciam, anno sequenti reversurus. Super hæc omnia mala rex Egelredus classi, quæ apud Grenewic jacuit, tributum, quod erat xxx. millia librarum, pendi mandavit. Mare littus egreditur tertio kalendas Octobris, et in Anglia villas quamplurimas innumerabilemque populi multitudinem submersit.

A.D. 1014. The English recall Æthelred, who is conditionally restored.

He expels Canute from Lindsey.

Canute mutilates his hostages and retires to Denmark.

Anno MºXVº. Hoc anno, cum apud Oxenefordam magnum haberetur placitum, dux perfidus Edricus Streona digniores et potentiores ministros ex Seovenburgensibus, Sigeferth et Morkerum, filios Earngrimi, in cameram suam dolo suscepit, et occulte illos ibi necare jussit. Quorum facultates rex Egelredus accepit, et derelictam Sigeferthi Aldgitam[1] ad Maidulfi urbem deduci præcepit. Quæ cum ibi custodiretur, venit illuc Eadmundus filius regis, cognomento Ferreum latus, et contra voluntatem sui patris illam sibi uxorem accepit, et inter Assumptionem et Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ profectus ad Fifburgenses, terram Sigeferthi et Mor-

A.D. 1015. Council at Oxford: tyranny of Æthelred.

Simeon, 171. F. Wig. 590.

Marriage of Edmund Ironside.

---

[1] *Aldgitam*] Alditham, b.

A.D. 1015. Canute returns, and ravages Wessex.

keri invasit, ac populum illarum sibi subjugavit. Eodem tempore Canutus rex Danorum cum magna classe ad Sandicum portum venit, et mox Cantia circumnavigata, ostium Fromæ fluminis introivit, et in Dorsetania et in Sumersetania Wiltoniensique provincia magnam prædam egit. Tunc quia rex Egelredus apud Cossham ægrotavit, Eadmundus Clito filius ejus in sua parte, et dux insidiis et dolo plenus Edricus Streona in sua parte, magnum congregaverunt exercitum. Sed cum in unum convenirent, modis omnibus insidias Clitoni dux Edric tetendit, illumque dolo perimere tentavit. Quibus cognitis, mox ab invicem discesserunt, et locum suis inimicis dederunt. Non diu post idem dux de regia classe quadraginta naves, Danicis militibus instructas, sibi allexit, et Canutum adiens, ipsius dominio se mancipavit. Idem Westsaxones, datis obsidibus, fecerunt, et post exercitui caballos paraverunt.

Simeon, 171. F. Wig. 590.

Treachery and desertion of Edric Streone.

Simeon, 172. F. Wig. 590.

A.D. 1016. Canute and Edric ravage Mercia.

Anno MºXVIº. Rex Danorum Canutus, et dux perfidus Edricus Streona, cum multo comitatu,[1] amnem Tamensem[2] in loco qui Crikelade dicitur transeuntes, ante Epiphaniam Domini Merciam hostiliter intraverunt, et multas villas in Warewicana provincia populantes, incenderunt, ac omnes quos invenerant occiderunt. Quod ut audivit Clito Eadmundus cognomine Ferreum latus, exercitum festinato congregavit: sed cum congregatus esset, cum Westsaxonicis et Danis nolebant congredi Mercenses, nisi cum illis rex Egelredus esset, et cives Lundonienses. Quapropter expeditione dimissa, unusquisque rediit in sua. Festivitate vero transacta, iterum Eadmundus Clito majorem congregavit exercitum; quo congregato, nuncios Lundoniam misit, rogans patrem suum, ut cum omnibus quos habere poterat, sibi quam citius posset occurreret. Qui multis pugnatoribus coadunatis illi festinanter occurrit. Sed cum in unum exercitus convenissent, intimatum est regi quod nisi præcaveret sibi, quidam ex suis auxiliariis essent illum tradituri; idcirco mox exercitu dimisso, Lundoniam rediit. Clito vero in Northymbriam ivit; unde putabant nonnulli, quod adhuc adversus Canutum congregare majorem vellet exercitum. Sed sicut Canutus et Edricus in sua parte, ita ille et Ucthredus Northimbrorum comes, provincias nonnullas depopulati sunt. Nam prius Steofordensem, deinde Scrobesbyriensem et Legascestrensem provincias devastavere, quia adversus Danorum exercitum, ad pugnam exire noluerunt. Interea Canutus et Edricus Streona, primitus Bukingamnensem, Bedefordensem, Huntundunensem, Northamtunensem, Lincolni-

Edmund Ironside attempts to induce the king to fight.

Edmund ravages Staffordshire, Shropshire, and Leicestershire.

[1] *comitatu*] equitatu, a.b.

[2] *Tamensem*] Tamensim, a.; Tamensium, b.

Simeon, 172. F. Wig. 590.

A.D. 1016.

Canute ravages the North.

Murder of Uhtred. Canute comes southwards.

ensem, Notingahamensem provincias, deinde[1] Northimbriam depopulantur. Quo cognito, Clito Eadmundus Ferreum latus populatione dimissa, ad patrem suum Lundoniam properavit. Comes vero Ucthredus domum festinanter rediit, et necessitate compulsus ad Canutum cum omnibus Northimbrensibus se contulit, et obsides ei dedit, et tamen ejus jussu, vel permissu, a Turebrando nobili et Danico viro est peremptus, et cum [eo] Turketel Navenæ filius: quo perempto Canutus Eiricum pro Ucthredo comitem posuit, et post alacer versus Austrum reversus, ante Paschalem festivitatem suas cum omni exercitu naves repetiit.

Rex Egelredus obiit.

April 23. Æthelred dies.

Simeon, 173. F. Wig. 591.

Canute chosen king and acknowledged at Southampton,

The Londoners choose Edmund Ironside.

Canute attacks London, about May 7.

Eodem tempore, rex Anglorum Egelredus xiiii[a]. indictione, ix[o]. kalendas Maii, feria ii[a]., Lundoniæ defunctus est post magnos labores, et multas vitæ suæ tribulationes, quas pro sui fratris Eadwardi nece super eum esse venturas beatus Dunstanus ei prædixerat, sicut in anno primo regni ejus scriptum est. Corpus autem illius in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Apostoli honorifice sepultum est. Cujus post mortem, episcopi, abbates, duces, et quique nobiliores Angliæ in unum congregati, pari consensu in dominum et regem sibi Canutum elegere; et ad eum in Suthamtoniam venientes, omnemque progeniem regis Egelredi coram illo abnegando repudiantes, pacem cum eo composuere, et fidelitatem illi juravere. Quibus et ille juravit, quod et secundum Deum et secundum sæculum fidelis esse vellet eis dominus. At cives Lundonienses, et pars nobilium qui eo tempore consistebant Lundoniæ, Clitonem Eadmundum unanimi consensu in regem levavere. Qui solii regalis sublimatus culmine, intrepidus Westsaxoniam adiit, et ab omni populo magna susceptus gratulatione, suæ ditioni subegit eam citissime. Quibus auditis, multi Anglorum populi magna cum festinatione illi se dederunt voluntarie. Canutus autem interim cum sua tota classe circa Rogationes Lundoniam devehitur. Quo cum venissent, in australi parte Tamensis, magnam scrobem foderunt, et naves suas in occidentalem plagam pontis traxerunt. Deinde urbem alta lataque fossa, et obsidione cingentes, ingressum et egressum cunctis intercluserunt: ac eam frequenter expugnare moliti sunt. Sed a civibus illis viriliter resistentibus procul a mœnibus repelluntur. Quapropter obsidione ad tempus dimissa exercitusque

---

[1] *deinde*] om. a. b.

A.D. 1016. Canute marches into Wessex.

parte ad naves custodiendas relicta, in Westsaxoniam abierunt propere, et regi Eadmundo Ferreo lateri spatium congregandi exercitum non dedere. Quibus tamen ille cum exercitu, quem[1] in tantillo spatio congregarat, Dei fretus auxilio audacter in Dorsetania occurrit, et in loco qui Peonnum vocatur, juxta Gillingham cum eis congressus, vicit et eos in fugam vertit. Post hæc, media æstate transacta, denuo majori quam prius exercitu congregato, fortiter confligere statuit cum Canuto. Cui occurrit in Hwiccia, in loco qui Scearstan nominatur. Ubi exercitum pro loco et copiis instruit, optimum quemque in primam aciem subducit, cæterum exercitum in subsidiis locat, unumquemque nominans appellat, hortatur, rogat ut se meminerint pro patria, pro liberis, pro conjugibus atque pro suis domibus certare, et optimis sermonibus militum animos accendebat. Deinde tibicines canere et cohortes paulatim incedere jubet. Idem facit hostium exercitus. Ubi eo ventum est, ubi ab illis prælium committi posset, maximo clamore cum infestis signis occurrunt, lanceis et gladiis pugna geritur, maxima vi certatur. Interea rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus in prima acie cominus acriter instabat, omnia providebat, multum ipse pugnabat, sæpe hostem feriebat, strenui militis et boni imperatoris officia simul exsequebatur. Sed quia sororius ejus Edricus Streona dux perfidissimus, et Almarus dilectus, Algarusque filius Meu,[2] qui ei auxilio esse debuerant, cum Suthamtunensibus et Wiltoniensibus provincialibus, innumeraque populi multitudine in parte Danorum erant, ejus exercitus nimis laborabat. Sed tamen primo die belli, die scilicet lunæ, tam durum tamque cruentum extitit prælium, ut uterque exercitus præ lassitudine diutius non valens pugnare, sole jam ruente, ab invicem sit digressus spontanea voluntate. Sed postera die rex Eadmundus Danos protereret omnes, si perfidi ducis Edrici Streone non essent insidiæ. Siquidem cum pugna vehemens esset, et Anglos fortiores esse cerneret, cujusdam viri regi Eadmundo facie capillisque simillimi, Osmeri[3] nomine, capite amputato, et in altum levato, exclamat Anglos frustra repugnare, dicens:

Simeon, 173. F. Wig. 591.

Battle of Penn in Dorsetshire.

Battle of Sherstone.

Perfidy of Eadric Streone.

Simeon, 174. F. Wig. 591.

Battle renewed on the morrow.

"Vos Dorsetenses, Domnani, Wiltonienses,
"Amisso capite, præcipites[4] fugite.
"En domini vestri caput Eadmundi basilei
"Hic teneo manibus; cedite quamcitius."[5]

---

[1] *quem*] quod, b.

[2] *Meu*] Meawes, F. W.

[3] *Osmeri*] Osmeari, a. b., F. W. and S. D.

[4] *præcipites*] so, a. b.; principes, A. B.

[5] *quamcitius*] quantocius, a. A. B.

Simeon, 174. F. Wig. 592. Quod ubi Angli accepere, magis atrocitate rei quam fide nuncii terrentur. Unde factum est, ut inconstantiores quique paululum a fuga abessent. Sed illico quod rex viveret comperto, animos tollebant, et in Danos acriter incedebant, ex illisque multos prosternebant,[1] summis certantes viribus usque ad crepusculum noctis. Qua adveniente, ut pridie, digressi sunt spontanee: at ubi plurimum noctis processit, Canutus e castris suos abire silentio jussit, et versus Lundoniam iter arripiens, ad naves repedavit; ac non multo post Lundoniam reobsedit. Ubi autem dies advenit, et rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus Danos fugisse comperit, majorem congregaturus exercitum, in Westsaxoniam revertitur. Cujus strenuitatem videns sororius ejus dux perfidus Edricus, ut naturalem dominum requisivit illum, et pace cum eo redintegrata, se fidelem ei permansurum juravit. Itaque exercitu vice tertia congregato, Lundonienses cives ab obsidione rex liberavit, Danos ad suas naves fugavit. Post biduum Tamensim, in loco qui Brenford nominatur, transfretavit, cum Danis tertio prælium commisit, et fugatis eis, victor extitit. Ea vice, multi Anglorum populi, dum incautius flumen transirent, demerguntur. Exinde rex numerosiorem congregaturus exercitum, in Westsaxoniam properat: Dani vero Lundoniam repetunt, obsidione illam cingunt, et omni ex parte oppugnant: sed Deo juvante, nihil omnino proficiunt. Ob quam rem, cum sua classe recedentes inde, amnem, qui Arewe dicitur, intrant, et navibus exsilientes, prædatum in Merciam pergunt, obvios quosque cædunt, more solito villas incendunt, prædam agunt, post ad naves redeunt; pedestres in flumen, quod Meodewege nuncupatur, navibus devehuntur, equestres vero vivam prædam per terram minant.

A.D. 1016. Night puts an end to the battle.

Canute retires towards London.

Edmund defeats the Danes at Brentford.

They sail up the Orwell.

Interea rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus exercitum fortem de tota Anglia quarto congregavit, et in loco ubi prius Tamensi fluvio transmeato, in Cantiam citus intravit, ac juxta Ottafordam cum Danis pugnam iniit. At illi non ferentes impetum ejus, terga verterunt, et cum suis equis in Scepege fugerunt. Ex quibus tamen omnes quos comprehendere potuit occidit, et nisi perfidus dux Edricus Streona suis insidiis eum apud Eaglesford, ne suos persequeretur hostes, retineret, ea die plena potiretur victoria. Quo in Westsaxoniam reverso, Canutus suas copias in Estsaxoniam trajecit, et iterum prædandi causa Merciam repetiit, et pejora prioribus exercitum facere jussit. Illi vero satis impigre jussa peragunt, et omnibus qui in manus venerant obtruncatis, villis quampluri-

Battle of Otford.

Canute goes into Essex and Mercia.

[1] *prosternebant*] prostrabant, A. B. a. b. and Sim. D.

A.D. 1016. Battle of Assandun. mis incensis, agris depopulatis, prædæ ubertate ditati, ad naves repedant festini. Quos rex Anglorum Eadmundus Ferreum latus, cum exercitu quem de tota Anglia contraxerat insecutus, in monte qui Assendun,[1] id est, mons Asini, nuncupatur, abeuntes est consecutus. Ibi festine triplicibus subsidiis aciem instruit. Dein singulas turmas circuiens monet atque obtestatur, uti memores pristinæ virtutis atque victoriæ sese regnumque suum a Danorum avaritia defendant; cum his certamen fore, quos antea vicerunt. Interea Canutus paulatim in æquum locum suos deducit; at contra rex Eadmundus aciem, sicuti instruxerat, velociter movet, et repente signo dato, Danos invadit; summa vi utrinque dimicatur, ex his et illis multi cadunt. Verum dux perfidissimus et nequissimus Edricus Streona, videns Danorum aciem inclinatam, et Anglos habituros victoriam, ut prius Canuto promiserat, cum Magesetensibus et exercitus parte cui præerat, fugam capessit, et dominum suum regem Eadmundum et Anglorum exercitum dolis circumvenit, et Danis victoriam suis insidiis dedit. Occisus est in ea pugna Alfricus dux, Godwinus dux, Ulfketellus Eastanglorum dux, Athelwardus dux filius ducis Eastanglorum Athelwini, Dei amici, totusque fere globus nobilitatis Anglorum, qui nullo in bello majus unquam vulnus quam ibi acceperunt. Eadnotus quoque Lindicolnensis[2] episcopus, et Wlsius[3] abbas, qui ad exorandum Deum pro milite bellum agente convenerant, interfecti sunt.

Simeon, 174. F. Wig. 592.

Simeon, 175. F. Wig. 592.

Defeat and slaughter of the English.

Conference at Deerhurst. Interjectis post hæc paucis diebus, cum rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus adhuc cum Canuto congredi vellet, dux nequissimus et dolo plenus, Edricus, et quidam alii, id nullo modo sinebant fieri, sed illi consilium dabant, ut pace facta cum Canuto regnum divideret; quorum suggestionibus, licet invitus, ad postremum cum consentiret, recurrentibus ad invicem nunciis, et obsidibus utrinque datis, ambo reges ad locum qui Deorhyrst nominatur, in unum convenerunt: Eadmundus cum suis in occidentali ripa Sabrinæ, Canutus vero in oriental cum suis consedit.

Simeon, 175. F. Wig. 593.

---

[1] *Assendun*] Assedun, b.

[2] *Lindicolnensis*] Properly, of Dorchester.

[3] *Wlsius*] abbot of Ramsey. MS. B. has another enumeration of the slain, in a marginal note by an ancient annotator; and on the next page an account of the murder of Edmund Ironside by the same. For these and the marginal notes of B. in general *see* the Appendix to the Preface of this Volume.

Pax facta est inter Eadmundum regem et Canutum regem.

Simeon, 175. F. Wig. 593. Dein uterque rex in insula quæ Olanege appellatur, et est in ipsius fluminis medio sita, trabariis advehitur. Ubi pace, amicitia, fraternitate, et pacto et sacramentis confirmata, regnum dividitur. Dein armis et vestibus mutuatis, tributoque, quod classicæ manui penderetur, statuto, ab invicem discesserunt; Dani tamen cum præda, quam diripuerant, ad suas naves redierunt, cum quibus pacem, dato pretio, cives Lundonienses fecerunt, et eos secum hyemare permiserunt. A.D. 1016. The kingdom divided.

Rex Edmundus Ferreum latus obiit.

Post hæc rex Eadmundus Ferreum latus, circa festivitatem Sancti Andreæ apostoli, xv[a]. indictione, decessit Lundoniæ; sed cum avo suo rege pacifico Eadgaro sepultus est Glestoniæ. Death of Edmund Ironside.

Cujus post mortem rex Canutus, omnes episcopos et duces, necnon et principes, cunctosque optimates gentis Angliæ, Lundoniæ congregari jussit. Qui cum venissent ante eum, quasi nesciens interrogavit eos sagacissime, qui fuerunt testes inter eum et Eadmundum, quando conventionem amicitiæ et divisionem regni inter se fecerunt, qualiter ipse et Eadmundus de fratribus et filiis ejus inter se locuti fuissent, utrum fratribus et filiis ejus liceret in regno Occidentalium Saxonum post patrem eorum regnare, si Eadmundus, ipso vivente,[1] moreretur. At illi cœperunt dicere se proculdubio scire, quod rex Eadmundus fratribus nullam portionem regni sui nec vivens nec moriens commendasset; de filiis autem ejus, hoc se nosse dixerunt, quod rex Eadmundus vellet Canutum adjutorem et protectorem esse filiorum ejus, donec regnandi ætatem haberent. Verum illi, testante Deo, falsum perhibuerunt testimonium, et fraudulenter mentiti sunt, æstimantes illum sibi et mitiorem esse propter mendacium suum, et se ab eo præmium magnum suscepturos. Ex quibus falsis testibus quidam post non multum tempus ab eodem rege interfecti sunt. Tunc rex Canutus post supradictam interrogationem [conatus est] a præfatis optimatibus fidelia juramenta recipere. At illi juraverunt ei, quod illum regem sibi eligere[2] vellent, eique libenter obedire, et suo exercitui vectigalia dare. Et accepto pignore de manu sua nuda cum juramentis a prin-

Canute calls a national council at London, in which the brothers of Edmund are excluded from the succession.

Simeon, 176. F. Wig. 593.

---

[1] *Eadmundus ipso vivente*] Eadmundo vivente, a. b.

[2] *regem sibi eligere*] regere, a. b.

A.D. 1016. The etheling Eadwi sentenced to exile.

cipibus Danorum, fratres et filios Eadmundi regis omnino despexerunt, eosque reges esse negaverunt. Unus autem ex ipsis præfatis Clitonibus erat Eadwinus egregius et reverentissimus Eadmundi regis germanus, quem ibidem, cum consilio pessimo, exulem esse debere constituerunt. Cum ergo audisset Canutus adulationem supradictorum, et despectionem quam fecerunt in Edwinum, gaudens introivit[1] in cameram suam, vocansque ad se perfidum ducem Edricum, sciscitabatur ab eo, quo modo posset decipere Edwinum ut mortis subiret periculum. Qui respondens dixit se scire quendam virum Athelwardum nomine, qui facilius eum in mortem tradere quivisset, cum quo colloquium habere posset, illique nimiam mercedem promittere. Cognito autem viri nomine, vocavit eum rex ad se callide dicens: "Sic et sic allocutus est me dux Edricus, dicens te "posse seducere Edwinum Clitonem, ut occidatur. Modo ad-"quiesce consiliis nostris, et quære mihi caput ejus, et potieris "omni honore, et dignitate patrum tuorum; et quære mihi "caput ejus, et eris mihi carior fratre germano." Ille vero dicebat se velle eum quærere, ut interficeretur, si ullo modo valuisset. Veruntamen nondum illum necare volebat,[2] sed propter excusationem hoc promittebat. Erat enim ille ex nobilissimo genere Anglorum ortus.

Simeon, 176. F. Wig. 593.

Canute contrives his destruction.

De divisione Angliæ per regem Canutum facta.

A.D. 1017. Canute's division of England.

Anno MºXVIIº. Hoc anno rex Canutus totius Angliæ suscepit imperium, idque in quatuor partes divisit. Westsaxoniam sibi, Eastangliam Turkillo comiti, Merciam Edrico perfido duci, Northimbriam Eirico comiti. Fœdus etiam cum principibus et omni populo percussit, et amicitiam firmam inter se juramentis stabilierunt, omnesque veteres inimicitias postponentes sedaverunt. Dein consilio perfidi ducis Edrici, rex Canutus Clitonem Edwium regis Eadmundi germanum, et Edwium[3] qui rex appellabatur rusticorum, exlegavit. Verum cum rege pacificatus est Edwius. Edwius vero Clito, deceptus illorum insidiis, quos catenus amicissimos habuit, jussu et petitione regis Canuti, hoc eodem anno innocenter occiditur. Dedit etiam consilium Edricus, ut Clitunculos Eadwardum et Eadmundum, regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, ut in Anglia perimerentur, parvo elapso tempore, ad regem Suavorum occidendos misit. Qui licet fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus adquiescere voluit: sed illos ad regem

Simeon, 176. F. Wig. 594.

Outlawry and death of the etheling Eadwi.

[1] *introivit*] intravit, b.
[2] *volebat*] valebat, a. b.
[3] *et Edwium*] om. Sim. D.

Simeon, 176. F. Wig. 594. Ungariorum Salomonem[1] nomine misit nutriendos, vitæque reservandos; quorum unus, scilicet Eadmundus, processu temporis ibidem vitam finivit. Eadwardus vero Agatham[2] filiam germani imperatoris Henrici in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam, postea Scottorum reginam, et Christinam sanctimonialem virginem, et Clitonem Edgarum suscepit. Mense Julio rex Canutus, derelictam regis Egelredi reginam Emmam in conjugium accepit, ex qua genuit Heardecnutum postea regem, et filiam nomine Gunnildam, quæ nupsit Henrico[3] Romanorum imperatori. A.D. 1017. The sons of Æthelred are sent to Hungary. Marriage of Canute and Emma. Simeon, 177. F. Wig. 594.

Anno M°XVIII°. Cum esset rex Canutus Lundoniæ in Nativitate Domini, perfidum ducem Edricum Streona in palatio jussit occidi, quia timebat insidiis ab eo quandoque circumveniri, sicut domini sui priores Egelredus et Eadmundus frequenter sunt circumventi. Corpus vero illius super murum civitatis projici, ac insepultum præcepit dimitti. Cum quo dux Northmannus filius Leofwini ducis, frater scilicet Leofrici comitis, et Athelwardus filius Agelmari ducis, et Brictricus filius Alphegi Domnaniensis satrapæ, sine culpa interfecti sunt. Leofricum pro Northmanno germano suo rex constituit ducem, et eum postmodum valde carum habuit. Dec. 25. Punishment of Eadric Streone.

Hoc anno de tota Anglia lxxii. millia et de Lundonia x. millia D. libræ exercitui Danorum sunt persolutæ; et Aldunus episcopus Dunelmensis obiit. Ingens bellum inter Anglos et Scottos apud Carrum geritur. Angli et Dani apud Oxenefordam de lege regis Eadgari tenenda concordes sunt effecti. A.D. 1018. Amount paid to the Danes. Council of Oxford.

Anno M°XIX°. Rex Anglorum et Danorum Canutus Denemarciam adiit, et ibi per totam hyemem mansit. A.D. 1019. Canute in Denmark.

Anno M°XX°. Rex Canutus Angliam rediit, et in Paschali festivitate apud Cyrencestre magnum concilium habuit. Eadmundus suscepit episcopatum Dunelmensem. Livingus Doroberniæ archiepiscopus vita deçessit, cui Agelnothus, qui bonus appellabatur, nobilis viri Agelmari filius, successit. Eodem anno ecclesia, quam rex Canutus et comes Turkellus, in monte qui Assandun dicitur, construxerant, illis præsentibus, a Wlstano Eboracênsi archiepiscopo et multis aliis episcopis cum magno honore et gloria dedicata est. A.D. 1020. Council at Cirencester, April 17. Church at Assandun dedicated. Simeon, 177. F. Wig. 595.

Anno M°XXI°. Canutus rex Anglorum et Danorum, ante festum Sancti Martini, Turkillum sæpedictum comitem cum uxore sua Egitha expulit Anglia. Algarus Orientalium Anglorum episcopus obiit, cui Alfwinus successit. A.D. 1021. Turkill banished.

---

[1] *Salomonem*] Properly Stephen, who reigned in Hungary 997–1038. Solomon became king in 1061.

[2] *Agatham*] daughter of a brother of Henry II.

[3] *Henrico*] Henry III.

A.D. 1022. Æthelnoth archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno M°XXII°. Agelnothus Doroberniæ archiepiscopus Romam ivit, quem Benedictus papa magno cum honore suscepit, et pallium illi dedit. Simeon, 177. F. Wig. 595.

A.D. 1023. Death of archbishop Wulfstan.

Anno M°XXIII°. Corpus Sancti Elfegi martyris, de Lundonia Doroberniam est translatum. Wlstanus Eboracensium archiepiscopus, Eboraci v^to^. kalendas Junii, feria tertia, defungitur; sed corpus ejus Heli defertur, et ibi sepelitur; cui successit Alfricus Wintoniensis præpositus.

A.D. 1026. Alfric visits Rome.

Anno M°XXVI°. Alfricus Eboracensium archiepiscopus Romam ivit, et a Johanne papa pallium suscepit. Obiit Ricardus secundus dux Normannorum, cui successit Ricardus tertius, qui eodem anno mortuus est, cui successit Rodbertus frater ejus.

A.D. 1027. Canute bribes the Norwegians.

Anno M°XXVII°. Cum regi Anglorum et Danorum intimatum fuisset quod Norregani regem suum Onlavum,[1] propter ejus simplicitatem et mansuetudinem, æquitatem et religiositatem, nimis vilipenderent, multum auri et argenti quibusdam illorum misit, multis rogans petitionibus ut, illo spreto et abjecto, deditionem illi facerent, ac illum super se regnare permitterent. Qui cum ea quæ miserat aviditate magna suscepissent, ei renunciari jusserunt ad illum suscipiendum se paratos fore, quandocunque voluisset venire. Simeon, 178. F. Wig. 595.

A.D. 1028. He conquers Norway.

Anno M°XX°VIII°. Canutus rex Anglorum et Danorum l. navibus magnis Norregiam devectus, Olavum regem de illa expulit, sibique eam subjugavit.

A.D. 1029. Banishment of Hacon.

Anno M°XX°IX. Canutus rex Anglorum et Danorum et Norreganorum ad Angliam rediit, et post hæc Danicum comitem Hacun, qui nobilem matronam Gunhildam, sororis suæ et Wirtgeorni regis Winidorum filiam, in matrimonio habuit, quasi legationis causa in exilium misit. Timebat enim ab illo vel vita privari.

A.D. 1030. Murder of S. Olaf.

Anno M°XXX°. Prædictus comes Hacun in mari[3] periit: quidam tamen dicunt eum fuisse occisum in Orcada insula. Sanctus Olavus rex et martyr, Haroldi regis Norreganorum filius, quem rex Canutus expulerat, reversus in Norregam injuste perimitur a Norreganis.

A.D. 1031. Canute's visit to Rome.

Anno M°XXX°I°. Canutus rex Anglorum et Danorum et Norreganorum de Denemercia magno cum honore Romam[4] ivit, et Sancto Petro apostolorum principi ingentia dona in auro et argento aliisque rebus pretiosis obtulit, et a Johanne papa, ut scholam Anglorum in Roma morantium, ab omni tributo et telone liberaret, impetravit; et in eundo et redeundo largas pauperibus eleemosynas erogavit, ac multas per viam clau- Simeon, 178. F. Wig. 596.

---

[1] *Onlavum*] Oslavum, a. b.

[2] *privari*] vel regno expelli, add. Sim. D., F. W.

[3] *in mari*] om. a. b.

[4] Canute's visit to Rome took place in 1026. He was there at Easter 1027.

Simeon, 178. F. Wig. 596. suras, ubi telon a peregrinis exigebatur,[1] ingenti pretio dato, dissipavit; vitæque suæ et morum emendationem, ante sepulcrum apostolorum devovit. A.D. 1031. Canute's visit to Rome.

Simeon, 178. F. Wig. 597. Anno MºXXXºIIº. Ecclesia Sancti Eadmundi regis et martyris hoc anno dedicata est. Ignis pene inextinguibilis multa per Angliam loca concremavit. Elfsige Wintoniensis episcopus obiit, cui Elfwinus presbyter regis successit. A.D. 1032. Consecration of St. Edmund's.

Anno MºXXXºIIIº. Magnæ religionis et modestiæ vir, Leolfsius Hwicciorum episcopus, in episcopali villa Kemesia, decimo quarto kalendas Septembris, feria tertia,[2] obiit, et, ut fas est credi, ad cœlica regna migravit: cujus corpus in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ Wigornæ cum honore tumulatur; in cujus sedem Perscorensis abbas Bricthegus, filius videlicet sororis Wlstani Eboracensis archiepiscopi, levatus est. A.D. 1033. Death of Leofsi, bishop of Worcester.

Anno MºXXXºIVº. Malcolm rex Scottorum obiit, cui Machetad successit. A.D. 1034. Kings of Scotland.

Simeon, 179. F. Wig. 597. Anno MºXXXºVº. Canutus rex Anglorum ante suum obitum super Norreganos Swanum filium suum regem constituit;[3] super Danos vero Heardecnutum, suum et Emmæ reginæ filium, regem locavit;[4] Haroldum vero, filium suum ex Hamtunensi Elfgiva procreatum, regem Anglorum constituit:[4] et postea hoc anno, ii. idus Novembris, feria quarta, apud Sceaftesbiriam vita decessit; sed Wintoniæ, in Veteri monasterio satis honorifice tumulatur. Quo tumulato regina Elfgiva, quæ et Emma, ibidem resedit. A.D. 1035. Canute divides his dominions, and dies at Shaftesbury, Nov. 12.

Simeon, 179. F. Wig. 598. Haroldus vero, adepta regia dignitate, misit Wintoniam suos constipatores celerrime, et gazarum opumque, quas rex Canutus ei reliquerat, majorem melioremque partem ademit illi tyrannice, spoliatamque dimisit ibidem, ut cœperat, residere: atque consentientibus plurimis majoribus natu Angliæ, quasi justus hæres cœpit regnare, non tamen ita potenter ut Canutus, quia justior hæres expectabatur Heardecnutus. Unde brevi post tempore, regnum sorte dividitur Angliæ, et Haroldo pars septentrionalis, Heardecnuto provenit australis. Rodbertus dux Normannorum obiit, cui successit Willelmus Bastard filius ejus, in puerili ætate. Harold seizes Emma's treasures. England divided between Harold and Hardicanute.

Anno MºXXXºVIº. Innocentes Clitones, Alfredus et Eadwardus, Egelredi quondam regis Anglorum filii, de Normannia, ubi cum Ricardo avunculo suo manserant tempore longo, multis Normannicis militibus secum assumptis, in Angliam paucis transvecti navibus, ad suæ matris colloquium, quæ Wintoniæ A.D. 1036. Return of the Ethelings.

---

[1] *exigebatur*] exequebatur, A. B. a. b.

[2] *feria tertia*] Aug. 19 was Sunday in 1033.

[3] *constituit*] locavit, a. b.

[4] *super...locavit, Haroldum...constituit*] tr. b.

A.D. 1036. The nobles take offence. morabatur, venere. Quod indigne graviterque ferebant potentes nonnulli, quia, licet injustum esset, Haroldo multo devotiores extitere quam illis, maxime, ut fertur, comes Godwinus. Simeon, 179. F. Wig. 598.

Alfred is imprisoned. Hic quidem Alfredum cum versus Lundoniam ad regis Haroldi colloquium, ut ei mandarat, properaret, retinuit et arctam in custodiam posuit; sociorum vero illius quosdam disturbavit, quosdam catenavit, et postea cæcavit, nonnullos cute capitis abstracta cruciavit, et manibus ac pedibus amputatis mulctavit; multos etiam venundari fecit, et mortibus variis ac miserabilibus, apud Geldefordam sexcentos viros occidit. Sed illorum animas nunc in Paradiso credimus gaudere cum sanctis, quorum corpora tam crudeliter sine culpa perempta sunt in arvis.[1] Quo audito regina Emma filium suum Eadwardum, qui secum remanserat, maxima cum festinatione Normanniam remisit. Deinde Godwini et quorundam aliorum jussione, ad insulam Elig Clito Elfredus strictissime vinctus ducitur. Sed ut ad terram navis applicuit, in ipsa mox abstraxerunt oculos ejus cruentissime, et sic ad monasterium ductus, monachis traditur custodiendus, ubi brevi post tempore de hac migravit luce, et in australi porticu, in occidentali parte ecclesiæ, corpus ejus sepelitur, debito cum honore; anima vero Paradisi fruitur amœnitate.

Edward returns to Normandy.

Alfred dies.

A.D. 1037. Anno M°XXX°VII°. Haroldus rex Merciorum et Northimbrorum, ut per totam regnaret Angliam, a principibus et omni populo rex eligitur. Heardecnutus vero quia in Denemercia moras innexuit, et ad Angliam, ut rogabatur, venire distulit, penitus abjicitur, cujus mater Elfgiva, quæ et Emma, Anglorum quondam regina, hyemis initio sine misericordia expellitur Anglia. Quæ rate mox parata in Flandriam transvehitur, et a nobili comite Baldewino cum honore suscipitur. Is, ut talem virum decuit, quamdiu necessitas poposcerat, ei necessaria gratanter ministrare curavit. Eodem anno paulo ante, magnæ religionis vir, Avicus Eoveshamensis decanus obiit.

Harold elected king of all England.

Emma goes to Flanders. Simeon, 180. F. Wig. 599.

A.D. 1038. Anno M°XXX°VIII. Egelnothus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus iiii°. kalendas Novembris vita decessit; cujus obitus die septimo Egelricus[2] Suthsaxoniæ præsul obiit; petierat enim a Deo, ne post mortem sui dilectissimi patris Egelnothi in hac luce diu viveret. Cui Grimketel in episcopatum, Agelnotho vero regis capellanus Edsius in archiepiscopatum successit. Decessit etiam eodem anno Wigornensis episcopus Bricthegus,[3] decimo tertio kalendas Januarii, feria quarta, cui successit Livingus.

Archbishop Æthelnoth dies, and Eadsi succeeds.

A.D. 1039. Anno M°XXX°IX°. Hoc anno hyems exstitit asperrima. Bricth-

[1] *in arvis*] in variis, a. b.

[2] *Egelricus*] Agelredus, A. B.

[3] *Bricthegus*] om. a. b.

Simeon, 180. F. Wig. 599. marus Lichedfeldensis episcopus obiit, cui Wlsius successit. A.D. 1039.
Heardecnutus Rex Danorum Flandriam devectus ad matrem suam Emmam venit. Hardicanute goes to Flanders.

Anno M°XL°. Haroldus rex Anglorum obiit Lundoniæ, et in Westmonasterio sepelitur. Quo sepulto, proceres ferme totius Angliæ, legatos ad Heardecnutum, Brigæ, ubi cum matre morabatur, mittentes, et se bene facere putantes, rogaverunt illum ut Angliam veniret, et sceptra regni susciperet. Qui navibus lx. paratis, et Danicis militibus instructis, ante mediam æstatem Angliam devehitur, et gaudenter ab omnibus suscipitur, regnique solio mox sublimatur. Sed sui imperii tempore nil egit dignum potestati regiæ. Nam mox ut regnare cœpit, injuriarum, quas vel sibi vel suæ genitrici suus antecessor fecerat rex Haroldus, qui frater suus putabatur, non immemor, Alfricum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, Godwinum comitem, Styr majorem domus, Edricum dispensatorem, Thrond[1] suum carnificem, et alios magnæ dignitatis viros Lundoniam misit, et ipsius Haroldi corpus effodere et in gronnam projicere jussit. Quod cum projectum fuisset, præcepit illud extrahere, et in flumen Tamense mandavit projicere. Brevi autem post tempore, a quodam captum est piscatore, et ad Danos allatum sub festinatione, in cœmeterio, quod habuerunt Lundoniæ, sepultum est ab ipsis cum honore. Quibus actis, rex Heardecnutus octo marcas unicuique suæ classis remigi, et duodecim unicuique gubernatori, de tota Anglia præcepit dependi, tributum videlicet tam grave ut vix aliquis id posset persolvere. Quapropter omnibus, qui prius ejus adventum desiderabant magnopere, factus est exosus summopere. Adhæc etiam, pro nece fratris sui Elfredi, adversus Godwinum comitem, et Wigornensem episcopum Livingum, accusantibus illos Alfrico Eboracensi archipræsule et quibusdam aliis, exarsit ira magna. Idcirco episcopatum Wigornensem Livingo abstulit, et Alfrico dedit: sed sequenti anno, ablatum Alfrico, Livingo secum pacificato benigne reddidit. Godwinus autem regi, pro sua amicitia, dedit trierem, id est, navem, fabrefactam, rostrum deauratum habentem, armamentis optimis instructam, decoris armis, electisque octoginta militibus decoratam. Quorum unusquisquis habebat duas in suis brachiis aureas armillas sexdecim uncias pensantes, loricam trilicem indutam, in capite cassidem ex parte deauratam, gladium deauratis capulis, renibus accinctum, Danicam securim auro argentoque redimitam in sinistro humero pendentem, in manu sinistra clypeum, cujus umbo clavique erant deaurati, in dextra lanceam, quæ lingua Anglorum ategar

Marginal notes: A.D. 1040. Death of Harold. — Hardicanute succeeds. — He disinters Harold. — Simeon, 180. F. Wig. 600. — He exacts tribute. — Splendid ship given by Godwin to Hardicanute. — Simeon, 181. F. Wig. 600.

[1] *Thrond*] Trod, a. b.

A.D. 1040. Godwin declares himself innocent of Alfred's death.

Simeon, 181. F. Wig. 600.

appellatur. Insuper etiam non sui consilii, nec suæ voluntatis fuisse, quod frater ejus cæcatus fuisset, sed dominum suum regem Haroldum facere, quod fecit, jussisse, cum totius fere Angliæ principibus et ministris dignioribus, regi juravit.

A.D. 1041. Oppressions of Hardicanute.

Anno M°XL°I°. Hoc anno rex Anglorum Heardecnutus suos huscarlas misit per omnes provincias regni sui ad exigendum quod indixerat tributum ; ex quibus duos, Feader scilicet et Turstan, Wigornenses provinciales cum civibus, exorta seditione, in cujusdam turris Wigornensis monasterii solario, quo celandi causa confugerant, iiii° nonas Maii, feria secunda, peremerunt. Unde rex ira commotus, ad ultionem necis illorum, Thuri Mediterraneorum, Leofricum Merciorum, Godwinum Westsaxonum, Siwardum Northimbrorum, Rome Magesetensium, et cæteros totius Angliæ comites, omnesque ferme suos huscarlas cum magno exercitu, Alfrico adhuc Wigornensem pontificatum tenente, illo misit, mandans, ut omnes viros, si possent, occiderent, civitatem deprædatam incenderent, totamque provinciam devastarent. Quique paulo post festum Omnium Sanctorum, et urbem et provinciam vastare cœperunt, idque per quatuor dies agere non cessaverunt, sed paucos vel e civibus vel provincialibus ceperunt ac occiderunt, quia præcognito adventu eorum, provinciales quoquo locorum fugerunt ; civium vero multitudo, in quandam modicam insulam in medio Sabrinæ fluminis sitam, quæ Beverege nuncupatur, confugerant, et munitione facta, tam diu se viriliter adversus suos inimicos defenderunt, quoad pace recuperata, libere domum liceret eis redire. Quinta igitur die, civitate cremata, unusquisque cum magna præda rediit in sua, et regis statim ira quievit. Non multo post Eadwardus, Egelredi quondam regis Anglorum filius, de Normannia, ubi multis exulabat annis, venit Angliam, et a fratre suo Heardecnuto rege susceptus honorifice, in curia ejus mansit.

His severity at Worcester.

Edward the son of Ethelred returns to England.

Hardecnutus rex Anglorum obiit.

A.D. 1042. Death of Hardicanute.

Anno M°XL°II°. Rex Anglorum Heardecnutus dum in convivio, in quo Osgodus Clapa, magnæ vir [1] potentiæ, filiam suam Gytam Danico et præpotenti viro Tovio, Prudan cognomento, in loco qui dicitur Lamhithe, magna cum lætitia tradebat nuptui, lætus, sospes, et hilaris cum sponsa prædicta et quibusdam viris bibens staret, repente inter bibendum miserabili casu ad terram corruit, et sic mutus permanens, sexto idus Junii [2] feria tertia, expiravit, et Wintoniam delatus juxta patrem

---

[1] *vir*] om. a. b.

[2] *Junii*] Julii, A. B.

Simeon, 181. F. Wig. 600. suum regem Canutum est tumulatus. Cujus frater Eadwardus, annitentibus maxime comite Godwino, et Wigornensi præsule Livingo, Lundoniæ levatur in regem, cujus pater Egelredus, cujus pater Eadgarus, cujus pater Eadmundus, cujus pater Eadwardus senior, cujus pater Alfredus. A.D. 1042. Edward succeeds.

Simeon, 181. F. Wig. 601.

Edwardus secundus rex efficitur.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°XL°III°. Eadwardus ab archipræsulibus Edsio Dorobernensi, et Alfrico Eboracensi, aliisque ferme totius Angliæ præsulibus, prima die Paschæ, iii. nonas Aprilis, ungitur in regem Wintoniæ. Eodem anno, post festum Sancti Martini, rex cum comitibus Leofrico,[1] Godwino et Siwardo, de civitate Glaworna Wintoniam venit improvise; et, ut illi consilium ei dederant, suæ genitrici quicquid in auro, argento, gemmis, lapidibus, aliisve rebus pretiosum habuerat, abstulit; vel quia priusquam rex esset effectus, vel post, minus quam volebat illi dederat, et ei valde dura extiterat. Defuncto Eadmundo Dunelmensi episcopo, Egelricus successit, Siwardo administrante comitatum Northamhimbrorum. A.D. 1043. Consecration of Edward as king, April 3. Simeon, 182. F. Wig. 601. His severity to his mother.

Anno M°XL°IV°. Alwordus Lundoniensis præsul, qui et ante episcopatum et in episcopatu abbatis jure Eoveshamnensi cœnobio præfuit, cum pontificatum administrare pro sua infirmitate minus sufficeret, Eoveshamni residere voluit: sed fratres loci illius id omnino consentire noluerunt. Quapropter ablatis ex magna parte libris et ornamentis quæ ipse eidem contulerat loco, et quibusdam, ut fertur, quæ alii contulerant, ad monasterium Ramesege secessit, et omnia quæ attulit sancto contulit Benedicto; ibique resedit, et eodem anno, viii°. kalendas Augusti, feria quarta, defunctus, sepelitur ibidem. In generali vero concilio, quod eodem tempore celebratum est Lundoniæ, religiosus Heoveshamnensis monachus,[2] qui et Manni, ut abbatis jure suo monasterio præesset eligitur, et iiii°. idus Augusti, feria vi^a., ordinatur. Eodem anno, nobilis matrona Gunnilda, regis Weortgeorni, et sororis Canuti regis filia, et comitum Hacun et post Haroldi mortem viduata, cum duobus filiis Hemmingo et Turchillo, expellitur Anglia. Quæ Flandriam devecta, in loco qui Bricge dicitur aliquando resedit, et sic Denemarciam adiit. A.D. 1044. Alfwold bishop of London and abbot of Evesham retires to Ramsey and dies there. Simeon, 182. F. Wig. 602. Gunhilda widow of Hacon returns to Denmark.

Anno M°XL°V°. Brictwoldus Wiltoniensis episcopus obiit, cui regis capellanus Hermannus de Lotharingia oriundus successit. Quo anno, rex Anglorum Eadwardus ad Sandicum portum congregavit classem prævalidam, contra Magnum Norre- A.D. 1045. Edward collects a fleet.

---

1 *Leofrico*] Leofrido, b. | 2 *monachus*] Wlmarus, Sim. D.

A.D. 1045. against Magnus of Norway.

Simeon, 182. F. Wig. 602.

ganorum regem Angliam adire disponentem, sed bellum a Swano rege Danorum sibi illatum, iter impedivit.

A.D. 1046. Bishop Living dies.

Anno M°XL°VI°. Livingus Hwicciorum, Domnaniæ et Cornubiæ præsul, x°. kalendas Aprilis, die Dominica obiit: post cujus decessum regis cancellario Leofrico Britannico, mox Cridiatunensis et Cornubiensis datus est præsulatus; et Aldredus, qui primo monachus Wintoniensis, post abbas Tavistokensis extitit, Hwicciorum pontificatum suscepit. Osgodus Clapa expellitur Anglia. Magnus Norreganorum rex, Sancti Olavi regis filius, fugato rege Danorum Swano, sibi Danemarciam subegit.

Magnus conquers Denmark.

A.D. 1047. Stigand made bishop of Winchester.

Anno M°XL°VII°. Nix in occidente tanta cecidit, ut sylvas quoque frangeret. Aldwinus Wintoniensis episcopus decessit, in cujus sedem Stigandus sublimatur. Swanus rex Danorum suos legatos misit ad Eadwardum regem Anglorum, et rogavit ut sibi classem mitteret contra Magnum regem Noreganorum. Tunc comes Godwinus consilium regi dedit, ut saltem l. naves militibus instructas ei mitteret; sed quia Leofrico comiti et omni populo id non videbatur consilium, nullam ei mittere voluit. Post hæc, Magnus rex Norreganorum, classe multa et valida constipatus, cum Swano prælium commisit, et multis millibus utrinque occisis, illum de Denemercia expulit, et post in illa etiam regnavit, atque tributum sibi non modicum pendere Danos coegit, ac non multo post obiit.

War between Magnus and Sweyn.

Simeon, 183. F. Wig. 602.

A.D. 1048. Sweyn recovers Denmark.

Harold Hardrada succeeds Magnus.

Calamities.

Anno M°XL°VIII°. Swanus Denemarciam recepit; et Haroldus Harfager, Siwardi regis Norreganorum filius, et ex parto matris frater Sancti Olavi, patruus scilicet Magni regis, Norregam repetiit, brevique post tempore suos nuncios ad regem Anglorum Eadwardum misit, et pacem amicitiamque ei obtulit, et recepit. Terræmotus kalendis Maii, die Dominica extitit magnus Wigornæ, Wic, Deorbia, et multis aliis locis. Mortalitas hominum et animalium multas occupavit Angliæ provincias, et ignis aereus, vulgo dictus sylvaticus, in Deorbensi provincia et quibusdam aliis provinciis, villas et segetes multas ustulavit.

A.D. 1049.

The emperor attacks Baldwin of Flanders.

Anno M°XL°IX°. Leo papa, centesimus quadragesimus quintus. Iste est Leo ille qui novum cantum de Sancto Gregorio papa fecit. Henricus imperator innumerabilem congregavit exercitum contra Flandrensium comitem Baldewinum, maxime eo quod apud Neomagum[1] suum palatium combussisset atque fregisset pulcherrimum. In qua expeditione fuit Leo papa, et de multis terris nobiles et magnifici viri quamplurimi. Swanus etiam rex Danorum, ut imperator illi mandarat, cum su

---

[1] *Neomagum*] Neomagnum, a. b.

Simeon, 183. F. Wig. 603. classe ibi affuit, et ea vice fidelitatem imperatori juravit. A.D. 1049. Misit quoque ad regem Anglorum Eadwardum, et rogavit illum ne Baldewinum permitteret effugere, si vellet ad mare fugere. Idcirco cum magna classe rex Sandicum portum adiit, et ibi tamdiu mansit, quoad imperator de Baldewino omnia quæ voluit habuisset. Interea Swanus comes, Godwini comitis et Gytæ filius, qui relicta prius Anglia (quod[1] Edgivam Leonensis monasterii abbatissam, quam corruperat, in matrimonio habere non licuerit) Denemerciam adierat,[2] navibus viii. rediit, dicens cum simulatione, se cum rege a modo fideliter permansurum. Cui Beorn comes, filius avunculi sui Danici comitis Ulfi, filii Spraclingi, filii Ursi, ac frater Swani Danorum regis, promisit a rege impetraturum, ut suus comitatus ei redderetur. Pacificato itaque cum imperatore comite Baldewino, comes Godwinus et Beorn xlii. navibus Pevenesea, regis licentia, sunt devecti. Reliquam vero classis partem domum jussit redire, paucis secum navibus ibi retentis. Cui cum nunciatum fuisset, quod Osgodus Clapa cum xxix. navibus in Ulpe jaceret, de navibus quas remisit, quot potuit revocavit. Osgodus autem, uxore sua, quam apud Brige commiserat, recepta, sex navibus Denemerciam rediit. Aliæ vero Eastsaxoniam adeuntes, præda, circa[3] promontorium Eadulfi rapta non modica, redibant. Verum eas in redeundo sæva corripuit tempestas, omnesque submersit, exceptis duabus, quæ in transmarinis partibus captæ sunt, occisis omnibus qui in illis erant. Dum hæc agebantur, Swanus comes Pevenesea venit, et consobrinum suum Beorn comitem cum dolo rogavit, ut ad Sandicum portum secum iret, et, ut illi promiserat, eum cum rege pacificaret. Qui confisus in consanguinitate, tribus tantum sociis assumptis, cum illo proficisci cœpit; at ille ad Bosanham, ubi naves erant ejus, eum duxit, et in navem introductum duris mox loris vinciri jussit, ac secum tamdiu habuit, donec ad ostium Dorte veniret. Ubi illo occiso, et in altam fossam projecto, terraque obruto, dimiserunt illum, et sex naves, quarum duas paulo post ceperunt Heastingenses, et occisis qui fuerunt in eis, naves ad Sandwic conducentes, regi obtulerunt. Swanus vero ad Flandriam duabus fugiens navibus, ibi mansit, quoad[4] Wigornensis episcopus Aldredus illum reduxit, et cum rege pacificavit. Eodem anno, Sanctus Leo papa, rogatu eximiæ religionis abbatis Herimari,[5] in Fran-

Edward prepares to help the emperor with a fleet.

Sweyn the son of Godwin returns from Denmark.

Proceedings of the Fleet.

Sweyn carries off Beorn and murders him.

Simeon, 184. F. Wig. 603.

Sweyn reconciled with the king.

[1] *quod*] om. A. B., a. b.
[2] *adierat*] adjecit, b.
[3] *circa*] scilicet, a. b.
[4] *quoad*] quousque, b.
[5] Herimar, abbot of St. Remi, at Rheims.

A.D. 1049. Council of Rheims. ciam venit, habens in comitatu suo præfectum et digniores quosque Romuleæ urbis, et Sancti Remigii Francorum apostoli monasterium, Remis constitutum, maximo cum honore dedicavit;[1] et postmodum, in ipsa urbe, magnam synodum archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et abbatum, sex diebus celebravit: in qua synodo fuit Aldwinus Ramesigensis abbas, et abbas monasterii Sancti Augustini a rege Anglorum Eadwardo illo directi. Simeon, 184, F. Wig. 603.

A.D. 1050. Death of archbishop Eadsi. Anno M°L°. Rex Scotiæ Machetad Romæ argentum spargendo distribuit. Edsius Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit, cui Rodbertus Lundoniensis episcopus, genere Normannus, successit. Hermannus Wiltoniensis episcopus, et Alredus Wigornensis episcopus Romam ierunt. Simeon, 184. F. Wig. 604.

A.D. 1051. Death of archbishop Alfric. Anno M°L°I°. Alfricus, qui et Putta,[2] Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Swthwellæ defunctus, Medeshanburcstede sepelitur, cui Kinsius regis capellanus successit.

Item de rege Edwardo.

Edward abolishes Danegeld. Rex Eadwardus absolvit Anglos a gravi vectigali,[3] xxxviii°. anno ex quo pater suus Egelredus primitus id Danicis solidariis solvi mandarat. Post hæc, mense Septembri, Bononiensis comes Eustachius senior, qui sororem Eadwardi regis Godam nomine in conjugium habuerat, paucis Doroberniam applicuit navibus. In qua milites ejus, cum stolide et insipienter sibi hospitia quærerent, unum e civibus peremerunt: quod videns concivis ejus ulciscitur illum, occiso milite quodam. Ob quam rem comes et sui nimis irati, viros et mulieres quamplures armis interfecerunt, pueros et infantes suorum pedibus equorum contriverunt; sed ubi cives ad obsistendum concurrere viderunt, turpem fugam ineuntes, vix evaserunt, septem ex sociis illorum peremptis, et ad regem Eadwardum, qui tunc temporis Glavornæ morabatur, fugerunt. Talia geri in suo comitatu comes Godwinus graviter ferens, nimiaque commotus ira, de toto suo comitatu, scilicet de Cantia, Suthsaxonia, Westsaxonia, et filius ejus primogenitus Swanus de suo, id est, de Oxenefordensi, Herefordensi, Summerseatunensi, Bearrukescirensi provinciis; alterque filius Haroldus de suo comitatu, videlicet, Eastsaxonia, Eastanglia, Huntedunensi, et Grantebrigensi provinciis

(Margin: Eustace count of Boulogne lands at Dover, and quarrels with the townsmen. He complains to Edward. Godwin and his sons collect an army.)

[1] Oct. 2, 1049.
[2] *Putta*] Puta, a. b.
[3] *vectigali*] lxxx. (millia) librarum, Sim. D.

Simeon, 184. F. Wig. 604. innumerabilem congregaverunt exercitum. Quod regem Ead- A.D. 1051.
wardum non latuit. Idcirco, nunciis ad Leofricum Mercensium, et Siwardum Northimbrorum comites festinato missis, rogavit ut ad se in magno periculo constitutum, cum omnibus quos habere poterant, venire accelerarent. Illi autem primo cum paucis venerunt: sed ubi cognoverunt[1] quo modo se habuit res, per suos comitatus celeres miserunt veredarios, et magnum congregaverunt exercitum. Similiter et Rodulfus comes, Godæ sororis Eadwardi regis filius, de suo comitatu quot potuit congregavit. Interea Godwinus et filii ejus, cum suis exercitibus post Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ, in Glavornensem provinciam venientes, in loco qui Langetreo dicitur, castra metati sunt, et legatis Glavornam ad regem directis, comitem Eustachium et socios ejus, insuper et Normannos et Bononienses, qui castellum in Doruberniæ clivo tenuerunt, sub denunciatione belli reposcebant. Ob id autem ad tempus rex perterritus, et in angore magno constitutus, quid ageret penitus ignorabat; sed ubi exercitum comitum Siwardi, Leofrici et Rodulfi adventare comperiit, se nullatenus Eustachium, aliosque requisitos traditurum constanter respondit. Quo audito, vacui redeunt legati; quibus abeuntibus, exercitus Glavornam intravit, ita inflammatus et concordi animo ad pugnam paratus, ut statim si rex permitteret, cum exercitu Godwini pugnam inire vellet. At quia de tota Anglia, quique meliores in sua et in illorum parte erant coadunati, comiti Leofrico, et quibusdam aliis, magnum videbatur insilium, ut ipsi cum suis compatriotis bellum inirent; sed obsidibus adinvicem datis, rex et Godwinus, die constituto ad placitandum Lundoniam convenirent. Probato consilio, et nunciis intercurrentibus, obsidibus datis et acceptis, dux in Westsaxoniam rediit; rex vero de tota Mercia et Northimbria copiosiorem exercitum congregavit, et secum Lundoniam adduxit. Godwinus autem et filii ejus ad Swthweorce[2] venere cum magna Westsaxonum multitudine: sed quia suus paulatim defluxerat exercitus, placitum inire cum rege non audebat, verum nocte superveniente fugam iniit. Quare mane facto, rex in suo concilio, et omnis exercitus, unanimi consensu illum et quinque filios ejus exules fore decreverunt: qui cum conjuge sua Githa, et Tosti cum uxore sua Juthitha, filia videlicet Baldewini Flandrensium comitis, ac duo alii filii ejus Swanus et Gyrth, ad Tornege, ubi navis eis parata fuerat, venerunt. In qua, tantum auri et

Edward summons Leofric and Siward to his aid.

Godwin demands the surrender of Eustace.

Simeon, 185. F. Wig. 604. (beside "ciatione belli reposcebant. Ob id autem ad tempus rex per-")

Leofric mediates.

Godwin avoids appearing before a council at London, and is exiled with his family.

Simeon, 185. F. Wig. 605. (beside "multitudine: sed quia suus paulatim defluxerat exercitus, pla-")

[1] *cognoverunt*] convenerunt, A. B. | [2] *Swthweorce*] Suthewerke, a. b.

A.D. 1051. argenti aliarumque rerum pretiosarum, quantum illa portare potuit, festinanter imponentes, eamque citatim[1] conscendentes, ad Flandrensium comitem Baldewinum cursum direxerunt. Porro Haroldus et Leofwinus filii ejus, Brycstowam adeuntes, navem quam frater illorum Swanus sibi paraverat, conscenderunt, et in Hyberniam transvecti sunt: reginam vero Edgitham rex propter iram, quam adversus patrem ejus Godwinum habuerat, repudiavit, et cum una pedissequa ad Hwerwellam[2] eam sine honore misit, et abbatissæ custodiendam commendavit. His gestis, Normannicus comes Willelmus cum multitudine Normannorum Angliam venit, quem rex Eadwardus et socios ejus honorifice suscepit, et magnis multisque donatum muneribus ad Normanniam remisit. Simeon, 185. F. Wig. 605.

Godwin goes to Flanders: Harold and Leofwin to Ireland.

William of Normandy visits Edward.

A.D. 1052. Anno MºLºIIº. Alfgiva Imme, regina quondam et conjux regum Agelredi et Canuti, iiº. nonas Martii Wintoniæ obiit, et ibi sepulta est. Eodem anno Walensium rex Grifinus magnam partem Herefordensis provinciæ depopulatus est, contra quem provinciales illi, et de castello quamplures Normanni ascenderunt, sed multis ex illis occisis, ille victoriam habuit, et secum magnam prædam abduxit. Hæc pugna facta est eodem die quo ante xiii. annos fratrem comitis Leofrici Edwinum Walenses interfecerunt. Parvo post hæc tempore, Haroldus comes et frater ejus Leofwinus de Hibernia redeuntes, et ostium Sabrinæ navibus multis intrantes, in confinio Summersetaniæ et Dorsetaniæ applicuerunt, et illis in partibus villas et agros deprædati sunt multos: adversus quos et de Domnania et Summersetania quamplures ascenderunt, sed eos vicit Haroldus, cæsis ex illis plusquam triginta nobilibus ministris, cum aliis multis: dein ad naves cum præda rediit, et mox Penwicthsteort circumnavigavit. Tunc rex Eadwardus xl. naves, Simeon, 186. F. Wig. 605. alimentis electisque militibus instructas, ad Sandicum portum festinato misit, et eos adventum comitis Godwini opperiri et observare jussit. Sed tamen ignorantibus omnibus, ille cum paucis navibus reversus in Cantia applicuit, et missis latenter nunciis, primitus Cantuarienses, dein Suthsaxones, Eastsaxones, Suthregienses, et omnes buthsecarlas de Hastinga, et ubique circa ripas maris, aliosque nonnullos in auxilium sui allexit. Hi omnes, uno ore, aut vivere aut mori se paratos fore sibi promiserunt. Quod ubi regiæ classi, quæ ad Sandicum por-

Queen Emma dies.

Griffin king of the Welsh invades Herefordshire.

Harold invades Somersetshire.

Godwin lands in Kent.

---

[1] *citatim*] certatim, B.
[2] *Hwerwellam*] Warewellam, Sim. D.

Simeon, 186. F. Wig. 605. tum jacebat, innotuit, illum insequuntur. Ille vero fugiens evasit, et quo in loco potuit se[1] occultavit. Illi vero ad Sandicum portum sunt revecti, et inde Lundoniam sunt reversi. Hoc cognito, comes Godwinus ad Vectam insulam revehitur, et circa ripas maris tamdiu navigabatur,[2] donec ad illum filii ejus Haroldus et Leofwinus sua cum classe venirent. Cumque in unum convenissent, a deprædatione et populatione destiterunt; victum autem exercitui suo, cum res exposceret, sumebant. Circa ripas autem maris, et ubicunque locorum, omnes quos poterant sibi in adjutorium allicientes, et butsecarlas omnes quos obvios invenerant secum legentes, versus Sandicum portum cursum[3] direxerunt. Quo cum venissent, regi Eadwardo, tunc temporis Lundoniæ demoranti, illorum adventus nunciatur; qui, nunciis propere missis, omnibus qui a se non defecerant mandavit, ut in adjutorium sui venire maturarent.[4] At illi nimis tardantes, ad tempus non venerunt. Interea cum sua classe Godwinus comes adversus cursum Tamensis devectus, die Exaltationis sanctæ Crucis, feria ii[a]., ad Suthweorce venit, et ibi tam diu expectavit, quoad maris accessus adveniret. Interim quosdam per internuncios cives Lundonienses, quos variis pollicitationibus prius illexerat, convenit, et ut omnes fere, quæ volebat, omnino vellent, effecit. Inde rebus omnibus dispositis[5] et ordinatis, reumate adveniente, festinanter anchoras sustulerunt, ac nullo in ponte obsistente, per australem fluminis crepidinem sursum navigaverunt. Venit et pedestris exercitus, ac se per oram fluminis ordinatim disponens, spissam terribilemque fecit testudinem. Dein classis se versus aquilonalem ripam vertit, quasi regis classem circumdare vellet. Habebat enim et rex classem et numerosum pedestrem exercitum: sed quia ibi et cum rege et cum Godwino erant perpauci qui fortitudinis aliquid haberent, nisi tantum Angli, pugnare adversus suos propinquos ac compatriotas pene omnes abhorrebant. Unde sapientiores quique ex utraque parte, inter regem et ducem pacem redintegrantes, exercitum ab armis discedere jusserunt. Mane autem facto concilium rex habuit pristinumque honorem pleniter reddidit Godwino et uxori suæ, filiisque omnibus excepto Swano. Ille enim ductus pœnitentia, eo quod ut prædiximus consobrinum suum Beorn occiderat,

A.D. 1052. Godwin flies to the Isle of Wight, and is joined by Harold and Leofwin.

Simeon, 186. F. Wig. 606.

They come to Sandwich,

and hasten to London,

and prepare for battle.

Peace is made and Godwin and his sons restored to their honours.

---

[1] *se*] om. a, b.
[2] *navigabatur*] vagabatur, a. b., S. D.
[3] *cursum*] om. b.
[4] *maturarent*] maturetur, a. b.
[5] *dispositis*] expositis, b.

A.D. 1052. Sweyn dies on his way from Jerusalem. — Simeon, 186. F. Wig. 606.

de Flandria nudis pedibus Jerusalem adierat, indeque rediens, invalitudine ex nimio frigore contracta, mortuus est in Liccia. Filiam quoque ducis Edgitham reginam digniter rex recepit, ac pristinæ dignitati restituit. Facta igitur concordia paceque firmata, omni populo rectam legem promiserunt, et omnes Normannos, qui leges iniquas adinvenerant, et injusta judicia judicaverant, multaque regi insilia[1] adversus Anglos dederant, exlegaverunt; paucos tamen, scilicet Rodbertum Diaconem, et generum ejus Ricardum filium Scrob, Alfredum regis stratorem, Anfridum cognomento Ceokesfot, et quosdam alios quos plus cæteris rex dilexerat, eique et omni populo fideles exstiterant, in Anglia remanere permiserunt. Porro Rodbertus Doroberniæ archiepiscopus, et Lundoniæ præsul Willelmus, et Ulf Lindicolnensis antistes, cum suis Normannis, vix evadentes mare transierunt. Sed Willelmus propter suam bonitatem, parvo post tempore revocatus, in suum episcopatum recipitur. Osbernus[2] vero cognomento Pentecost, et socius ejus Hugo, sua reddiderunt castella,[3] et comitis Leofrici licentia, per suum comitatum Scotiam adeuntes, a rege Scottorum Macbeata recepti sunt. Eodem anno, in nocte festivitatis Sancti Thomæ apostoli, tantus tamque vehemens exstitit ventus, ut multas ecclesias domosque dirueret, et innumeras arbores frangeret vel radicitus evelleret.

The Normans banished. — Simeon, 187. F. Wig. 606.

Archbishop Robert of Canterbury banished.

Osbern Pentecost and Hugh go to Scotland.

A.D. 1053. Rhys, brother of Griffin, is put to death.

Anno M°L°III°. Griffini regis Australium Walensium frater, Res nomine, propter frequentes prædas quas egit, in loco qui Bulendun dicitur, jussu regis Eadwardi occiditur, et Glavornam caput ejus ad regem in vigilia Epiphaniæ est allatum. Eodem anno, dum secunda Paschalis festivitatis celebraretur feria, Wintoniæ, Godwino comiti solito regis ad mensam assidenti, suprema calamitas evenit. Gravi etenim morbo ex improviso percussus, mutus in ipsa sede declinavit. Quod filii ejus comes Haroldus, Tosti et Gyrth videntes, illum in cameram regis portaverunt, sperantes eum post modicum de infirmitate convalescere, sed ille expers virium, quinta posthæc feria, xvii°. kalendas Maii vita decessit, et in Veteri monasterio sepultus est. Cujus ducatum suscepit filius ejus Haroldus, et ejus comitatus datus est Algaro Leofrici comitis filio.

Death of Earl Godwin, Apr. 15.

Harold succeeds him, and Alfgar succeeds Harold.

A.D. 1054. — Simeon, 187. F. Wig. 607.

Anno M°L°IV°. Strenuus dux Northymbrorum Siwardus, jussu regis Eadwardi, et equestri exercitu et classe valida Scotiam

[1] *insilia*] a.; so also b., in which MS. it is altered to consilia. Insilia (unpæd) is right.

[2] *Osbernus*] Osbertus, a. b.

[3] *castella*] colla, a. b.

Simeon, 187. F. Wig. 607. adiit, et cum rege Scottorum Macheotha prælium commisit, ac multis millibus Scottorum, et Normannis omnibus, quorum supra fecimus mentionem, occisis, illum fugavit, et Malcolmum regis Cumbrorum filium, ut rex jusserat, regem constituit. In eo tamen prælio suus filius et multi Anglorum et Danorum ceciderunt. Mortuo Godwino Wincelcumbensi abbate, Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus, in festivitate Sancti Kenelmi, Godricum, Godmanni regis capellani filium, loco ejus abbatem constituit. Dein magnis cum exeniis idem episcopus regis fungitur legatione ad imperatorem, a quo simul et Herimanno Colonensi archipræsule[2] cum magno susceptus honore, ibidem per integrum annum mansit, et ex parte regis imperatori suggessit ut, legatis Hungariam missis, fratruelem suum Eadwardum, regis videlicet Eadmundi Ferrei lateris filium, reduceret, Angliamque venire faceret.

A.D. 1054. Siward deposes Macbeth and makes Malcolm king of Scots.

Aldred goes to Cologne to the Imperial Court.

Anno M°L°V°. Siwardus dux Northimbrorum Eboraci decessit, et in monasterio Galmanho, quod ipse construxerat, sepultus est. Cujus ducatus Tostio Haroldi ducis germano datus est. Non multo post rex Eadwardus habito Lundoniæ concilio, Algarum comitem, filium Leofrici comitis, sine culpa exlegavit. Qui mox Hiberniam petiit, et xviii. piraticis navibus adquisitis, rediit, et Griffinum regem Walensium adiit, eumque petivit ut contra regem Eadwardum sibi esset in auxilium; Simeon, 188. F. Wig. 607. ille statim de toto regno suo copiosum exercitum congregans, Algaro præcepit, ut loco constituto, sibi et exercitui cum suis copiis occurreret. Quibus in unum convenientibus, fines Anglorum depopulaturi Herefordensem provinciam intraverunt, contra quos timidus dux Rodulfus, regis Eadwardi sororis filius, exercitum congregans, et duobus milliariis a civitate Hereforda, ix°. kalendas Novembris illis occurrens, Anglos contra morem in equis pugnare jussit. Sed cum prælium essent commissuri, comes cum suis Francis et Normannis fugam primitus capessit; quod videntes Angli, ducem suum fugiendo sequuntur. Quos adversarii fere omnes insecuti cccc. vel quingentos viros ex eis peremerunt, multosque vulneraverunt. Dein victoria potiti, rex Griffinus et comes Algarus Herefordam intraverunt, et septem canonicis, qui valvas principalis basilicæ defenderant, occisis, ac monasterio, quod verus Christicola antistes Athestanus[2] construxerat, cum omnibus ornamentis et reliquiis Sancti Agelberti regis et martyris, aliorumque Sanctorum, combusto, et nonnullis e civibus necatis multisque captivatis, civitate etiam spoliata et

A.D. 1055. Death of Siward.

Alfgar is outlawed and joins the Welsh.

He puts Earl Ralph to flight.

Griffin and Alfgar take Hereford.

---

[1] July 17.

[2] Bishop of Hereford, 1012–1056.

A.D. 1055.

Edward collects an army and sends it under Harold against Alfgar and Griffin.

cremata, prædæ ubertate [ditati redierunt.[1] Quod ubi regi innotuit, de tota] mox Anglia exercitum congregari jussit, cui Glavornæ congregato, strenuum ducem Haroldum præfecit: qui [devote jussis obtemperans, Griffinum et Algarum impigre] sequitur, ac fines Wallanorum audacter ingressus, ultra Straddele castra metatus est. Sed illi, quia virum fortem et bellicosum ipsum sciebant, cum eo committere bellum non audebant, in Suthwaloniam fugerunt. Quo comperto, majorem exercitus partem ibi dimisit, mandans eis, ut suis adversariis, si res exposceret, viriliter resisterent. Cum cætera vero multitudine Herefordam rediens, vallo [lato] et alto illam cinxit, portis et seris munivit. Interea legatis intercurrentibus, Griffinus, Algarus et Haroldus, et qui cum illis fuerant, in loco qui Byligesleage dicitur convenerunt, et pace data et accepta, firmam amicitiam inter se pacti sunt. Quibus patratis, classis Algari comitis Legacestram devecta, stipendium quod eis promiserat ibi expectavit. Ipse vero ad regem venit, et ab eo suum comitatum recepit. Eodem vero tempore, religiosus vir Tremerin Walonicus antistes decessit. Hic multo tempore vicarius Adthelstani Herefordensis præsulis exstitit, postquam ipse ministerium episcopale per se implere nequivit. Erat enim per annos xiii. oculorum lumine privatus. Heremannus Wiltoniæ provinciæ præsul offensus, quia ei sedem episcopalem transferre de villa quæ Ramnesbyrig dicitur ad abbatiam Mealmesbiriensem rex nollet concedere, episcopatum dimisit, marique transfretato, apud Sanctum Bertinum monachicum habitum suscepit, ibique in ipso monasterio tribus annis mansit.

Simeon, 188. F. Wig. 607.

Simeon, 188. F. Wig. 608.

Alfgar makes peace and is restored to his earldom.

Death of Bishop Tremerin.

Herman is forbidden to move his see from Ramsbury to Malmesbury.

A.D. 1056.

Death of Æthelstan bishop of Hereford, Feb. 10;

and his successor Leofgar, June 16.

Anno MºLºVIº. Henricus Romanorum imperator obiit, cui successit Henricus filius ejus. Magnæ vir sanctitatis Herefordensis episcopus Athelstanus, iiiiº. idus Februarii, in villa quæ vocatur Bosanbrig decessit, cujus corpus Herefordam delatum, in ecclesia quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat est tumulatum. Cui Leovegarus ducis Haroldi capellanus successit, qui eodem anno, xviº. kalendas Julii, a Griffino Walanorum rege in loco qui Glastingbiri[2] dicitur, cum clericis suis et vicecomite Agelnotho et multis aliis, occisus est. Mansit autem in episcopatu xi. septimanis et iiii. diebus. Quo perempto, Aldredo Wigornensi præsuli, donec antistes constitueretur, episcopatus Herefordensis commissus est. Posthæc idem episcopus, et

Simeon, 189. F. Wig. 608.

[1] The words in brackets are omitted in A. B., and supplied from a. b., S. D., and F. W.

[2] *Glastingbiri*] Clastbirig, F. W.; Glastbyrig, S. D.; Glastbiri, b.

Simeon, 189. F. Wig. 608. comites Leofricus ac Haroldus, cum rege Eadwardo Wallanorum regem Griffinum pacificaverunt. Ecclesiarum amator, pauperum recreator, viduarum et pupillorum defensor, virginitatis custos, comes Agelwinus Oddo, ab Aldredo Wigornensi episcopo, ante suum obitum monachizatus, ii°. kalendas Septembris, apud[1] Deorhyrste decessit, sed in monasterio Perscorensi honorifice sepultus quiescit. Dunholmensis episcopus Agelricus, episcopatu sponte relicto, ad monasterium suum, quod dicitur Burh, ubi nutritus et monachus est factus, secessit, ibique annis xii. deguit. Cui ejusdem monasterii monachus, frater ipsius Agelwinus, in episcopatum successit.

A.D. 1056. Æthelwin Odda dies, and is buried at Pershore.

Ægelwin bp. of Durham.

Anno M°L°VII°. Clito Eadwardus, regis Eadmundi Ferrei lateris filius, ut ei mandarat suus patruus rex Eadwardus, de Hungaria,[2] quo multo ante, ut prædiximus, in exilium missus fuerat, Angliam venit. Decreverat enim rex illum post se hæredem regni constituere. Sed ex quo venit, parvo post tempore vita decessit, Lundoniæ. Excellentis vir memoriæ, laudabilis comes Leofricus, ducis Leofwini filius, in propria villa, quæ dicitur Bromleage, ii°. kalendas Septembris, in bona senectute decessit, et Coventreo sepultus est honorifice. Quod monasterium, inter cætera bona opera quæ in sua vita gessit, ipse et uxor ejus Dei cultrix et Sanctæ Mariæ semper virginis amatrix devota, nobilis comitissa Godiva, de suo patrimonio a fundamentis construxerunt, et id terris sufficienter locupletaverunt, ornamentis variis adeo ditaverunt, ut in nullo monasterio totius Angliæ tanta copia auri, argenti, gemmarum, lapidumque pretiosorum inveniretur, quanta tunc temporis habebatur in illo. Simeon, 189. F. Wig. 609. Leonense etiam et Wanlokense[3] cœnobium Sanctique Johannis Baptistæ ac Sanctæ Wereburgæ virginis monasteria, in Legaceastra sita, et ecclesiam quam Lindicolnensis præsul Eadnothus in loco famoso, qui Sanctæ Mariæ Stou Anglice, Latine vero Sanctæ Mariæ Locus appellatur, pretiosis ditaverunt ornamentis. Wigornense quoque monasterium terris, et Eoveshamnense ædificiis, ornamentis variis, terrisque locupletaverunt. Hujus itaque comitis sapientia, quamdiu vixit, regibus omnique populo Anglorum multum profecit. Cujus ducatum filius suus Algarus suscepit. Heca præsul Australium Saxonum obiit, pro quo Egelricus monachus ecclesiæ Christi Cantuariensis eligitur.

A.D. 1057. Edward the Etheling comes to England and dies.

Death of Leofric Earl of Mercia, Aug. 31.

founder and benefactor of Leominster, Wenlock, S. John's and S. Werburh's at Chester, S. Mary's Stow, Worcester, and Evesham.

Alfgar succeeds him in Mercia.

Anno M°L°VIII°. Algarus Merciorum comes, a rege Eadwardo, secundo exlegatus est, sed regis Walanorum Griffini juvamine, et Norreganicæ classis adminiculo, quæ ad illum venerat ex

A.D. 1058. Alfgar is outlawed again.

---

[1] *apud*] om. a. b.

[2] *Hungaria*] Ungria, b.

[3] *Wanlokense*] Walokense, a. b.

A.D. 1058. Alfgar restored. improviso, cito per vim suum comitatum recuperavit. Aldredus Wigornensis episcopus ecclesiam, quam in civitate Glavorna a fundamentis construxit, in honore principis apostolorum Petri honorifice dedicavit: et postea regis licentia Wlstanum Wigornensem monachum a se ordinatum abbatem constituit ibidem. (Wulfstan made abbot of Gloucester.) Dein præsulatu Wiltoniensis ecclesiæ, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, dimisso, et Herimanno, cujus supra meminimus reddito, mare transiit, et per Hungariam[1] profectus est Jerosolimam; quod nullus archiepiscoporum vel episcoporum Angliæ eatenus dinoscitur fecisse. (Aldred goes to Jerusalem.) (Simeon, 189. F. Wig. 609.) (Simeon, 190. F. Wig. 609.)

A.D. 1059. Pope Nicholas II. Anno MºLºIXº. Nicholaus Florentiæ civitatis episcopus Papa eligitur, et Benedictus ejicitur.

A.D. 1060. Gisa bishop of Wells; Anno MºLXº. Henricus rex Francorum obiit, cui filius ejus primogenitus Philippus successit. Willensis episcopus Duduc obiit, cui successit Gysa regis capellanus, ambo de Lotharingia oriundi. (Aldred archbishop of York;) Eboracensis archiepiscopus Kinsius, xiº. kalendas Januarii, Eboraci obiit. Cujus corpus ad monasterium quod Burh dicitur delatum, honorifice est tumulatum. Pro quo Wigornensis episcopus Aldredus ad archiepiscopatum in Nativitate Domini eligitur, et Herefordensis præsulatus, qui ei propter suam industriam fuerat commissus, capellano Edgythæ reginæ, Waltero Lotaringo est datus. (Walter bishop of Hereford.) (Simeon, 190. F. Wig. 610.)

A.D. 1061. Aldred goes to Rome. Anno MºLXºIº. Aldredus Eboracensis archiepiscopus cum Tostio comite Romam ivit, et a Nicholao papa pallium suscepit. Interim rex Scottorum Malcolmus sui conjurati fratris Tostii comitatum, id est, Northimbriam, fortiter depopulatur, violata pace Sancti Cuthberti in Eilonde.[2] Eodem anno Nicholaus papa obiit. Alexander papa cxlix. successit. (The Scots invade Northumbria.)

A.D. 1062. Wulfstan made bishop of Worcester. Anno MºLXºIIº. Wlstanus vir venerandus pontifex Wigornensi ecclesiæ præficitur. Hic Deo amabilis, regione Merciorum in provincia Warewiccensi, parentibus religiosis oriundus, patre videlicet Eastano, matre vero Wlfgeova nomine, in nobili autem monasterio quod Burh nominatur litteris et ecclesiasticis officiis imbutus, exstitit. Qui ambo scilicet parentes ejus in tantum religioni studebant, ut longe ante finem vitæ, castitatem professi se ab invicem separantes, sub sanctæ conversationis habitu, vitam consummare gauderent. (His early history.) Quorum exemplo ipse adolescens incitatus, matre id maxime persuadente, sæculum reliquit, atque in eodem Wigornensi monasterio, quo et ante pater ejus Deo servierat, monachicum habitum et ordinem a venerabili Bricthego ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopo suscepit, a quo etiam in gradu tam diaconatus quam presbyteratus ordinatus

---

[1] *Hungariam*] Pannoniam, S.D.

[2] *Eilonde*] In Lindisfarnensi insula, Sim. D.

Simeon, 190. F. Wig. 610. est. Statim igitur in ipso initio arduam et omni religione plenam arripiens vitam, in vigiliis, jejuniis, orationibus, omnique virtutum genere, subito admirandus apparuit. Hinc ob morum disciplinam, primo magister et custos infantum aliquamdiu constituitur, deinde ob solertiam ecclesiastici officii cantor simul et thesaurizarius ecclesiæ ex præcepto seniorum efficitur. Nactus vero occasionem liberius Deo serviendi, ex custodia sibi commissa ecclesiæ, totum se contemplativæ vitæ dedit; die noctuque in ea aut orationi aut divinæ lectioni insistens, bidui triduique jejunio assidue corpus macerans; sacris vigiliis in tantum deditus, ut non modo diem cum nocte, sed et aliquando, quod a nobis[1] vix crederetur si non ab ipsius ore hoc audissemus, quatuor diebus cum noctibus absque somno transiens, fere exsiccato cerebro, periculum incurreret, nisi Simeon, 191. F. Wig. 610. sopore prælibato naturæ satisfacere festinaret. Denique et cum vi naturæ dormire compelleretur, non lecto aut lectisterniis membra ad soporem fovebat, sed super scamnum ecclesiæ, libro in quo orabat sive legebat, caput sustentans, paulisper se reclinabat. Post aliquod autem tempus, defuncto Agelwino priore monasterii, ipse vir reverendus prior et pater congregationis ab Aldredo episcopo constituitur. Quod officium valde laudabiliter adimplens, prioris conversationis austeritatem minime reliquit, immo ut cæteris bene vivendi exemplum daret multipliciter adauxit. Deinde post aliquot annorum curricula, electo ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensis ecclesiæ prædicto Aldredo Wigornensi episcopo, fit unanimis consensio tam cleri quam etiam totius plebis in ejus electione, rege videlicet Eadwardo annuente, ut quem sibi vellent præsulem eligerent. Contigit namque eo tempore et legatos Apostolicæ sedis ejus electioni interesse, Armenfredum scilicet Sedunensem episcopum et alium, qui a domino papa Alexandro pro responsis ecclesiasticis ad regem Anglorum Eadwardum missi, regio præcepto Wigorniæ per totam fere Quadragesimam degebant, exspectantes responsum suæ legationis usque ad curiam regalem proximi Paschæ. Hi videntes dum ibi morarentur ejus laudabilem vitam, in ejus electionem non tantum consentiebant, immo tam clerum quam plebem maxime ad hoc Simeon, 191. F. Wig. 611. instigabant, suaque auctoritate electionem firmabant. Illo vero obstinatissime renuente, seque indignum acclamante, et cum sacramento etiam affirmante se multo libentius decollationi quam tam altæ ordinationi succumbere velle, cum sæpe a viris religiosis super hoc circumventus, ad consentiendum minime persuaderi posset, tandem a viro Dei Wlsio incluso,

A.D. 1062. His asceticism.

He is made schoolmaster at Worcester; and afterwards treasurer.

He becomes prior.

He is chosen bishop.

He is with difficulty persuaded to accept the see.

---

[1] *nobis*] Florence of Worcester, whom Simeon copies.

A.D. 1062. He is consecrated by Aldred archbishop of York, Sept. 8.

Simeon, 191. F. Wig. 611.

qui tunc plus xl. annis solitariam vitam egisse noscebatur, acriter pro inobedientia et obstinacia correptus, divino etiam oraculo territus, consentire cum maximo cordis dolore compulsus est, et episcopatu suscepto, Dominico die quo Sanctæ Mariæ Nativitas celebrabatur, consecratus, vita et virtutibus clarus Wigornensis ecclesiæ præsul effulsit. Consecratus est igitur ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo, eo quod Stigando Doroberniæ archiepiscopo officium episcopale tunc a domino papa interdictum erat, quia Rodberto archiepiscopo vivente archiepiscopatum suscipere præsumpsit: canonica tamen professione[1] præfato Dorobernensi archiepiscopo Stigando, non suo ordinatori Aldredo facta. Insuper et ipse archipræsul Eboracensis ordinator ejus, coram rege et regni optimatibus, ipso Stigando factitante, propter subsequentium[2] calumnias, profiteri jussus est, se nullum jus ecclesiasticæ seu sæcularis subjectionis super eum deinceps velle clamare, nec propter quod ab eo consecratus est, nec quia ante consecrationem ejus monachus factus est. Facta est autem hæc illius ordinatio anno ætatis suæ plus quinquagesimo, regni vero regis Eadwardi anno xx^{o}., indictione xv^{a}.

A.D. 1063. Harold is sent against Griffin, and burns his palace.

Simeon, 192. F. Wig. 611.

Anno M^{o}LX°III°. Strenuus dux Westsaxonum Haroldus, jussu regis Eadwardi, post Nativitatem Domini equitatu non multo secum assumpto, de Glavorna, ubi rex tunc morabatur, ad Rudelan multa cum festinatione profectus est, ut regem Walanorum Griffinum propter frequentes depopulationes, quas in Anglorum finibus agebat, ac verecundias, quas domino suo regi Eadwardo sæpe faciebat, occideret. At ille, ejus adventu præcognito, fugam cum suis iniit, navem conscendit, et vix evasit. Haroldus vero ut cum fugisse comperit, palatium ejus incendit, et naves ejus cum armamentis combussit, eodemque die rediit. Sed circa Rogationes, de Brikstowe classica manu profectus, magna ex parte terram Walanorum circumnavigabat, cui frater suus Tostius comes cum equestri, ut rex mandarat, occurrit exercitu, et viribus simul junctis regionem illam depopulari cœperunt. Unde Walani coacti, datis obsidibus, sese dederunt, et se tributum illi daturos promiserunt, regemque suum Griffinum exlegantes abjecerunt.

About May 25, he and Tostig compel the Welsh to submit.

---

[1] Notwithstanding Florence's acquaintance with Wulstan, this is probably a mistake. Wulstan in the canonical profession made to Lanfranc in 1070, expressly declares that he withheld his obedience from Stigand, and made no profession until a canonical successor was appointed. MS. Cotton. Cleopatra, E. i.

[2] *subsequentium*] sequentium, b.

Simeon, 192. F. Wig. 612.

A.D. 1064. Griffin is murdered, Aug. 5.

Anno M°LX°IV°. Rex Walanorum Griffinus nonis Augusti a suis interficitur, et caput ejus, caputque navis ipsius cum ornatura, comiti Haroldo mittitur. Quæ mox ille regi detulit Eadwardo. Quibus gestis, fratribus illius, Blethogento et Rithwalano, rex Eadwardus terram Walanorum[1] dedit. Cui et Haroldo comiti fidelitatem illi juraverunt, et ad imperium illorum terra marique se fore paratos, ac omnia, quæ prius de terra illa regibus anterioribus fuerant pensa, obedienter se pensuros spoponderunt.

His brothers swear fealty to Edward and Harold.

A.D. 1065. Translation of the bones of king Oswin.

Anno M°LX°V°. Reverendus vir Agelwinus Dunelmensis episcopus, Sancti Oswini regis quondam Berniciorum ossa, in monasterio quod juxta ostium fluminis Tinæ situm est, de tumulo levavit, transactis a sepultura ejus cccc. et xv. annis, et in scrinio cum magno honore locavit. Strenuus dux Westsaxonum Haroldus, in terram Walanorum in loco qui Portascith nominatur, mense Julio, magnum ædificari jussit ædificium, et multa quæ pertinent ad esum et potum illuc congregari mandavit, ut dominus suus rex Eadwardus illic aliquamdiu venationis causa degere posset. Sed Caradoc filius regis Suthwalanorum Griffini, quem ante paucos annos Griffinus rex Northwalanorum occiderat, ejusque regnum invaserat, cum omnibus quos habere poterat, die festivitatis Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli illuc venit, et operarios fere cunctos, cum illis qui eis præerant, peremit, et omnia bona quæ ibi congregata fuerant abstulit. Dein v. nonas Octobris, feria ii., Northimbrenses ministri Gamelbearn, Dunstanus filius Agelnothes, Gloniern filius Heardulfi, cum cc. militibus, Eboracum venerunt, et pro execranda nece nobilium Northimbrensium, ministrorum Cospatrici, quem regina Edgitha germani sui Tostii[3] causa in curia regis quarta nocte Dominicæ Nativitatis per insidias occidi jussit; et Gamelis filii Orm, ac Ulfii filii Dolfini, quos anno præcedenti Eboraci in camera sua sub pacis fœdere per insidias comes Tostius occidi præcepit, nec non pro immensitate tributi, quod de tota Northimbria injuste acceperat, eodem die, primitus illius Danicos huscarlas Amundum et Reavenswardum[4] de fuga retractos, extra muros civitatis, ac die sequenti, plusquam cc. viros ex curialibus illius, in boreali parte fluminis Humbræ peremerunt. Ærarium quoque ipsius fregerunt, ac omnibus quæ illius fuerant ablatis, recesserunt. Omnes dehinc fere comitatus illius, in unum congregati, Haroldo Westsaxonum duci, et aliis quos rex Tostii rogatu pro pace reintegranda

Caradoc destroys Edward's hunting lodge at Portskewrth.

The Northumbrians rise against Tostig;

kill his huscarls,

Simeon, 193. F. Wig. 612.

and lay their complaints before Harold.

[1] *Walanorum*] So F.W.; Simeon has Brittonum both here and above.

[2] *Berniciorum*] Oswin, king of Deira, slain 651.

[3] *Tostii*] om. b.

[4] *Reavenswardum*] Ravenesheartum, Sim. D.; Reavenswarcum, A.

A.D. 1065. Oct. 28. Tostig is outlawed. ad eos miserat, in Northamtonia occurrerunt. Ubi prius, et post apud Oxenefordam, die sanctorum apostolorum Symonis et Judæ, dum Haroldus et alii quamplures comitem Tostium cum eis pacificare vellent, omnes unanimi consensu contradixerunt, ac eum cum omnibus qui legem iniquam statuere illum incitaverant, exlegaverunt, et post festivitatem Omnium Sanctorum, cum adjutorio comitis Edwini, de Anglia Tostium expulerunt. Qui mox cum uxore sua Baldewinum Flandrensium comitem adiit, et apud Sanctum Audomarum hyemem exegit. Morkarus vero jussu regis Northumbris est prælatus comes. Post hæc rex Edwardus paulatim ægrotare cœpit. In Nativitate vero Domini curiam suam, ut potuit, Lundoniæ tenuit, et ecclesiam quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, die Sanctorum Innocentum, in honore Sancti Petri apostolorum principis cum magna gloria dedicari fecit. Simeon, 193. F. Wig. 613.

Morkar earl of Northumbria.

Dedication of Westminster.

Rex Edwardus obiit.

A.D. 1066. Death of Edward, Jan. 5. Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°LX°VI°. Anglorum decus, pacificus rex Eadwardus, Egelredi regis filius, postquam xx^ti^iii^bus^. annis, mensibus vi. et xxvii. diebus potestate regia Angli-Saxonibus præfuit, indictione iiii^a^., vigilia Epiphaniæ Domini, feria v^a^., mortem[1] obiit Lundoniæ, et in crastino sepultus regio more, ab omnibus, qui tunc affuere, non sine lacrymis plangebatur amarissime.

Haroldus rex efficitur.

Harold succeeds by nomination of Edward and election. Quo tumulato, subregulus Haroldus, Godwini ducis filius, quem rex ante suam decessionem regni successorem elegerat, a totius Angliæ primatibus ad regale culmen electus, die eodem ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo in regem honorifice est consecratus.

Visions of Edward the Confessor. De miraculis[2] quæ Deus, Qui semper est mirabilis et gloriosus in sanctis Suis, dignatus est operari pro beato Edwardo rege et confessore in vita sua, hic pauca scribuntur. Igitur quadam die, dum idem rex, ad celebrationem missæ apud Westmonasterium ante altare, in oratione prostratus jaceret, vidit qualiter rex Danorum parato navigio magno, ut in Angliam hostiliter veniret,

---

[1] *mortem*] om. a. b.

[2] *De miraculis*] The following account of Edward's miracles is not taken from the compilation which up to this time Hoveden has copied.

cum de navicula in majorem navem intrare deberet, lapsus inter utramque, in profundum maris submersus est, et statim dissipatum est navigium ejus. Quo viso miraculo, beatus ille rex Eadwardus risit, immensas agens Deo gratias. Episcopus vero, qui missam illam celebravit, timuit quod rex aliquid de eo vidisset in celebratione missæ unde risum fecisset: celebrata itaque missa, episcopus, convocatis comite Haraldo et aliis magnatibus regis qui aderant, diligenter quæsivit a rege qua de causa ipse in celebratione missæ risum fecerat; et narravit eis rex visionem quam viderat, et notatis die et hora, miserunt legatos in Denemarchiam, vel Daciam, et invenerunt ita accidisse regi Dacorum sicut rex Eadwardus prædixerat.

A.D. 1066. His vision of the king of Denmark's death.

Item de eodem.

Quadam die, cum prædictus rex Anglorum Eadwardus iter ageret, habuit sibi obvium beatum Johannem apostolum et evangelistam in specie pauperis, petentem ab eo eleemosynam, et cum rex non haberet quod commodius ei daret, extraxit annulum suum a digito suo, et dedit illi. Eodem vero die, beatus ille evangelista apparuit cuidam peregrino exeunti a sancta civitate Jerusalem, et ait illi; "Unde es? et quo vadis?" Cui peregrinus respondit; "De Anglia sum, et ad Angliam redire "desidero." Cui apostolus dixit, "Nostine regem Angliæ "Eadwardum?" Et respondens ille dixit, "Novi, Domine." Et ait illi apostolus; "Accipe annulum hunc, et affer regi "Eadwardo, et dic ei, quod Johannes apostolus remittit "ei hunc annulum, quem ipse illi dederat hodie in via qua "ambulabat, et angelus Domini bonus comitetur tecum, "et faciat tibi prosperum iter, Amen." Et sic accepto annulo et valedicto, apostolus ultra non comparuit illi. Eodem autem die, peregrinus ille, Domino duce, Cui nihil impossibile est, venit in Angliam, et tradito regi annulo suo narravit ei omnia quæ illi acciderant in via, et quod illo die a Jerosolymis recesserat; quod quamvis

His vision of S. John the Evangelist.

A.D. 1066. impossibile videbatur, tamen per assertionem peregrinorum, qui cum eo Jerosolymis erant, post longi temporis spatium in Angliam redeuntium, verum esse comprobatur.

Item de eodem rege Eadwardo.

Edward sees the devil sitting on the treasure.

Quadam die contigit, quod cum prædictus rex Anglorum Edwardus, regina et comite Haraldo deducentibus, ærarium suum intravit, ut videret pecuniam magnam, quam regina et comes Haroldus, rege ipso nesciente, collegerant ad opus regis, scilicet per singulos comitatus totius Angliæ de unaquaque hida terræ quatuor denarios, ut rex inde contra Natale Domini pannos emeret ad opus militum et servientium suorum; cumque rex intrasset ærarium suum, comitantibus regina et comite Haroldo, vidit Diabolum sedentem super denarios illos, et ait illi rex, "Quid hic facis?" Cui dæmon respondit: "Custodio hic pecuniam meam." Et dixit ei rex: "Conjuro te per Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanc-"tum, ut indices mihi quamobrem pecunia ista tua est." Et respondens dixit ei dæmon: "Quia injuste adquisita "est de substantiis pauperum." Illi autem qui illum comitabantur stabant stupefacti, audientes quidem illos loquentes, neminem autem videntes præter solum regem; et ait illis rex: "Reddite denarios istos illis a quibus "capti sunt." Et fecerunt sicut præcepit illis rex.

Item de eodem rege Eadwardo.

He carries a leper.

Quadam die solemni, cum prædictus rex Anglorum Edwardus Lundoniis esset coronatus, et regalibus indumentis esset indutus, et versus monasterium ab aula sua stipatus agmine nobilium, archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, et cleri et populi progrederetur, sedit quidam leprosus ulceribus plenus, in via qua rex transiturus erat; et qui præibant increpabant eum ut taceret, vo-

A.D. 1066.

Story of Edward and the leper.

lentes eum inde removere, quibus rex ait, "Sinite eum "ibi sedere." Et cum rex appropinquasset illi, dixit ei leprosus; "Conjuro te per Deum vivum, ut portes me in "scapulis tuis usque in ecclesiam." Et statim rex demisso capite præcepit leprosum illum in collo suo poni, et factum est ita; cumque rex procederet, precatus est Deum ut Ipse sanitatem redderet leproso illi, et exaudita est oratio ejus, et leprosus sanus factus est ab illa hora, laudans et benedicens Deum.

Simeon, 193. F. Wig. 613.

Good government of Harold.

Haroldus vero,[1] mox ut regni gubernacula susceperat, leges iniquas destruere, æquas cœpit condere, ecclesiarum ac monasteriorum patronus fieri, episcopos, abbates, monachos, clericos colere simul ac venerari, pium, humilem, affabilemque se bonis omnibus exhibere, malefactores exosos habere. Namque ducibus, satrapis, vicecomitibus et suis in commune præcepit[2] ministris, fures, raptores, regni disturbatores comprehendere, et pro patriæ defensione ipsemet terra marique desudare. Eodem anno, viii. kalendas Maii, stella cometis, non solum in Anglia, sed etiam, ut fertur, per totum mundum visa, per vii. dies splendore nimio fulgebat. Unde quidam sic ait,

Comet, April 24.

Anno milleno, sexageno, quoque seno,
Anglorum metæ crinem sensere cometæ.[3]

Tostig harasses the coasts of Kent and Lincolnshire.

Non multo post comes Tostius de Flandria rediens, ad Vectam insulam applicuit, et postquam insulanos sibi tributum et stipendium solvere coegerat, discessit, et circa ripas maris, donec ad Sandicum portum veniret, prædas exercuit. Quo cognito, rex Haroldus, qui tunc Lundoniæ morabatur, classem non modicam et equestrem exercitum congregari præcepit. Ipse vero Sandicum portum adire parabat. Quod dum Tostio nunciatum fuisset, de butsecarlis quosdam volentes, quosdam nolentes secum assumens, recessit, et cursum ad Lindiseiam direxit. In qua villas quamplures incendit, multosque homines neci tradidit. His cognitis, dux Merciorum Edwinus, et Northimbrorum comes Morkarus, cum exercitu advolant, illumque de regione ipsa extrudunt. Ille autem inde discedens, regem Scottorum Malcolmum adiit, et cum eo per totam æstatem permansit. Interea rex Haroldus ad Sandicum portum venit, ibique classem suam expectavit. Quæ cum fuisset con-

He goes to Scotland.

Simeon, 194. F. Wig. 613.

[1] *Haroldus vero*] Qui mox, a. b.
[2] *præcepit*] om. b.
[3] *Unde . . cometæ*] om. a. b.

A.D. 1066. Harold in the Isle of Wight, waits for the arrival of William of Normandy.

gregata, Vectam insulam adiit, et quia Normannorum comes Willelmus, Eadwardi regis consobrinus, in Angliam cum exercitu venire parabat, tota æstate et autumno adventum illius observabat. Ad hæc etiam pedestrem exercitum locis opportunis circa ripas maris locabat. Adveniente itaque Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ, victu deficiente, et classicus et pedestris exercitus domum rediit. Simeon, 194. F. Wig. 614.

De adventu Haroldi Harvagra in Angliam.

Harold king of Norway lands at Tynemouth.

Post hæc igitur, cum classica manu pervalida, scilicet plus quingentis magnis navibus, Haroldus Harvagra[1] rex Noreganorum, frater sancti regis Olavi, in ostio Tinæ fluminis improvise applicuit. Ad quem comes Tostius, ut prius condixerant, sua cum classe venit, et citato cursu ostium Humbræ fluminis intraverunt, et sic adversus cursum Usæ fluminis navigantes, in loco qui Richale dicitur applicuerunt. Quod ubi regi Haroldo innotuit, versus Northimbriam expeditionem propere movit; sed priusquam rex illuc veniret, duo germani comites, Edwinus videlicet et Morkarus, cum ingenti exercitu, in vigilia Sancti Mathæi apostoli, feria iiii.[a] in boreali ripa Usæ fluminis juxta Eboracum, cum Norreganis prælium commisere; et in primo belli impetu, viriliter pugnantes, multos prostravere. At postquam diu certatum est, Angli Noreganorum impetum non sufferentes, non sine parvo detrimento suorum, terga dederunt, multoque plures ex illis in fluvio demersi fuere quam in acie cecidere. Norregani vero adepta victoria, et obsidibus cl.[2] de Eboraca sumptis, ad naves repedarunt, relictis in ea de suis cl. obsidibus. Verum v°. post hunc die, scilicet vii°. kalendas Octobris, feria ii[a]., rex Anglorum Haroldus, multis millibus pugnatorum armis bellicis instructorum stipatus,[3] Eboracum venit, et Norreganis in loco qui dicitur Stainfordbrige[4] occurrens, regem Haroldum Harvagra comitemque Tostium in ore gladii, cum majori parte sui exercitus occidit, ac plenam victoriam, licet acerrime repugnatum fuisset, adeptus est: filium autem ejus Olavum, et comitem de Orcada insula Paulum nomine, qui ad naves custodiendas cum exercitus parte dimissi fuerant, acceptis prius ab eis obsidibus et sacramentis, cum xx. navibus et reliquiis exercitus, in patriam redire libere permisit.

He is joined by Tostig, and they defeat Edwin and Morkar near York.

Sept. 25, Harold beats them at Stanford Bridge.

Death of Tostig and Harold of Norway.

---

[1] *Harvagra*] The common mistake for Hardrada.

[2] *cl.*] D., Sim. D.

[3] *stipatus*] om. a. b.

[4] *Stainfordbrige*] Standfordbrige, a. b.

Adventus Willelmi Bastard in Angliam.

Simeon, 194. F. Wig. 614. Interea dum hæc agerentur, et rex omnes inimicos suos æstimaret fuisse detritos, nunciatum est ei Willelmum comitem gentis Normannicæ, cum innumera multitudine equitum, fundibalariorum, sagittariorum, peditumque advenisse, utpote qui de tota Gallia[1] sibi fortes auxiliarios conduxerat, et in loco qui Pevnesea dicitur suam classem appulisse.[2] Unde rex statim versus Lundoniam suum movit exercitum magna cum festinatione. Et licet de tota Anglia fortiores quosque in duobus præscriptis præliis bene sciret jam cecidisse, mediamque partem sui exercitus nondum convenisse, quam citius tamen potuit in Suthsaxonia suis hostibus occurrere non formidavit, et novem milliariis ab Hastinga, ubi sibi castellum firmaverant, priusquam tertia pars sui exercitus ordinaretur, xi. kalendas Novembris, Sabbato, die scilicet Sancti Calixti papæ et martyris[3] cum eis prælium commisit. Sed quia arcto in loco constituti fuerant Angli, de acie se multi subtraxere, et cum eo perpauci constantes corde remansere. Ab hora tamen diei tertia, usque ad noctis crepusculum suis adversariis restitit fortissime, et seipsum pugnando tam fortiter defendit et tam strenue, ut vix ab hostili agmine posset interimi.

A.D. 1066. William lands at Pevensey.

Harold marches into Sussex.

Battle of Hastings.

Simeon, 195.

Rex Haroldus in bello corruit.

At postquam ex his et ex illis plurimi corruere, heu, ipsemet cecidit, crepusculi tempore. Comites etiam Gyrth[4] et Leofwinus fratres illius ibi cecidere, et fere nobiliores totius Angliæ; Willelmus vero comes cum suis Hastingam rediit. Regnavit autem Haroldus mensibus ix. et diebus totidem.[5]

Death of Harold.

---

[1] *Gallia*] Anglia, A. B.

[2] "Populus in ligno et ferreis "tunicis superveniet qui vindictam "de nequitia illius sumet. Restaurabit pristinis incolis mansiones et "ruina alienigenarum patebit. Germen albi draconis, id est, Haroldi, "ex hortulis nostris abradetur et "reliquiæ cognationis ejus decimabuntur. Jugum perpetuæ servitutis ferent, matremque suam "ligonibus et aratris vulnerabunt." Marg. A. B. (from Merlin, Galf. Mon., vii. 3).

[3] *die . . . martyris*] om. a. b. and Sim. D. The day of the month is wrong. The battle was fought on S. Calixtus's day, the 14th, not the 22nd of October.

[4] *Gyrth*] Grith, b. passim.

[5] B. has inserted on a fly leaf the whole story of the conquest direct from F.W.

Causa quare Willelmus dux Normannorum Angliam bello petiit.

A.D. 1066. Origin of the Norman invasion.

Ut autem sciatur origo causæ, qua Willelmus Angliam bello appetiit, breviter, quæ paulo ante gesta sunt, repetantur. Orto inter regem Eadwardum et comitem Godwinum gravi, ut supra dictum est, discidio, exul ab Anglia cum suis comes propellitur; cui postmodum gratiam regis requirenti, ut ei repatriare liceret, nullo modo rex concordare voluit, nisi primo, quibus sibi securitas pararetur, obsides haberet. Qua de causa,[1] Wlnothus filius ipsius Godwini, et Hacun filius Swani filii ejus obsides dantur, ac in Normanniam, Willelmo Bastard[2] comiti, filio Rodberti, filii Ricardi fratris matris suæ, custodiendi destinantur. Elapso de hinc tempore, cum jam Godwinus comes esset mortuus, Haroldus filius ejus petiit a rege ire Normanniam, et fratrem suum atque nepotem, qui obsides ibidem tenebantur, liberare, et liberos secum patriam reducere. Cui rex, "Hoc," inquit, "non fiet[3] per me; verumtamen ne videar te velle impedire, permitto ut eas quo "vis, et experiaris quod possis; præsentio tamen te nihil "aliud tendere, nisi in detrimentum totius Anglici regni et "opprobrium tui. Nec enim ita novi comitem mentis ex-"pertem, ut eos aliquatenus velit concedere tibi, si non "præscierit in hoc magnum proficuum sui." Ascendit itaque Haroldus navem, quæ tempestate valida ejecta, cum omnibus quæ ferebat, in Pontivum fluvium qui Maia vocatur, a domino[4] terræ illius pro ritu loci captivitati illius addicitur. Constrictus ergo Haroldus, quemlibet ex vulgo, promissa mercede illectum, clam ad comitem Normanniæ dirigit, exponere quid illi contigerit; hoc ille audito, protinus per nuncios festinato mandavit domino Pontivi, Haroldum cum suis ab omni calumnia liberum sibi quantocius mitti, si pristina illius amicitia a modo sicut hucusque vellet potiri. Sed cum ille hominem dimittere nollet, iterum a Willelmo in mandato accepit, se necessario Haroldum missurum, alioquin certissimum sciret, Willelmum Normanniæ comitem armatum, pro eo abducendo cum suis usque novissimuum quadrantem, Pontivum quantocius aditurum. Talibus ille minis exterritus, mittit

Simeon, 195. Eadmer, 4.

Wulfnoth and Haco entrusted as hostages to William.

Harold proposes to fetch them home, against King Edward's advice.

Simeon, 196. Eadmer, 4.

He is wrecked in Ponthieu, and imprisoned.

He sends word to William, who demands his release.

[1] *Qua de causa*] This story of Harold's visit to Normandy occurs in very nearly the same words in Eadmer, *Hist. Novorum*, lib. i. (ed. Selden, pp. 4, 5). Eadmer is undoubtedly the earliest existing authority for this version of the history.

[2] *Bastard*] om. a. b.

[3] *fiet*] erit, a. b.

[4] *domino*] Guy I., count of Ponthieu, 1053–1100.

Simeon, 196. Eadmer, 4. virum cum sociis, qui a Willelmo multum honorifice suscipitur, et audito cur patria exierit, bene quidem rem processuram, si in ipso non remaneret, Willelmus respondit. Tenuit ergo virum aliquot diebus circa se, satisque humanum ac familiarem se illi exhibuit, ut hujuscemodi re animum ejus in suos conatus alliceret. Cui tandem aperuit, quod in mente habuit. Dicebat itaque regem Eadwardum quando secum juvene olim juvenis in Normannia demoraretur, sibi interposita fide sua, pollicitum fuisse, quia si rex Angliæ foret, jus regni in illum jure hæreditario post se transferret; et subdens ait; "Tu quoque si mihi te in hoc ipso adminiculaturum "spoponderis, et insuper castellum Dofris, cum puteo aquæ, ad "opus meum te facturum, sororemque tuam, quam uni de prin-"cipibus meis dem uxorem, te ad me, tempore quo nobis "conveniet, destinaturum, necne filiam meam in conjugem "accepturum, promiseris, tunc et modo nepotem tuum, et cum "in Angliam regnaturus venero fratrem tuum incolumem re-"cipies: in quo regno si tuo favore confirmatus fuero, spondeo "quia omne quod a me rationabiliter tibi postulaveris, obtine-"bis." Sensit Haroldus periculum undique, nec intellexit qua evaderet, nisi in omnibus voluntati Willelmi adquiesceret. Adquievit itaque. At ille, ut omnia rata forent, prolatis sanctorum reliquiis, ad hoc Haroldum perduxit, quatenus super illas jurejurando testaretur se cuncta quæ convenerant inter eos opere completurum. His ita gestis, Haroldus recepto nepote, reversus est patriam. Ubi vero quid acciderit, quid egerit, regi percunctanti narravit, "Nonne dixi tibi, me "Willelmum nosse, et in illo itinere tuo plurima mala huic "regno contingere posse? magnas in hoc facto tuo calamitates "præsentio genti nostræ venturas, quas concedat mihi quæso "pietas superna ne meis diebus veniant." In brevi post hæc obiit rex Eadwardus, et juxta quod ante mortem statuerat, in regnum ei successit Haroldus. Cui mandavit Willelmus, ut quamvis, violata fide, cætera non servasset, si tamen filiam suam duceret uxorem, leviter ferret. Alioquin se promissam regni successionem armis sibi vindicaturum procul dubio sciret. At ipse nec illud quidem facere se velle, nec hoc formidare dixit: unde Willelmus indignatus magna spe vincendi ex hac Haroldi injustitia est animatus. Parata igitur classe non modica, Angliam petit, consertoque gravi prælio, Haroldus in acie concidit, et Willelmus victor regnum obtinuit. De quo prælio testantur adhuc Franci qui interfuerunt, quoniam licet varius casus hinc inde extiterit, tamen tanta strages ac fuga Normannorum fuit, ut victoria, qua potiti sunt, vere et absque dubio Dei judicio sit ascribenda, Qui puniendo scelus perjurii ostendit Se Deum nolentem iniquitatem.

A.D. 1066.

He is released and visits the Norman court.

William proposes that Harold shall help to make him king of England.

Harold consents and is made to swear.

He returns home and tells King Edward.

On Edward's death William offers Harold one of his daughters.

Simeon, 197. Eadmer, 5, 6.

He is provoked by Harold's refusal, and invades England.

A.D. 1066. Edwin and Morkar go to London.

Audita igitur Haroldi regis morte, comes Edwinus et Morkarus, qui se cum suis certamini subtraxerunt, Lundoniam venere, et sororem suam Aldgitam reginam sumptam, ad civitatem Legionum misere. Aldredus autem Eboracensis archiepiscopus et idem comites, cum civibus Lundoniensibus et buthsecarlis, Clitonem Edgarum, Edmundi regis Ferrei lateris nepotem, in regem levare voluere, et cum eo se pugnam inituros promisere. Sed dum ad pugnam multi se pararent descendere, comites ab eis suum auxilium retraxere, et cum suo exercitu domum rediere. Interea comes Willelmus Suthsaxoniam, Cantiam, Suthamtunensem provinciam, Suthregiam, Middelsaxoniam, Herefordensem provinciam devastabat, et villas cremare hominesque interficere non cessabat, donec ad villam quæ Beorcham nominatur veniret. Ubi Aldredus archiepiscopus, Wlstanus Wigornensis episcopus, Walterus Herefordensis episcopus, Clito Eadgarus, comites Edwinus et Morkarus, et de Lundonia quique nobiliores cum multis aliis ad eum venerunt, et datis obsidibus illi deditionem fecerunt, fidelitatemque juraverunt. Cum quibus et ipse fœdus pepigit, et nihilominus exercitui suo villas cremare et rapinas agere permisit.

Simeon, 195. F. Wig. 614.

Archbishop Aldred proposes to make Edgar king.

Simeon, 195. F. Wig. 615.

Edwin and Morkar return home.

William meets the bishops and earls at Berkhampsted, and receives their fealty.

Willelmus Bastard rex Anglorum efficitur.

William is crowned at Westminster at Christmas.

Appropinquante igitur Dominicæ Nativitatis festivitate, cum omni exercitu Lundoniam, ut ibi in regem sublimaretur, adiit; et quia Stigandus, primas totius Angliæ, ab apostolico papa calumniatus est pallium non suscepisse canonice, ipsa Nativitatis die, quæ illo anno feria ii[a]. evenit, ab Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo in Westmonasterio consecratus est honorifice, prius, ut idem archipræsul ab eo exigebat, ante altare Sancti Petri apostoli, coram clero et populo, jurejurando promittens se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias, ac rectores illarum defendere, nec non et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste ac regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere et tenere, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere.

A.D. 1067. William goes to Normandy, leaving Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz-Osbern to keep the kingdom.

Simeon, 197. F. Wig.

Anno M°LX°VII°. Adveniente autem Quadragesima, rex Willelmus Normanniam repetiit, ducens secum Dorobernensem archiepiscopum Stigandum, Gleastoniensem abbatem Agelnothum, Clitonem Eadgarum, comites Edwinum et Morkarum, Waltevum Sivardi ducis filium nobilem satrapam, Agelnothum Cantuariensem, et multos alios de primatibus Angliæ; fratremque suum Odonem Bajocensem episcopum, et Willelmum filium Osberni, quem in Herefordensi provincia comitem constituerat, Angliæ custodes relinquens, castella per loca firmari præcepit. Wlsius Dorkeceastrensis episcopus decessit Wintoniæ, sed sepultus est Dorkeceastræ. Eo tempore exstitit quidam præpotens minister Edricus, cognomento Sylva-

Simeon, 197. F. Wig. ticus, filius Alfrici fratris Edrici Streone, cujus terram, quia se dedere regi dedignabatur, Herefordenses castellani, et Ricardus filius Scrob, frequenter vastaverunt; sed quotiescunque super eum irrruerant, multos e suis militibus et scutariis perdiderunt. Idcirco accitis sibi in auxilium regibus Walanorum, Bleothgento videlicet et Riwatlo, idem vir Edricus circa Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, Herefordensem provinciam, usque ad pontem amnis Lucgæ, devastavit, ingentemque prædam reduxit. Posthæc hyeme imminente, rex Willelmus de Normannia Angliam rediit, et Anglis importabile tributum imposuit. Dein in Dompnaniam hostiliter profectus, civitatem Execestram, quam cives et nonnulli Anglici ministri contra illum retinebant, obsedit, et cito infregit. Githa vero comitissa, mater scilicet Haroldi regis Anglorum, ac soror Swani regis Danorum, cum multis de civitate fugiens evasit, et Flandriam petiit; cives autem dextris acceptis, regi se dedebant.

A.D. 1067. Eadric the Wild ravages Herefordshire.

William returns home, and takes Exeter.

Anno M°LX°VIII°. Duo papæ in Roma facti sunt, id est, episcopus Parmensis,[1] qui expulsus est, et episcopus de Luca,[2] qui papa permansit. Post Pascha comitissa Matildis de Normannia venit Angliam, quam die Pentecostes Aldredus Eboracensis archiepiscopus consecravit in reginam. Post hæc igitur, Marleswein et Gospatric, et quique Northimbranæ gentis nobiliores, regis austeritatem devitantes, et ne sicut alii quamplures in custodiam mitterentur formidantes, sumptis secum Clitone Eadgaro, et matre sua Agatha, duabusque sororibus suis Margareta et Christina, navigio Scotiam adierunt, ibidemque, regis Scottorum Malcolmi pace, hyemem exegerunt. Rex autem Willelmus cum exercitu suo Snotingham venit, ubi castello firmato, Eboracum perrexit, ibidemque duobus castellis firmatis, quingentos milites in eis posuit, et
Simeon, 198. F. Wig. in civitate Lindicolnia aliisque locis castella firmari præcepit. Dum hæc agerentur, Haroldi regis filii, Godwinus, Eadmundus, Magnus, de Hibernia redeuntes in Sumersetanea applicuerunt. Quibus Eadnothus, qui fuit Haroldi regis stallarius, occurrit cum exercitu, et cum eis prælio commisso, cum multis aliis occisus est. Illi vero potiti victoria, de Domnania et Cornubia præda rapta non modica, in Hyberniam redierunt.

A.D. 1068. Matilda is consecrated Queen, May 11.

Edgar and his sisters fly to Scotland.

William builds castles at Nottingham, York, and Lincoln.

The sons of Harold ravage the western counties.

Anno M°LX°IX°. Misit rex Willelmus Northimbris ad aquilonalem plagam Tinæ comitem Robertum Cumin, tertio regni sui anno. At illi omnes in unam coacti sententiam, ne alienigenæ dominio subderentur, statuerunt aut illum interficere,

A.D. 1069. Robert Cumin made earl of Northumberland.

---

[1] *Parmensis*] Cadalus, antipope as Honorius II., 1061–1069.

[2] *episcopus de Luca*] Anselm, pope as Alexander II., 1061–1073.

A.D. 1069. He visits Durham, where he is attacked and murdered, Jan. 28.

Simeon, 198.

aut ipsi omnes simul in ore gladii caderent. Cui appropinquanti, Dunelmensis episcopus Egelwinus occurrens, insidias sibi præcavere præmonuit. Sed ille neminem hoc audere existimans, despexit admonentem. Dunelmum cum multa militum manu ingressus, permisit suos hostiliter ubique agere, occisis etiam nonnullis ecclesiæ rusticis. Susceptus est autem ab episcopo cum omni humilitate et honore. At Northumbri tota nocte festinantes Dunelmum, summa vi diluculo per portas irrumpunt, et socios comitis imparatos ubique locorum interficiunt. Atrociter nimis res geritur. Prostratis per domos et plateas militibus, domum episcopi, in quam comes fuerat susceptus, aggrediuntur pugnantes. Sed cum non ferrent jacula defendentium, domum cum inhabitantibus concremarunt. Tanta fuit interfectorum multitudo, ut omnia pene urbis loca replerentur cruore, nam de septingentis hominibus nemo præter unum evasit. Hæc cædes facta est v. kalendas Februarii, feria iiii.

Danish invasion of Yorkshire, joined by Edgar and Cospatric.

Simeon, 198. F. Wig.

Quo anno, ante Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ, Swani regis Danorum filii, Haroldus, Canutus, et patruus eorum Esbernus[1] comes, et episcopus eorum Christianus, comes quoque Turkillus, cc. et xl. navibus de Danemarcia venientes in ostio Humbræ fluminis applicuerunt. Ubi eis Clito Eadgarus, comes Waldevus et Marleswein multique alii, cum classe quam paraverant, occurrerunt. Affuit et Cospatricus comes cum totis viribus Northimbrorum, unanimiter omnes contra Normannos congregati; de quorum omnium adventu Eboracensis archiepiscopus Aldredus valde tristis effectus, in magnam decidit infirmitatem, et x°. anno sui archipræsulatus, iii. idus Septembris, feria vi., ut Deum rogaverat, vitam finivit, et in ecclesia Sancti Petri est sepultus. Octavo post hunc die, scilicet xiii. kalendas Octobris, Sabbato, Normanni qui castella custodiebant, timentes ne domus, quæ prope castella erant, adjumenta Danis ad implendas fossas castellorum essent, igne eas succendere cœperunt. Qui nimis excrescens totam civitatem invasit, monasteriumque Sancti Petri cum ipsa consumpsit. Sed ultione divina citissime in eis vindicatum est gravissime. Nam priusquam tota civitas esset combusta, Danica classis supervenit feria ii^a., et hinc Dani, illinc Northimbrani expugnantes castella eadem die infregerunt, et plus tribus millibus ex Normannis trucidatis, Willelmo Malet, qui tunc vicecomitatum gerebat, cum sua conjuge et duobus liberis, et Gileberto de Gant, aliisque perpaucis vitæ reservatis, naves Dani cum innumeris manibus,[2] suasque sedes

Death of Archishop Aldred, Sept. 11.

Burning of York by the garrison.

The Normans aro slain or taken prisoners.

---

[1] *Esbernus*] Osbernus, Sim. D.

[2] *manibus*] so all the MSS. for *manubiis*.

Simeon, 199. F. Wig. repetiere Northumbri. Quod ubi regi Willelmo innotuit, nimia commotus ira, juravit omnes Northimbrenses una se lancea perempturum. At mox exercitu congregato in Northimbriam efferato properavit animo; eamque per totam hyemem devastare, hominesque trucidare, et multa alia non cessabat agere. Interea nunciis ad Danicum comitem Esbernum missis, spopondit se clanculo daturum illi non modicam summam pecuniæ, et permissurum licenter exercitui suo victum circa ripas maris sibi rapere, ea tamen interposita conditione, ut sine pugna discederet, peracta hyeme. Ille autem auri argentique avidus, non sine magno dedecore sui, petitis adquievit. A.D. 1069. William's revenge on Northumberland. He treats with the Danes.

Normannis igitur Angliam vastantibus, in Northimbria et quibusdam aliis provinciis, anno præcedenti, sed præsenti et subsequenti fere per totam Angliam, maxime per Northimbriam et per contiguas illi provincias, adeo fames prævaluit,[1] ut homines humanas, equinas, caninas et cattinas carnes, et quicquid usus abhorret, cogente inedia, comederent. Terrible devastation of the North.
Simeon, 199. Alii vero in servitutem perpetuam se vendiderunt, dummodo qualitercunque miserabilem vitam sustentaverunt: alii extra patriam profecturi in exilium, medio itinere deficientes animas emiserunt. Erat horror ad intuendum per domos, plateas et itinera cadavera humana dissolvi, et tabescentia putredine cum fœtore horrendo scaturire vermibus. Neque enim supererat qui ea humo cooperiret, omnibus vel extinctis gladio et fame, vel propter famem paternum solum relinquentibus. Ita, terra cultore destituta, lata ubique solitudo patebat per novem annos. Inter Eboracum et Dunelmum nusquam villa inhabitata, bestiarum tantum et latronum latibula, magno itinerantibus fuere timori.

Cum hæc Eboraci circumquaque rex ageret, Egelwinus Dunelmensis episcopus et optimates populi, timentes ne propter occisionem et comitis Dunelmi et Normannorum apud Eboracum gladius regis innocentes æque ut nocentes pari clade involveret; unanimi consilio tollentes sacrum et incorruptum beati patris Cuthberti corpus, fugam ineunt iii°. idus Decembris, feria vi^a^. Primam mansionem habuerunt in Girvum, secundam in Bethlingetun, tertiam in Tuggehale, quartam in Ealande.[2] Sed circa vesperam, cum plenum undique mare advenientibus prohiberet ingressum, ecce, subito sui recessu, liberum præstitit introitum, ita ut nec festinantes aliquanto tardius sequerentur fluctus marini, nec tardantes aliquanto citius præcurrerent. Cum autem terram attigissent, ecce, refluum mare sicut ante totas arenas operuerat. In- Ethelwin carries the body of S. Cuthbert to Holy Island.

---

[1] *prævaluit*] invaluit, a. b. | [2] *Ealande*] Healande, Sim. D.

A.D. 1069. The church of Jarrow burned. terea regis exercitus, etiam per loca quæque inter Tesam et Tine diffusus, vacuis ubique domibus solam invenit solitudinem, indigenis fugæ præsidium quærentibus, vel per sylvas et abrupta montium latitantibus; tunc et ecclesia Sancti Pauli Apostoli in Girvum flammis est consumpta. Dunelmensis ecclesia omni custodia et ecclesiastico servitio destituta erat, ut ait Scriptura, sicut desertum; spelunca erat pauperum et debilium et ægrotantium, qui cum fugere non poterant, illuc declinantes, fame ac morbo deficiebant. Imago crucifixi[1] quæ sola de ornamentis ecclesiæ remanserat, quoniam non facile pro sui magnitudine a festinantibus poterat asportari, auro suo et argento est spoliata, detrahentibus Normannis. Rex autem cum non longe esset, agnoscens ecclesiæ solitudinem, et crucifixi exspoliationem, graviter satis tulit, ipsosque qui hoc fecerant perquiri præcepit. Nec multo post eosdem ipsos[2] forte sibi obvios habuit, quos, cum publicam viam declinare conspiceret, illico intellexit homines mali alicujus esse conscios; qui protinus comprehensi aurum et argentum, quod de crucifixo tulerant, ostenderunt. Quos statim ad judicium episcopi, et eorum qui cum illo erant, jam de fuga regredientium, transmisit, sed illi a reatu absolutos impune dimittunt.

Simeon 199. 1 Mac. iii. 45. The church of Durham plundered. William captures the plunderers.

Ethelwin returns to Durham. Instante namque verno tempore, redeunte ad Suthumbriam rege, Egelwinus episcopus cum omni populo, transactis in Elande tribus mensibus et aliquot diebus, cum thesauro sacri corporis ad Dunelmensem ecclesiam reversus est. Simeon, 199.

A.D. 1070. The king searches the monasteries for treasure. Anno M°LXX°. Willelmi Herefordensis comitis, et quorundam aliorum consilio, tempore Quadragesimali, rex Willelmus monasteria totius Angliæ perscrutari fecit; et pecuniam quam ditiores Angli, propter illius austeritatem et depopulationem, in eis deposuerant, jussit auferri.[3] Simeon, 200. F. Wig.

Ethelwin determines to fly. Egelwinus episcopus rediens, ut supradictum est, de fuga, perpetuam animo fugam meditabatur. Videns namque res Anglorum undique turbari, exteræ gentis, cujus nec linguam nec mores noverat, grave sibi metuens dominium, decrevit episcopatu dismisso, quaqua posset advena sibi providere. Itaque Simeon, 200.

[1] *Imago crucifixi*] The following story does not appear in Simeon's History, but is abridged from his work on the church of Durham, lib. iii. c. 15. Twysden, c. 39.

[2] *ipsos*] om. a. b.

[3] *auferri*] deferri, Sim. D.

Simeon, 200. navis ei præparata; rebus necessariis impositis prosperum expectavit ventum in portu Wiremuthensi. Fuerant ibidem eo tempore et aliæ naves nonnullæ, quarum ductores erant Clito Eadgarus cum matre Agatha, et duabus sororibus Margareta et Cristina, Siward Barn, Marleswein, Elfwinus filius Normanni, et alii complures, qui post expugnationem castellorum Eboraci, Danis in sua revertentibus, quoniam eis auxilio fuerant, indignationem regis sibi metuebant, Scotiam ire profugi parabant, ibique navigationem prosperam præstolabantur. Per idem tempus, infinita Scottorum multitudo, ducente Malcolmo rege, per Cumberland traducta, versus orientem divertens, universam Tesedala et ejus finitima loca ultra citraque feroci populatione vastavit. Ubi autem ventum est ad locum qui dicitur Anglice Hundredeskelde, Latine autem Centum fontes, trucidatis ibidem quibusdam gentis Anglicæ nobilibus, rex parte exercitus retenta, partem per viam qua venerant cum infinita præda domum remisit; hac scilicet calliditate, ut cum totus hostis putaretur abiisse, miseros indigenas, qui sese suaque propter hostilem metum latibulis, quibus poterant, tute conservaverant, secure in villas suas domosque regressos, ipse subito incursu improvisos præoccuparet. Quod et factum est. Nam depopulata Clivelande ex parte, repentina depopulatione[1] Heorternisse, indeque per terris Sancti Cutberti ferociter discurrens, omnes omnibus rebus, nonnullos etiam ipsis privat animabus. Tunc etiam[2] ecclesiam Sancti Petri apostoli in Wiramutha flamma suorum, ipso inspectante, consumpsit; alias quoque ecclesias, cum his qui in eis confugerant, concremavit. Ubi cum circa ripas fluminis equitaret, deque altiori loco suorum crudelia in miseros Anglos facinora prospiciens, tali spectaculo animos et oculos pasceret, nunciatum est illi Clitonem Eadgarum suasque sorores, regiæ stirpis puellas decoras, pluresque alios prædivites de suis sedibus profugos, in illum portum applicuisse navibus. Datis ergo dextris, venientes ad se benigne alloquitur, eisque cum suis omnibus regni sui habitationem, quamdiu vellent, cum firmissima sua pace donavit. Inter has Scottorum vastationes ac rapinas, Cospatricus comes, qui, ut supra dictum est, a rege Willelmo comitatum Northimbrorum pretio assecutus fuerat, accitis auxiliatoribus strenuis, atroci depopulatione Cumberland invadit. Peracta cæde et incendio, cum magna præda revertitur, seque cum suis sociis in munitionem Bebbanburg firmissimam conclusit. Ex qua sæpius prorumpens, vires hostium debilitavit. Erat enim eo tempore Cumberland sub regis

A.D. 1070.

The fugitives meet at Wearmouth.

Malcolm ravages Teesdale and Cleveland.

The church of Wearmouth burnt.

Edgar and his sisters join Malcolm.

Cospatric ravages Cumberland to punish Malcolm.

---

[1] *depopulatione*] occupat, ins. Sim. D., a. b.

[2] *etiam*] et, a. b.

A.D. 1070. Horrible revenge of Malcolm.

Malcolmi dominio, non jure possessa, sed violenter subjugata. Auditis ille Malcolm[1] (cum adhuc flamma suorum ardentem Sancti Petri ecclesiam spectaret) quæ Cospatricus in suos fecerat, vix præ furore se ipsum ferens, jussit suis ut nulli Anglicæ gentis ulterius parcerent, sed omnes vel necando in terram funderent, vel captivando sub jugo perpetuæ servitutis abducerent. Qua licentia accepta, miseria erat etiam videre quæ in Anglos faciebant. Senes et vetulæ, alii gladiis obtruncantur, alii ut porci ad esum destinati lanceis confodiuntur. Rapti ab uberibus matrum parvuli, in altum aera projiciuntur, unde recidentes lancearum acuminibus excipiuntur, hastilibus confertim solo infixis. Hac crudelitate pro ludorum spectaculo delectabantur bestiis crudeliores Scotti: sic innocens ætas cœlum ascensuras, inter cœlum pendens et terram, emittit animas. Juvenes vero et juvenculæ, et quicunque operibus ac laboribus idonei videbantur, ante faciem hostium vincti compelluntur, ut perpetuo exilio in servos et ancillas redigantur. Horum quidam dum plus quam vires ferrent currendo ante ora compellentium fatigarentur, illico ruentes in terram eundem locum casus et mortis habebant. Hæc Malcolmus considerans, nullis miserorum lacrymis, nullis gemitibus flectebatur ad misericordiam, sed potius jussit ut perurgerentur eundo. Repleta est ergo Scotia servis et ancillis Anglici generis, ita ut etiam usque hodie nulla non dico villula, sed nec domuncula sine his valeat inveniri. Simeon, 201

Ethelwin driven by the wind to Scotland.

Marriage of Malcolm and Margaret.

Reverso Scotiam Malcolmo, Egelwinum episcopum versus Coloniam incipientem navigare, mox ventus surgens contrarius in Scotiam repulit, quo etiam Clitonem Eadgarum cum sociis supranominatis prospero cursu pervexit. Cujus Eadgari sororem Margaritam, rex Malcolmus, consensu propinquorum illius, matrimonio sibi junxit,[2] fœminam regali prosapia nobilem, sed prudentia et religione multo nobiliorem, cujus studio et industria rex ipse, deposita morum barbarie, factus est honestior, atque civilior. Ex qua sex filios suscepit, Eadwardum, Eadmundum, Eadgarum regem, Alexandrum regem, Ethelredum, David regem, et duas filias, Matildam reginam Anglorum, et Mariam, quam Eustacius comes Bononiæ in conjugium accepit.

Council of Winchester, April 11.

Eodem anno concilium magnum in octavis Paschæ Wintoniæ celebratum est, jubente et præsente rege Willelmo, domino Alexandro papa consentiente, et per suos legatos, Hermenfredum Sedunensem epsicopum, et presbyteros Johannem et Petrum, Cardinales sedis apostolicæ, suam auctoritatem exhibente. In quo concilio Stigandus Doroberniæ archiepi- Simeon, 201. F. Wig.

[1] *Malcolm*] om. a. b. | [2] *junxit*] subjunxit, a. b.

Simeon, 201. F. Wig. scopus degradatur tribus de causis: scilicet quia episcopatum Wintoniæ cum archiepiscopatu injuste possidebat, et quia vivente archiepiscopo Roberto non solum archiepiscopatum sumpsit, sed etiam ejus pallio, quod Cantuariæ remansit, dum vi et injuste ab Anglia pulsus est, in missarum celebratione aliquamdiu usus est, et a Benedicto, quem sancta Romana ecclesia excommunicavit, eo quod pecuniis sedem apostolicam invasit, pallium accepit. Ejus quoque frater Agelmarus, Eastanglorum episcopus, est degradatus, abbates etiam nonnulli ibi degradati sunt, operam dante rege, ut quamplures ex Anglis suis honoribus privarentur, in quorum locum suæ gentis personas subrogaret, ob confirmationem scilicet sui quod noviter adquisierat regni. Hinc et nonnullos tam episcopos quam abbates, quos nulla evidenti causa nec concilia nec leges sæculi damnabant, suis honoribus privavit, et usque ad finem vitæ custodiæ mancipatos detinuit, suspicione, ut diximus, tantum inductus novi regni. In hoc itaque concilio, dum cæteri trepidi, utpote regis agnoscentes animum, ne suis dignitatibus privarentur, timerent, venerandus vir Wlfstanus, Wigornensis episcopus, possessiones quamplures sui episcopatus ab Aldredo archiepiscopo (dum a Wigornensi ecclesia ad Eboracensem transferretur) sua potentia retentas, quæ tunc eo defuncto in potestatem regiam devenerant, constanter proclamabat, expetebat, justitiamque fieri tam ab ipsis qui concilio præerant, quam a rege flagitabat. At quia[1] Eboracensis ecclesia, non habens pastorem qui pro ea loqueretur, muta erat, judicatum est ut ipsa querela sic remaneret quousque archiepiscopo ibi constituto, qui ecclesiam defenderet, dum esset qui ejus querelæ responderet, ex objectis et responsis posset evidentius ac justius judicium fieri; sicque tunc ea querela ad tempus remansit. Die autem Pentecostes, rex apud Windeshoram venerando Bajocensi canonico Thomæ Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopatum, et Valcelino[2] suo capellano Wintoniensis ecclesiæ dedit præsulatum. Cujus jussu mox in crastino prædictus Sedunensis episcopus Armenfredus synodum tenuit, Johanne et Petro cardinalibus[3] Romam reversis. In qua synodo

[Margin: Simeon, 202. F. Wig.]

[Margin: A.D. 1070. April 11. Stigand deposed.]

[Margin: Ethelmar bishop of Elmham deposed.]

[Margin: Wulfstan bishop of Worcester reclaims the property of his see from that of York.]

[Margin: Council of Windsor, May 23.]

[Margin: Thomas made archbishop of York, and Walkelin bishop of Winchester.]

---

[1] *at quia*] atque, A. B.

[2] *Valcelino*] Wacelino, a. b.

[3] *cardinalibus*] The following note in the S. John's MS. 97 is of interest. "*Epistola cardinalium* " *urbis Romæ ad Wulstanum episco-* " *pum.* J. et P. presbyteri car- " dinales Sancti Petri, Wulstano de " Wihraceastre episcopo salutem. " Licet Romana ecclesia circa cor- " rectionem omnium Christianorum " invigilare debeat, specialius tamen " eam conversationis vestræ mores " convenit inquirere et Christianam " religionem, qua vos primitus in- " struxit, diligentia suæ visitationis " reparare. Hujus itaque sollicitu- " dinis debito nos qualescunque

A.D. 1070. May 24. Herfast made bishop of Elmham, and Stigand of Selsey.

Agelricus Suthsaxonum pontifex non canonice degradatur; quem rex sine culpa mox apud Mearlesberge in custodiam posuit. Abbates etiam quamplures sunt depositi; quibus depositis, rex suis capellanis, Arfasto Orientalium Anglorum præsulatum. et Stigando Suthsaxonum dedit episcopatum; nonnullis etiam Normannicis monachis dedit abbatias. Et quia Dorobernensis archipræsul depositus est, et Eboracensis erat defunctus, jussu regis, in octavis Pentecostes, ab eodem Armenfredo Sedunensi episcopo, sedis apostolicæ legato, ordinatus est Walcelinus. Simeon, 202. F. Wig.

Esbern returns to Denmark, and Eadric the Wild submits to William.

Imminente autem festivitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, comes Esbernus,[1] cum classe quæ in Humbre flumine hyemaverat, Danemerciam adiit; sed frater suus rex Danorum Swanus, illum propter pecuniam, quam contra voluntatem Danorum a rege Willelmo acceperat, exlegavit. Vir strenuissimus Edricus, cognomento Sylvaticus, cujus supra meminimus, cum rege Willelmo pacificatur.

Lanfranc made archbishop of Canterbury.

Post hæc, rex de Normannia accito Lamfranco Cadomensi abbate, genere Longobardo, viro undecunque doctissimo, omnium liberalium artium, divinarumque simul ac sæcularium litterarum scientia peritissimo, consiliis quoque ac gubernatione rerum mundialium æque prudentissimo, die Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, archiepiscopum constituit Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, et in festivitate Sancti Johannis Baptistæ,[2] die Dominica, consecrari fecit Cantuariæ. Consecratus est autem ab episcopis Gisone Willensi et a Waltero Herefordensi, qui ambo Romæ a Nicholao papa ordinati sunt, quando Aldredus Eboracensis archiepiscopus pallium suscepit. Vitabant enim a Stigando, qui tunc archiepiscopatui Doroberniæ præsidebat, ordinari, quia illum noverant non canonice pallium suscepisse. Herimannus etiam Searesbiriensis episcopus, cum quibusdam aliis, ejus interfuit consecrationi. Deinde Lamfrancus Thomam Eboracensem consecravit archiepiscopum.

His consecration, Aug. 29.

" Beati Petri apostoli ministros et " vice atque auctoritate domini nos- " tri papæ Alexandri fultos ad par " tes vestras direxit, ut consilium " vobiscum celebraturi, quæ in vinea " Domini Sabaoth male pullulant " resecemus, et animarum et corpo- " rum utilitate profutura plantemus. " Vestram igitur fraternitatem in " partem tantæ sollicitudinis apo- " stolica auctoritate invitamus, ut " tertia die post proximum Pascha, " remota omni occasione, ad Win- " cestram conveniatis, et omnes ab- " bates diocesis vestræ, ostensis his " litteris nostris, vobiscum venire " commoneatis." Hæc cardinalium J. et P. epistola præfigitur libro Homiliarum Wigorniensis Bibliothecæ, Saxonica lingua conscripto. Cf. Wilkins, *Conc.* i. 323.

[1] *Esbernus*] Osbernus, Sim. D.

[2] On the feast of the decollation of S. John, Aug. 29.

Simeon, 203. F. Wig.

His gestis, reverendi Wlstani Wigornensis episcopi mota est iterum querela, episcopo jam consecrato Thoma, qui pro Eboracensi loqueretur ecclesia; et in concilio, in loco qui vocatur Pedreda celebrato, coram rege ac Doroberniæ archiepiscopo Lanfranco, et episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, et primatibus totius Angliæ, Dei gratia adminiculante, est terminata. Cunctis siquidem machinamentis, nequaquam veritate suffultis, quibus Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus ejusque fautores Wigornensem ecclesiam deprimere, et Eboracensi ecclesiæ subjicere ancillamque facere modis omnibus satagebat, justo Dei judicio, ac scriptis evidentissimis, detritis et penitus annihilatis, non solum vir Dei Wlstanus proclamatas et expetitas possessiones recepit, sed et suam ecclesiam, Deo donante et rege concedente, ea libertate liberam suscepit, qua[1] primi fundatores ejus, sanctus rex[2] Athelredus, et Osherus Hwicciorum subregulus, sanctus videlicet, Cenredus, Athelbaldus, Offa, sanctus Kenulfus pater Kenelmi martyris, eorumque successores, ac postea totius Angliæ monarchiam obtinentes, scilicet Eadwardus senior, Athelstanus, Eadmundus, Edredus, Eadgarus pater Eadwardi regis et martyris illorumque successores liberaverant.[3]

A.D. 1070. Settlement of the dispute between Worcester and York.

Lamfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus senior profecti sunt Romam pro palliis suis.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini MºLXXºIº. Lamfrancus et Thomas Romam iverunt, et ab Alexandro papa pallium susceperunt. Comites Edwinus et Morkarus, quia rex Willelmus eos in custodiam ponere voluit, latenter e curia ejus fugerunt, et aliquamdiu contra eum rebellaverunt. Verum ubi quod cœperunt, non prospere sibi cessisse viderunt, Eadwinus regem Scottorum Malcolmum adire decrevit; sed in itinere, a suis insidias perpessus, occiditur. Morkarus vero et Herewardus vir strenuissimus, cum multis aliis Heli insulam navigio petierunt, in ea hyemare volentes. Egelwinus quoque Dunelmensis episcopus, et Siwardus cognomento Barn, de Scotia renavigantes, illo advenerant. Sed, hoc audito, rex cum buthsecarlis in orientali plaga insulæ omnem illis exitum obstruxit, et pontem in occidentali plaga duum milliariorum longum fieri jussit. At illi,

A.D. 1071. Edwin and Morkar fly from court. Death of Edwin. The English nobles take refuge in the isle of Ely.

---

[1] *qua*] quam, b.
[2] *rex*] om. a. b.
[3] *Cunctis . . . liberaverant*] This paragraph is much abridged in Simeon, and in the text is an expansion of Florence's words on the subject.

A.D. 1071. Submission of the fugitives. ubi se viderunt sic esse inclusos, repugnare destiterunt: et omnes excepto Herewardo, qui per paludes cum paucis evasit, regi se dediderunt. Qui mox episcopum Egelwinum Abbandoniam missum, in custodiam posuit, ubi in ipsa hyeme vitam finivit; comitem vero Morkarum cæterosque per Angliam divisos partim custodiæ mancipavit, partim manibus truncatis vel oculis erutis abire permisit. Simeon, 203. F. Wig.

Walcher made bishop of Durham. Walcherum vero Dunelmensi ecclesiæ rex præfecit episcopum, de clero Leodiensis ecclesiæ. Consecratus est apud Wintoniam. Invitatus namque ab ipso rege, venerat ad illum, prosapia clarus, honestis moribus, divinæ ac sæcularis scientiæ gratia præditus: quem Eilaf Huscarl apud regem præpollens honore, cum aliis principalibus viris perduxit Eboracum, ubi jussu regis occurrens comes Cospatricus suscepit pontificem perducendum usque Dunelmum. Venit autem in ecclesiam suæ sedis, media Quadragesima. Simeon, 203.

A.D. 1072. William invades Scotland and receives the homage of Malcolm. Anno M°LXX°II°. Post Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, rex Willelmus, habens in comitatu suo Edricum cognomento Sylvaticum,[1] cum navali et equestri exercitu Scotiam profectus est, ut eam suæ subjugaret ditioni: graviter namque rex Scottorum Malcolmus eum offenderat, qui, ut supradictum est, anno præterito regni sui terminos tam atrociter depopulatus fuerat. Sed ubi rex Anglorum Scotiam intraverat, rex Malcolmus ei, in loco qui dicitur Abernithi, occurrit, et homo suus devenit. Simeon, 203. F. Wig.

Cospatric loses his earldom. Rediens autem inde Willelmus, Cospatricum comitatus honore privavit, imponens illi quod consilio et auxilio affuisset eis qui comitem in Dunelmo peremerant, et quia in parte hostium fuisset, cum Normanni apud Eboracum necarentur.[2] Simeon, 203.

Waltheof succeeds. Quo dejecto, Walthevus in comitatum sustollitur, ei ex patris et matris prosapia debitum. Fuerat enim Siwardi comitis filius, ex filia Aldredi quondam comitis Elfreda. Eodem tempore, scilicet quo rex reversus de Scotia fuerat, in Dunelmo castellum condidit, ubi se cum suis episcopus tute ab incursantibus habere potuisset. Simeon, 205.

William searches for the relics of S. Cuthbert. Nov. 1. Et quoniam[3] Normannorum quidam discredebant beatum[4] Cuthbertum vel esse sanctum, vel corpus ipsius ibidem haberi, in ipsa Omnium Sanctorum festivitate, celebrante missam episcopo, præcepit rex duobus capellanis, ut ingredientes sanctuarium, aperto sepulcro visu

---

[1] *Sylvaticum*] Wilde, a. b. interlined.

[2] *necarentur*] Here follows in Simeon the long account of the Northumbrian earls given above, pp. 57–59.

[3] *Et quoniam, &c.*] This story does not occur in Simeon's History. Compare *Hist. de Dunelmensi Ecclesia*, iii. 19; Twysden, c. 42.

[4] *beatum*] om. a. b.

et manu explorarent, utrumne sanctum corpus ibi haberetur. Jam enim disposuerat rex, ut si ibidem non esset, universi natu majores obtruncarentur. Itaque omnibus paventibus capellani intendebant jussa perficere. Erat autem multa frigoris asperitas. Interea rex intolerabili cœpit æstu fatigari, ac nimium sudare, et horrore quodam nimio concuti. Moxque ad capellanos mittens imperavit, ne presumerent attingere sepulcrum. Confestimque ascendens equum, donec Tesam videret, urgere in cursum non destitit, atque deinceps ipsum sanctum multum honori habuit, legesque ecclesiæ ipsius, et consuetudines, quam meliores retro actis temporibus habuerat, in perpetuum firmavit servandas. Et insuper dedit et concessit, et charta sua confirmavit, Deo et Sancto Cuthberto, et priori et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, in puram et perpetuam eleemosynam, regium manerium suum, videlicet villam de Hemmingburh cum omni terra de Brakenholm[1] et cum omnibus terris adjacentibus, cum ecclesia villæ prædictæ, et cunctis rebus eidem pertinentibus, in bosco et plano, moris ac prato, in sylvis et paludibus, aquis, molendinis et stagnis, cum merc et mere, et sach et sochne, et tol et them et infangentheof, et omnibus rectis divisis ejus, ita bene et quiete et libere, cum rectitudinibus et omnibus consuetudinibus suis, sicut unquam Sanctus Cuthbertus alias terras suas melius et quietius habuit, cum omnibus consuetudinibus regiis, et libertatibus, quas ipse rex habuit in ipso, dum illud post victoriam Angliæ in manu propria tenuit, et per easdem divisas quibus ipse, sive ante eum Tostius vel Siwardus, ipsum manerium tenuerunt.[2] Fuerunt autem amicissimi sibique mutuo acclines Walcherus episcopus, et Waltheofus

A.D. 1072. Nov. 1.

William is frightened at his own audacity and flies from Durham.

He confirms all the possessions and privileges of Durham.

---

[1] *Brakenholm*] Brachenholm, *Original Charter.*

[2] *Et insuper . . . tenuerunt*] This is an addition of Hoveden's to the compilation which he copied; at all events it is not found in MSS. a. b. The charter by which the grant was made, and from which the text is almost an exact copy, may be found in Raine's *Scriptores Dunelmenses Tres*, Appendix xii.

A.D. 1072. Friendship of Walcher and Waltheof.

comes, unde una cum episcopo, et in synodo presbyterorum residens, humiliter et obedienter prosequebatur quicquid, pro corrigenda in suo comitatu Christianitate, statutum ab episcopo fuisset. Simeon, 205.

A.D. 1073. Completion of two great cycles since our Lord's baptism.

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°LXX°III°. In hoc anno omnia juxta cursum solis et lunæ habentur sicut in anno xv^to^. Tiberii, in quo baptizatus est Dominus, id est, dies baptismatis viii°. idus Januarii, die Dominica Epiphaniæ, et secunda feria, initium jejunii ejus xl. dierum. A baptismate itaque Domini, in anno xv^to^. Tiberii, hucusque sunt revoluti duo magni cycli, hoc est mille lxiiii. anni.

William subdues Maine. Edgar submits.

Rex Anglorum Willelmus civitatem, quæ vocatur Cinomannis, et provinciam ad illam pertinentem, maximo Anglorum auxilio quos de Anglia secum adduxerat, sibi subjugavit. Clito Eadgarus de Scotia per Angliam venit Normanniam, et cum rege Willelmo se repacificavit. Simeon, 205. F. Wig.

Waltheof kills the sons of Karl.

Comes Waltheofus, missa manu valida Northymbrensium, necem avi sui Aldredi comitis crudeliter ulciscitur; siquidem filios Carl, qui eum occidi fecerat, apud Seteringetun simul convivantes gladius insidiantium consumpsit. Simeon, 205.

A.D. 1074. Gregory VII. pope.

Anno M°LXX°IV^to^., Hiltibrandus, qui et Gregorius, Romanus archidiaconus, papa est electus et consecratus. Iste papa, synodo celebrata, ex decreto Sancti Petri apostoli, et Sancti Clementis aliorumque sanctorum patrum et banno interdixit clericis, maxime divino mysterio[1] consecratis, uxores habere, vel cum mulieribus habitare, nisi quas Nicena synodus vel alii canones exceperunt. Decrevit quoque sub sententia Sancti Petri, ut cum Symone Mago damnaretur non solum emptor et venditor cujuscunque officii, ut puta episcopatus, abbatiæ, præpositturæ, decaniæ, vel decimationis ecclesiæ, sed et quicunque consentiret eis. Dominus enim dixit "gratis "accepistis, gratis date." Tres de provincia Merciorum, id est, Eovesham,[2] monachi pauperes spiritu divinitus missi in provinciam Northanimbrorum, venerunt Eboracum: petentes ab Hugone filio Baldrici, qui tunc vicecomitatum gerebat, ut eis ducem itineris inveniret usque locum, qui Munckeceastre, id est, monachorum civitas, appellatur, qui nunc Novum Castellum nominatur. Quo perducti venientes, ad tempus ibidem morati, cum nullum antiquum servorum Christi ibi reperirent vestigium, diverterunt ad Gyrvum, ubi ruinis vix ostendentibus quid antiquitus fuerint, monachorum, cum semiruptis[3] ecclesiis visebantur ædificia multa, episcopo Walchero summa cum

He forbids marriages of clergy and simony. — Simeon, 206. — Three monks of Evesham come into Northumberland: visit Jarrow.

---

[1] *mysterio*] ministerio, Sim. D.
[2] *id est, Eovesham*] om. a. b., Sim. D.
[3] *semiruptis*] semirutis, a. b.

Simeon, 206. congratulatione illos suscipiente, et necessaria præbente. Horum nomina fuerunt; prior eorum ætate et moribus erat Aldwinus, secundus vero[1] Elfwinus,[2] tertius Reinfridus; ex his tribus tria in regione Northanhimbrorum instaurata sunt monasteria; unum Dunelmi, apud patris Cuthberti sacrum et incorruptum corpus, in honore Sanctæ Mariæ virginis; aliud Eboraci in honore ejusdem Dei genitricis Mariæ, ubi factum nobile cœnobium, primum habuit abbatem Stephanum, secundum Ricardum, tertium Gaufridum, quartum, qui et in præsenti, Severinum.[3] Tertium autem in loco qui quondam Streoneshalf, id est sinus fari, nunc Withebi appellatur, hodie habet Benedictum[4] abbatem. Denique postquam sævissima paganorum devastatio gladio ac flamma ecclesias ac monasteria in cineres redegerat, deficiente pene Christianitate, vix aliquæ ecclesiæ, et virgis et fœno contextæ, sed nulla uspiam monasteria per ducentos annos reædificabantur, tepescente paulatim fidei religione, cultu vero religionis penitus deficiente. Monachorum nomen erat provincialibus inauditum; in stuporem vertebantur cum quemlibet monachilis habitus et vitæ forte conspicerent: sed prædictis tribus viris inter illos habitare incipientibus, incipiebant et ipsi de bestiali vita mores in melius commutare, illis ad restauranda sancta loca opem impendere, ipsi per se semirutas ecclesias renovare, vel etiam, in quibus antea non erant locis, novas ædificare. Multi de sæculari vita etiam in monachilem militiam concurrere; sed hi pauci ex provincialibus; plures vero de remotis Angliæ partibus fama illorum acciti, eis adjungebantur unanimes.

A.D 1074. Three monasteries are restored by their exertions, Durham, St. Mary's York, and Whitby.

Monachism was extinct in the North before this.

Horum[5] Turgotus erat unus, postea Scottorum episcopus. Is prosapiam trahens de genere Anglorum non infimo, unus erat inter alios, qui nuper subjugata Normannis Anglia, obsides

Story of Turgot.

---

[1] *vero*] om. a. b.

[2] *Elfwinus*] Ealfwius, Sim. D.

[3] *Severinum*] Severinus was abbot of S. Mary's, York, from 1132 to April 3, 1161. His being mentioned here as the present abbot, seems to show that the compilation was drawn up before 1161. Twysden's edition of Simeon of Durham adds, after the name of Severinus, *quintum Clementem qui et in præsenti*; a statement which, if not an interpolation, shows that the MS. he used was written later than 1161. In Simeon's History of Durham, (Twysden, 45,) Stephen is said to be the existing abbot.

[4] *Benedictum*] Benedict was abbot of Whitby in 1145; Twysden's edition of Simeon adds the name of Richard as present abbot: he died in 1175.

[5] *Horum . . . Sancti Andreæ* (p. 131.) om. a. b.

A.D. 1074. Turgot being placed as a hostage in Lincoln, escapes and flies to Norway.

pro tota Lindisseia in Lindicolino castro custodiebantur. Ille pecunia emolliens custodiam, cum magno suorum periculo fugit clanculo ad Norwigenses, qui tunc apud Grimesbi navem mercatoriam usque Norwegeiam oneraverant, in qua navi etiam legati regis Willelmi, Norwegiam mittendi, subvectionem sibi paraverant. Jamque navis illa totis avolans velis, terras aspectibus subtraxerat, cum ecce fugitivus obses regis ab inferioribus navis partibus, ubi Norwegenses eum absconderant, in medium erumpens, legatos eorumque socios in stuporem convertit. Nam ubique locorum perquisitus fuerat, etiam in navi eadem exactores regis scrutinia fecerant, sed calliditas abscondentium delusit oculos perscrutantium. Itaque legati instabant, ut depositis velis, navem cum fugitivo regis ad Angliam quoquo modo reflecterent. Norwegenses acrius repugnabant, ut cœpta velificatio prospero cursu in ante perferret; fit partium altercatio, ita ut adversus se invicem armarentur. Sed quod major vis erat Norwegensium, citius compressa est audacia legatorum, quantoque magis terræ propinquabant, tanto magis illis se humiliabant. Veniens autem illo juvenis fugitivus, honeste namque se et caste agebat, nobilibus et optimatibus gratus apparebat; pervenit et ad notitiam regis Olavi, qui, quoniam valde religiosus erat, sacros codices inter manus tractare, et litteras inter regni curas consuevit addiscere; sæpe etiam sacerdoti ad altare assistere, et induentem vestimenta sacra adjuvare, aquam manibus fundere, et cætera hujusmodi devote peragere. Audito itaque, quod de Anglia clericus venisset, quod magnum tunc temporis videbatur, eum ad discendos psalmos quasi magistrum sibi adhibuit. Inter hæc satis superque abundabat rebus, regis virorumque nobilium largitate profluentibus: compugnabatur sæpe animus illius ad contemptum mundi, et ubi poterat convivia lætantium declinans, solitariis delectabatur in lacrymis, orans Deum ut eum dirigeret in viam salutis. Sed quia religiosa desideria, dum differuntur, sæpe mutantur, et ab illo statu paulatim animus defluebat, quem jocunditas sæculi ex successu rerum ad se trahebat; sed qui invi[ta]tus sponte venire noluit, quandoque compulsus domum cœlestis Patrisfamilias intravit. Post aliquot namque annos patriam cum multa pecunia renavigabat, sed medio in mari, navi prævalida tempestate dissoluta, rerum omnium jacturam pereuntibus sociis sustulit, solamque vitam, cum quinque vel sex aliis, vix cum multo labore servavit. Veniens Dunelmum ad orationem, Walchero episcopo omnia circa se acta exposuit, et quia monachilis propositi animum gereret indicavit. Quod episcopus satis humiliter suscepit, mittensque ad Aldwinum, de quo supradictum est, "Hunc,"

Simeon, 206. Simeon, 207.

He there instructs king Olaf, and grows rich.

Returning to England he is shipwrecked, and offers to become a monk at Durham.

Simeon, 207. inquit, "filium meum precor et jubeo suscipias, atque monachili habitu indutum, vitam quoque monachilem servare doceas;" quem susceptum ille regulariter probavit, et probato monachicum quandoque habitum tradidit, atque ita verbo informavit et exemplo, ut eidem defuncto, jubente Willelmo episcopo, in Dunelmensis ecclesiæ succederet prioratum, quod per viginti annos strenue administravit, duodecim diebus minus: anno enim episcopatus Rannulfi, qui Willelmo successit, octavo, impetrante Alexandro rege Scottorum ab Henrico rege Anglorum, assumitur ad episcopatum ecclesiæ Sancti Andreæ.

A.D. 1074. He becomes a monk, then prior, and then bishop of S. Andrew's in 1109.

Simeon, 208. F. Wig. Eodem anno, quo Hiltibrandus papa prædictum celebravit concilium, Rogerus comes Herefordensis, filius Willelmi comitis, Eastanglorum comiti Rodulfo, contra præceptum regis Willelmi, sororem suam conjugem tradidit, nuptiasque permagnificas cum plurima multitudine optimatum in Grantebrigensi provincia, in loco qui Yxninga dicitur, celebrantes, magnam conjurationem plurimis assentientibus contra regem Willelmum ibi fecerunt, comitemque Waltheofum, suis insidiis præventum, secum conjurare compulerunt. Qui mox ut potuit, Lamfrancum Dorobernensem archiepiscopum adiit, pœnitentiamque ab eo pro facto, licet non sponte, sacramento accepit; ejusque consilio regem Willelmum in Normannia degentem expetiit, eique rem gestam ex ordine pandens, illius misericordiæ ultro se dedit. Verum illi supra memorati principes, conjurationis cœptis operam daturi, sua castella repetiere, rebellationemque adoriri omni conatu cum suis fautoribus cœpere. Sed Herefordensi comiti, ne, Sabrina transvadata, Rodulfo comiti ad locum destinatum cum suo exercitu occurreret, restitit venerabilis Wlstanus Wigornensis episcopus, cum magna militari manu, et Agelwinus Eoveshamnensis abbas cum suis, ascitis sibi in adjutorium Ursone vicecomite Wigornæ, et Waltero de Laceio cum copiis suis, et cætera multitudine plebis. At vero Rodulfo comiti, prope Grantebrigam castra metanti, Odo Bajocensis episcopus frater regis, et Gosfridus Constantiensis episcopus, congregata magna copia tam Anglorum quam Normannorum, ad bellum parati occurrerunt. Ipse autem suos conatus infirmari cernens, multitudinem resistentium veritus, ad Nortwic clanculo refugit, et castello suæ conjugi militibusque suis commendato, ascensa navi, de Anglia ad Minorem Britanniam fugit. Quem fugientem adversarii illius insecuti, omnes quos de suis comprehendere poterant, vel interemerunt, vel diversis pœnis[1] debilitaverunt. Dein principes castellum tamdiu obsederunt, quoad pace

Roger earl of Hereford conspires with Ralph earl of the East Angles against William.

Waltheof reveals the conspiracy to the king.

Wulfstan bishop of Worcester collects a force against Roger;

Odo of Bayeux and Geoffrey of Coutances against Ralph, who flies to Brittany.

---

[1] *pœnis*] modis, a. b.

A.D. 1074. Norwich surrendered. William on his return imprisons Roger and Waltheof. Death of queen Eadgith.

data, permissu regis, comitissæ cum suis exire de Anglia liceret. His gestis, rex autumnali tempore de Normannia rediens, comitem Rogerum in custodia posuit, comitem etiam Waltheofum, licet ab eo misericordiam petierit, custodiæ similiter tradidit. Edgitha quondam Anglorum regina decessit Wintoniæ,[1] mense Decembri, cujus corpus jussu regis Lundoniam delatum, juxta corpus domini sui regis Eadwardi honorifice est tumulatum in Westmonasterio. Ubi rex proxima Nativitate Domini, curiam suam tenuit, et ex eis qui contra eum cervicem suam erexerant, de Anglia quosdam exlegavit, quosdam erutis oculis, vel manibus truncatis, deturpavit; comites vero Waltheofum et Rogerum, judiciali sententia damnatos, arctiori custodiæ mancipavit. (Simeon, 208. F. Wig. Simeon, 209. F. Wig.)

A.D. 1075. Execution of Waltheof. He is buried at Croyland. His innocence.

Anno M°LXX°V°. Comes Waltheofus jussu regis Willelmi extra civitatem Wintoniam ductus est indigne, et crudeliter securi decapitatur, et in eodem loco terra obruitur. Sed processu temporis, Deo sic ordinante, corpus ejus de terra levatur, et cum magno honore Crulande deportatur, et in ecclesia honorifice tumulatur. Hic dum adhuc temporali frueretur vita, arcta positus in custodia, ea quæ gesserat inique incessanter deflevit et amarissime, vigiliis etiam et[2] orationibus, jejuniis, nec non et eleemosynis Deum studuit placare, cujus memoriam voluerunt homines in terra delere, sed illum veraciter cum sanctis in cœlo gaudere credimus, prædicto archipræsule piæ memoriæ Lamfranco, a quo facta confessione pœnitentiam acceperat, fideliter attestante. Qui impositi criminis, supradictæ scilicet conjurationis, illum immunem affirmabat esse, et quæ in cæteris commisisset,[3] ut verum Christianum pœnitentialibus lacrymis deflevisse, seque felicem fore, si post exitum vitæ illius felici requie potiretur. Post quem, cura comitatus Northimbrensium committitur Walchero Dunelmensi episcopo. Post hæc mari transito, rex in Minorem Britanniam suam movit expeditionem, et castellum Rodulfi comitis, quod Dol nominatur, tamdiu obsedit, donec Francorum rex Philippus illum inde fugaret.

Walcher takes charge of Northumberland. William besieges Dol in Brittany.

Measures of Gregory VII. against the married clergy.

Ea tempestate, dum clerici magis eligerent anathemati subjacere quam uxoribus carere, Hiltibrandus papa, ut per alios, si posset, eos castigaret, præcepit ut nullus audiret missam conjugati presbyteri, his verbis;

" Gregorius papa, qui et Hiltibrandus, servorum Dei servus, Simeon, 209.
" per totum Italicum regnum et Teutonicum debitam Sancto

[1] *Wintoniæ*] Wiltoniæ, S.D.
[2] *etiam et*] om. a. b.
[3] *commisisset*] convenisset, A. B.

Simeon, 209. "Petro obedientiam exhibentibus, apostolicam benedictionem. "Si qui sunt presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, qui jacent in "crimine fornicationis, interdicimus eis ex parte Omnipo-"tentis Dei, et auctoritate Sancti Petri, introitum ecclesiæ, "usque dum emendent et pœniteant: si qui autem in pec-"cato suo perseverare maluerint, nullus vestrum officium "eorum auscultare præsumat: quia benedictio illorum ver-"titur in maledictionem, et oratio in peccatum, testante Do-"mino per Prophetam, 'Maledicam' inquit 'benedictionibus "'vestris.'" A.D. 1075. Gregory's letter against married clergy. Mal. ii. 2.

Simeon, 209. F. Wig. Anno M°LXX°VI°. Rex Danorum Swanus bene litteris imbutus obiit, cui filius suus Haroldus successit. A.D. 1076. Sweyn king of Denmark dies.

Anno M°LXX°VII°. Robertus Willelmi regis primogenitus, eo quod Normanniam, quam sibi ante adventum ipsius in Angliam, coram Philippo rege Francorum dederat, possidere non licebat, Franciam adiit, et, auxilio Philippi regis, in Normannia magnam frequenter prædam agebat,[1] villas comburebat, et patri suo non parvam molestiam et anxietatem inferebat. A.D. 1077. Robert, son of the king, rebels in Normandy.

Simeon, 210. F. Wig. Anno M°LXX°VIII°. Rex Scottorum Malcolmus, post Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, Northimbriam usque ad magnum flumen Tinæ devastavit, multos occidit, plures captivavit, et cum magna præda rediit.[2] A.D. 1078. Malcolm ravages Northumberland.

Anno M°LXX°IX°. Rex Willelmus, filio suo Roberto ante castellum Gerbothret,[3] quod ei rex Philippus præstiterat, dum pugnam inferret, ab ipso vulneratus in brachio, de suo dejectus est emissario; sed mox, ut illum per vocem cognovit, festinus descendit, ac illum suum caballum ascendere jussit, et sic abire permisit. Ille autem, multis suorum occisis, nonnullisque captis, ac filio suo Willelmo cum multis aliis vulnerato, fugam iniit. Venerandus vir Robertus, qui per ministerium reverentissimi Wigornensis episcopi Wlstani gradum presbyteratus suscepit, a Lamfranco archipræsule Doroberniæ, ad Herefordensem ecclesiam, iiii. kalendas Januarii, die Dominica, episcopus ordinatur Cantuariæ. A.D. 1079. Encounter between Robert and William at Gerberoi. Robert bishop of Hereford, consecrated.

Anno M°LXXX°. Dunelmensis episcopus Walcherus, genere Lotharingus, moribus insignis, in loco qui dicitur Gatesheved, id est, capræ caput, ii. idus Maii, feria quinta, a Northimbrensibus innocenter est occisus, in ultionem scilicet necis A.D. 1080. Walcher slain at Gateshead, May 14.

---

[1] *agebat*] MS. B. has in marg.:—"Pater ergo pugnam cum filio iniit "ante castellum Gerberai, qui a filio "vulneratus in brachio et ab equo "dejectus, filio maledixit. Quam "maledictionem filius in carcere "moriens et nullum hæredem relin-"quens evidenter incurrit."

[2] *Rex Scottorum . . rediit*] Placed under A.D. 1079 in b., F.W. and Sim. D.

[3] *Gerbothret*] Gerbohtret, Savile.

A.D. 1080.

Liulf, uncle of Earl Waltheof, lived at Durham in great friendship with Walcher.

Liulfi, nobilis generosique ministri. Hic itaque vir late per Angliam possessiones multas ex hæreditario jure possedit, sed quia ubique locorum Normanni incessanter ea tempestate operam dabant suæ feritati, cum suis omnibus ad Dunelmum se contulit, quia Sanctum Cuthbertun corde sincero dilexit. Simeon, 210. F. Wig.

Habuit autem in conjugio Aldgitam filiam Aldredi comitis, ex qua procreavit filios Uchtredum et Morekarum. Hujus Aldgithæ soror fuit Elfleda mater Waltheovi comitis. Unde ipse comes consobrinum suum parvulum prædictum Morekarum Deo nutriendum monachis in Girwa commendavit. Quo tempore, ipse comes erat apud Tinemuthe, quem locum, simul cum prædicto parvulo, ipsis monachis commisit disponendum. Simeon, 210.

See Hist. Dun. Scr., App. IX.

Leofwin, a chaplain of Walcher, is jealous of Liulf.

Cujus pater Liulfus ab episcopo in tantum diligebatur, ut, absque illius consilio, majores sæcularium negotiorum causas nullatenus agere vellet, aut disponere. Ob quam rem suus capellanus Leodwinus,[1] quem in tantum exaltaverat, ut in episcopatu et in comitatu fere nil sine illius arbitrio agitaretur, invidiæ stimulis succensus, et propter suam potentiam tædis superbiæ nimis inflatus; se contra prædictum virum arroganter erexit. Quapropter nonnulla ejus judicia atque consilia flocci pendebat, omnibusque modis annullare sudabat. Frequenter etiam coram episcopo non sine minis cum eo litigans, illum verbis probrosis sæpius ad iracundiam provocabat. Quadam itaque die, cum idem vir Liulfus, ab episcopo vocatus ad consilium, legalia quæque et recta decerneret, obstinatius ei Leodwinus obstitit, et loquelis illum contumeliosis exacerbavit. Sed quia ille respondit ei durius solito, de placiti loco surrexit illico, et evocans ad se Gilebertum, cui præsul, quia suus propinquus erat, comitatum Northimbrensium sub se regendum commiserat, ut se vindicaret, obnixe rogavit, et Liulfum, quam citius posset, morti tradere maturaret. Ille confestim iniquis petitionibus adquiescens, suis et episcopi et ejusdem Leothwini[2] militibus in unum coadunatis, ad villam ubi tunc Liulfus morabatur, nocte quadam perrexit, ac illum cum sua familia, fere tota, in domo propria injuste peremit. Quo cognito, graviter antistes ex corde suspiravit intimo, et capitio de capite extracto, et in terram projecto, Leofwino, qui tunc præsens aderat, tristis dixit continuo: "Tuis, Leofwine, factionibus dolosis acta "sunt hæc, et insiliis stolidissimis. Idcirco volo te scire "pro certo, quia et me et te, omnemque familiam meam "tuæ linguæ peremisti gladio." Hoc dicto in castellum se Simeon, 210. F. Wig. Simeon, 211. F. Wig.

He persuades Gilbert, sheriff of Northumberland, to murder Liulf.

Consternation and grief of Walcher.

[1] *Leodwinus*] Leofwinus, b., Sim. D.; Leobwinus, a.

[2] *Leothwini*] Leobwini, a. b.

Simeon, 211. F. Wig. proripuit festinato, confestimque nunciis per Northimbriam missis, omnibus nunciari præcepit, se necis Liulfi conscium non fuisse, quin potius ejus occisorem Gilbertum et omnes socios ipsius de Northimbria penitus exlegasse, ac paratum fore semetipsum purgare secundum judicium pontificale. Dein missis intercurrentibus, ille parentesque occisorum, pace ad invicem data et accepta, locum et diem, quo convenire interque se pacem firmiorem facere possent, statuere. Quo adveniente, loco constituto, in unum convenere. Verum cum illis episcopus sub divo noluit placitare, sed in ecclesiam, quæ ibi erat, cum suis clericis ac honorabilioribus militibus intravit. Et consilio habito, semel et iterum de suis, quos voluit, pro pace facienda foras ad eos misit. At illi nequaquam petitis adquiescebant, quia Liulfum illius jussione peremptum fuisse pro certo credebant. Nam Gilebertum ejusque socios, nocte post necem propinqui sui proxima, non solum in domum suam Leofwinus[1] familiariter et amicabiliter suscepit, verum etiam episcopus ipse illum, ut prius, in suam gratiam familiamque recepit. Unde omnes qui ex parte antistitis foris inventi fuerent, primitus occiderunt, paucis fuga reservatis. Quo viso, ut hostium furori satisfaceret, propinquum suum præfatum Gilebertum, cujus anima quærebatur, præsul de ecclesia jussit exire. Quem egredientem milites repugnaturi e vestigio sunt secuti; sed mox ab hostibus undique gladiis et lanceis appetiti, in momento sunt perempti: duobus tamen Anglicis ministris propter consanguinitatem pepercerunt. Leofwinum quoque,[2] quia sæpius episcopo adversus illos multa[3] dederat consilia, et clericos alios, mox ut egressi sunt, occiderunt. Episcopus autem ut intellexit furorem illorum nulla ratione mitigatum iri, nisi caput et auctor totius calamitatis Leofwinus[4] occideretur, rogavit illum egredi foras; sed cum penitus, ut egrederetur, ab illo extorquere non posset, ad ecclesiæ januas ipsemet episcopus accessit, sibique vitam concedi poposcit. Quibus renuentibus, caput suæ chlamydis limbo cooperiens foras exivit, et mox inimicorum gladiis percussus occubuit. Deinde Leofwinum[5] egredi jusserunt; quo nolente, ecclesiæ tecto parietibusque ignem imposuere. At ille potius ustulatione quam occisione vitam eligens finire, flammas aliquamdiu sustulit; sed cum semiustus esset,

A.D. 1080. He treats with the relations of Liulf.

He retires to the church at Gateshead, which is surrounded by his enemies.

Gilbert is slain.

The bishop himself is killed and the church burned:

Leofwin cut to pieces.

---

[1] *Leofwinus*] Leobwinus, a. b.

[2] *quoque*] Dunelmensem decanum, add. Sim. D., F.W. The Dean was *Leobwin*; (Scriptt. Dun., App. p. xix.), the culprit probably *Leofwin*. The similarity of the two names led to the confusion found in all the MSS.

[3] *multa*] om. b.

[4] *Leofwinus*] Leobwinus, a. b.

[5] *Leofwinum*] Leobwinum, a. b.

A.D. 1080. exilivit, et frustatim concisus, nequitiæ suæ pœnas exsolvendo, miser interiit. Ob quorum detestandæ necis vindictam, rex Willelmus eodem anno devastavit Northimbriam, misso illuc Odone Bajocensi episcopo, cum multa militari manu. Quo anno idem rex Willelmus, autumnali tempore, Robertum filium suum Scotiam contra Malcolmum misit: sed cum pervenisset ad Egelbrech, nullo confecto negotio reversus, castellum novum super flumen Tinæ condidit. Willelmus suscepit episcopatum Dunelmensem v. idus Novembris, sed iv°.[2] nonas Januarii a Thoma Eboracensi consecratur apud Gloucestre. Henricus imperator Hiltibrandum papam, in Pentecosten, Magontiæ, decernit deponendum, et Wibertum Ravennæ urbis episcopum, in Natali Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, pro eo facit papam.

Simeon, 211. — William punishes the murderers. — Newcastle-on-Tyne founded. — William bishop of Durham consecrated. — Simeon, 212.

A.D. 1081. Anno M°LXXX°I°. Henricus imperator hostiliter Romam adversus papam adiit, oppugnans urbem, non tamen intravit.

Siege of Rome.

A.D. 1082. Anno M°LXXX°II. Multis homicidiis et prædationibus inter Henricum imperatorem et Hildebrandum papam actis, in nocte Palmarum multi sunt occisi. Rex Willelmus fratrem suum Odonem, Bajocensem episcopum, Normanniæ in custodiam posuit.

Odo imprisoned. — Simeon, 212. F. Wig.

A.D. 1083. Anno M°LXXX°III°. Henricus imperator[2] urbem Romæ infregit et cepit, Wibertum in sede apostolica constituit. Hiltibrandus vero Beneventum adiit, et ibi usque ad suum obitum deguit. Henricus autem in Teutoniam rediit.

Gregory VII. retires to Benevento. — Simeon, 212.

Seditio nefanda inter monachos et indigne nominandum abbatem Turstinum Glastoniæ facta est; quem rex Willelmus, de monasterio Cadomi, nulla prudentia instructum, eidem loco abbatem præfecerat. Hic inter cætera stultitiæ suæ opera, Gregorianum cantum aspernatus, monachos cœpit compellere ut, illo relicto, cujusdam Willelmi Fiskamnensis cantum discerent et cantarent. Quod dum ægre acciperent, quippe qui jam tam in hoc quam in cæteris ecclesiasticis officiis secundum Romanæ morem ecclesiæ insenuerant, subito armata militari manu, illis ignorantibus, quadam die in capitulum irruit, monachos nimio terrore fugientes in ecclesiam, ad altare usque persequitur, jaculisque et sagittis cruces et imagines ac feretrum sanctorum manus militaris transfigens, unum etiam monachum sacrum amplexantem altare lancea transverberans, interemit; alium ad altaris crepidinem sagittis confossum necavit; cæteri vero necessitate compulsi, scamnis et candelabris ecclesiæ fortiter se defendentes, licet graviter vulnerati, milites omnes retro chorum abegerunt. Sicque factum est, ut duo occisi, quatuordecim

Quarrel between Thurstan abbot of Glastonbury and his monks. — Simeon, 212. F. Wig.

---

[1] *iv°.*] properly iii°.

[2] *imperator*] rex, a. b., Sim. D.

[3] *nefanda*] magna, b.

Henry IV., king of Germany.

Simeon, 212. vulnerati ex monachis, nonnulli etiam de militibus sauciati existerent. Hinc moto judicio, dum maxima abbatis culpa esse patuit, rex eundem abbatem summovit, et in suo monasterio in Normanniam posuit. De monachis vero quamplures per episcopatus et abbatias, jussu regis, custodiendi disperguntur. Cujus post mortem idem abbas iterum abbatiam suam, a filio ejus rege Willelmo, quingentis libris argenti emit, et per ecclesiæ possessiones aliquot annis pervagatus, longe ab ipso monasterio, ut dignus erat, homicida et miser decessit.

A.D. 1083. Bloodshed in the riot. The abbot deprived. He is afterwards restored by William II.

Simeon, 212. Monachi in Dunelmum convenerunt, jubente rege Willelmo majore, vii. kalendas Junii, feria sexta. Regina Matildis, iiii. nonas Novembris,[1] feria v., decessit in Normannia, et Cadomi est sepulta.

Death of Queen Matilda.

Carta Thomæ Eboracensis archiepiscopi senioris de libertatibus ecclesiarum Sancti Cuthberti.

" Thomas,[2] Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, episcopis, " et abbatibus, per Angliam tam constitutis quam in posterum " successuris, et omnibus sibi in Eboraco archiepiscopis suc- " cessuris in perpetuum, salutem. Cum nostrum sit officium, " omnibus præstare pietatis obsequium, his tamen maxime " sanctorum Dei debemus obsequium nostræ devotionis impen- " dere, a quibus constat nos peculiare muneris beneficium " percepisse. Nos quidem flagello Dei castigati, et febrium " languoribus per biennium modo incredibili exusti, cum " omnes medici solius mortis exitum nobis prominere promit- " terent, nil unquam fuit in quo continuæ noxam ægritu- " dinis temperarent; per visum ergo commonitus, ad tumbam " Sancti Cuthberti gemens et fremens pernoctavi, qui morbo " simul et mole fatigatus, dum somnum surripui, in visu " mihi beatus Cuthbertus astitit, qui manu sua singula mem- " bra mea de infirmitate mea percurrens mox vigilantem ab " omni infirmitate sanum reddidit, et me sibi in omnibus " devotum fore, et quæcunque in mea diocesi ipse vel sui " possessuri erant, ab omni fatigatione secura et libera esse " præcepit; quibus beati confessoris adjutus beneficiis, eo ei et " suis devotior exstiti, quo majora persolvere debui. Willelmo " interim Dunelmensi episcopo, de sede apostolica litteras " Gregorii papæ septimi ad Willelmi regis concilium apud " Westmonasterium deferente, canonicos de ecclesia sua amo-

Thomas archbishop of York in gratitude for a miraculous cure by S. Cuthbert, expresses his devotion to him.

---

[1] *Novembris*] blank in b.

[2] *Thomas . . . confirmamus*] om. a. b. This charter of archbishop Thomas does not occur in Simeon. It is printed from the original by Mr. Raine, *Scriptores Dunelmenses Tres.;* App. v., p. xi.

A.D. 1083. And on the occasion of the substitution of monks for canons at Durham, frees all the churches in the diocese of York, belonging to the convent of Durham, from all dues payable to the archbishop.

"vere, et monachos substituere, omnium consensu impetravit. "Quibus plurimum gavisus, ex præcepto præfati papæ, et ex "imperio domini regis Willelmi, beati Cuthberti amore debito, "subscriptas litteras Sancto Cuthberto, et ejus episcopo, et "omnibus monachis ei servientibus, consensu et permissione "capituli Eboraci, et totius synodi confirmatione, dedi, con-"cessi, et præsenti carta confirmavi, et post propria manu "super altare Sancto Cuthberto obtuli. Sciant igitur tam "præsentes quam futuri, quod ego Thomas Eboracensis archi-"episcopus, ex præcepto papæ Gregorii septimi, et confirma-"tione domini regis Willelmi, sub testimonio universalis "Anglorum concilii, et consensu Eboracensis capituli, do et "concedo Deo, et Sancto Cuthberto, et omnibus ejus episcopis "successuris, et omnibus monachis ibidem in posterum futu-"ris, ut omnes ecclesias quascunque in præsenti in diocesiana "parochia mea possident, vel in posterum canonice adquirere "poterunt concessione regum, largitione fidelium, vel ædifi-"caverint in proprio fundo terrarum, habeant liberas et "quietas omnino in perpetuum a me, et omnibus successori-"bus meis, ab omnibus quæ ad me vel ad successores meos "pertinent. Quare volo et præcipio, ut omnes ecclesias suas "in manu sua teneant, et quiete eas possideant, et vicarios "suos in eis libere ponant, qui mihi et successoribus meis "de cura tantum intendant animarum, ipsis vero de omnibus "cæteris eleemosynarum beneficiis. Concedo insuper, confirmo "et præcipio, ut tam ipsi quam ipsorum vicarii liberi et "quieti in perpetuum sint ab omni redditu synodali, et ab "omnibus auxiliis, gravaminibus vel redditibus, exactionibus "vel hospitiis, tam a me quam a decanis, archidiaconis, vel "omnium nostrorum vicariis et ministris; sub anathemate "etiam prohibeo, ne aliquis ultra, ipsos, vel eorum clericos, "aliqua sub occasione fatiget, vel ad synoda vel capitula "ire, nisi velint sponte, compellant. Sed si quis erga eos vel "suos aliquam querelam habuerit, ad curiam Sancti Cuth-"berti Dunelmum veniat, ut ibi, qualem debuerit, rectitudi-"nem percipiat. Omnes enim libertates et dignitates, quas "ego vel mei sequaces in ecclesiis propriis vel terris nostris "possederimus, ipsis et Sancto Cuthberto in omnibus eccle-"siis, et terris suis libere in perpetuum concedimus, et absque "tergiversatione sive calumnia a me meisque successoribus, "liberas et quietas confirmamus."[1]

---

[1] The original continues to specify privileges, and ends with the attestations of witnesses. A blank space of seven lines follows in A., as if for a continuation.

Simeon, 212. F. Wig.

Anno M°LXXX°IV°. Hiltibrandus, qui et Gregorius papa, obiit. Rex Anglorum Willelmus de unaquaque hida per Angliam sex solidos accepit.

A.D. 1084. Danegeld of six shillings.

Simeon, 213. F. Wig.

Anno M°LXXX°V°. Eximiæ vir probitatis Perscorensis abbas Eadmundus, xvii°. kalendas Julii, die Dominica obiit. Eodem anno rex Danorum Canutus, filius Swani, cum classe valida, et auxilio soceri sui Roberti Flandrensis comitis (habuit enim filiam ejus uxorem), in Angliam venire paratus erat. Unde rex Willelmus, de tota Gallia solidariis, pedonibus et sagittariis multis millibus conductis, et nonnullis de Normannia sumptis, autumnali tempore Angliam rediit, et eis per totum regnum divisis, episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, baronibus, vicecomitibus, ac regiis præpositis, victum præbere mandavit. Sed ubi cognovit suos inimicos impeditos fuisse, partem exercitus remisit, partem secum per totam hyemem retinuit, et in Nativitate Domini curiam suam Glawornæ tenuit. Ubi tribus suis capellanis, Mauricio scilicet Lundoniensem, Willelmo Teodfordensem, Roberto Cestrensem dedit præsulatum.

A.D. 1085. Canute king of Denmark threatens an invasion; William hires troops to resist him.

At Christmas he gives away three bishoprics.

Anno M°LXXX°VI°. Willelmus rex fecit describi omnem Angliam, quantum terræ quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot feudatos milites, quot carrucas, quot villanos, quot animalia, immo quantum vivæ pecuniæ quisque haberet in omni regno suo, a maximo usque ad minimum, et quantum redditus quæque possessio reddere poterat, et vexata est terra multis cladibus inde[1] procedentibus. Post hæc, in hebdomada Pentecostes, filium suum Henricum apud Westmonasterium, ubi curiam suam tenuit, armis militaribus honoravit. Nec multo post mandavit ut archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates, comites, barones, vicecomites, cum suis militibus, kalendis Augusti sibi occurrerent Searesbiriæ.[2] Quo cum venissent, milites illorum sibi fidelitatem contra omnes homines jurare coegit. Eo tempore Clito Eadgarus, licentia a rege impetrata, cum cc. militibus mare transiit, et Apuliam adiit. Cujus germana, virgo Christina, monasterium quod Rumesie nuncupatur intravit, et vestem sanctimonialis habitus suscepit. Eodem anno, animalium pestis, et magna exstitit aeris intemperies.

A.D. 1086. Domesday survey.

The king's son Henry knighted (May 24-31).

Great assembly at Salisbury, Aug. 1; the knights, vassals of the barons, swear fealty to the king.

Anno M°LXXX°VII°. Hoc anno reliquiæ Sancti Nicholai de Mirrea transferuntur in Barensem civitatem. Aldwinus prior Dunelmensis decessit. Ferox flamma urbes multas, ecclesiam quoque Sancti Pauli apostoli, cum majori et meliori parte Lundoniæ consumpsit. Dani suum dominum Canutum regem, vi. idus Julii, Sabbato, in quadam ecclesia martyrizaverunt. Cicestrensis episcopus Stigandus, abbas Sancti Augustini Scollandus, abbas Bathoniensis Alsius, et abbas Perscorensis Turstinus decesserunt.

A.D. 1087. Translation of S. Nicholas from Myra to Bari. Fire at London. Martyrdom of S. Canute.

[1] *inde*] sine mensura, b. | [2] *Searesbiriæ*] Sealesbirie, a. b.

A.D. 1087. *De itinere regis Willelmi cum exercitu in Franciam.*

Eodem anno, ante Assumptionem Sanctæ Mariæ, rex Willelmus in Franciam cum exercitu venit, et oppidum quod Matuntun[1] nuncupatur, et omnes ecclesias in eo sitas, duosque reclusos, igne succendit, et inde in Normanniam rediit. Sed in ipso reditu, dirus viscerum dolor illum apprehendit, et magis ac magis de die in diem gravabat. Cum autem, ingravescente ægritudine, diem sibi mortis imminere sensisset, fratrem suum Odonem Bajocensem episcopum, comites Morkarum et Rogerum, Siwardum cognomento Barn, et Wlnothum, regis Haroldi germanum, quem a pueritia in custodia tenuerat, et omnes quos vel in Anglia vel in Normannia custodiæ manciparat, laxavit. Dein filio suo Willelmo regnum tradidit Angliæ, et Roberto filio primogenito, qui tunc exulabat in Francia, comitatum concessit Normanniæ.

Simeon, 213. F. Wig.

William invades France, burns Mantes, and falls ill.

His instructions to his sons.

Rex Anglorum Willelmus primus obiit.

Et sic cœlesti munitus viatico, postquam viginti annis, mensibus decem, et xxviii. diebus genti Anglorum præfuit, v. iduum Septembris die, cum vita regnum perdidit, et Cadomi, in ecclesia Sancti Stephani protomartyris, quam ipse a fundamentis construxerat, bonisque ditaverat, sepultus requiescit.

Simeon, 214 F. Wig.

He dies, Sept. 9.

Willelmus autem filius ejus, Angliam festinato adiit, ducens secum Morkarum et Wlnothum, sed mox ut Wintoniam venit, illos, ut prius fuerant, custodiæ mancipavit.

William II. hastens to Winchester.

Willelmus secundus rex efficitur.

Post hæc vi. kalendas Octobris, die Dominica, in Westmonasterio a Lamfranco Doroberniæ archiepiscopo, in regem est consecratus. Dein Wintoniam rediens, thesauros patris sui, ut ipse jusserat, per Angliam divisit, scilicet quibusdam principalibus ecclesiis x. marcas auri, quibusdam vi., quibusdam minus; ecclesiis etiam in villis sitis, per singulas solidos v.[2] dari; cruces, altaria, scrinia, textos, candelabra, situlas, fistulas, ac ornamenta varia, gemmis, auro, argento, lapidibusque pretiosis redimita, per ecclesias digniores ac monasteria jussit dividi. Ejus quoque germanus Rodbertus in Normanniam reversus, thesauros, quos invenerat, monasteriis, ecclesiis, pauperibus, pro anima patris sui largiter divisit, et Ulfum, Haroldi quondam regis Anglorum filium, Duncaldumque, regis Scottorum Malcolmi filium, a custodia relaxatos, et armis militaribus honoratos, abire permisit.

Is crowned at Westminster, Sept. 26.

He divides his father's treasures among the churches.

---

[1] *Matuntum*] Mathuntum, a. b.; Mathun, Sim. D.

[2] *solidos v.*] denarios lx., Sim. D., F.W.

Simeon, 214. F. Wig. Anno MºLXXXºVIIIº. Hoc anno inter primates Angliæ magna orta est discordia. Pars enim Normannorum nobilium favebat regi Willelmo, sed minima; pars vero altera favebat Rodberto comiti Normannorum, et maxima, cupiens hunc sibi asciscere in regnum; fratrem vero, aut fratri tradere vivum, aut regno privare peremptum. Hujus execrandæ rei principes extiterunt, Odo Bajocensis episcopus, qui etiam erat comes Cantuariensis, et Gosfridus episcopus Constantiensis, et Rodbertus comes Moritunensis, et Rogerus comes Scrobesbyriensis, et excellentiores principes totius regni excepto Lamfranco archiepiscopo. Execrabile hoc factum tractaverunt clam in Quadragesima, statimque post Pascha cœpit quisque circa se vastare, rapere, deprædari omnia, castella munire fosso et victu. A.D. 1088. Quarrels of the nobles. The chief nobles take the side of Robert against William.

Simeon, 214. Gosfridus episcopus Constantiensis et Robertus de Mulbrei iverunt Bricthou, ubi habebant castrum fortissimum, et omnia devastabant usque locum qui vocatur Bathan. Proceres quoque de Hereforda et de Scrobesbirie, cum multitudine Valensium, perrexerunt usque Wigrecestre, omnia ante se vastantes et igne consumentes. Cogitaverunt etiam, quod castrum et ecclesiam vellent accipere, quod videlicet castrum tunc temporis commendatum erat Wlstano venerabili episcopo. Quando episcopus ista audivit valde contristabatur, et cogitans quid consilii inde haberet, vertit se ad Deum suum, et rogat ut respiciat ecclesiam suam, et populum suum ab hostibus oppressum. Hæc eo meditante, familia exilivit de castro, et acceperunt et occiderunt ex eis quingentos viros, et alios in fugam verterunt. Rogerus Bigot intravit castra de Nortwic, et omnes vicit in malum. Odo episcopus, per quem ista mala cœperunt, perrexit Cantiam, et vastavit villas regias, nec non et omnium, qui regi fidem tenuerunt, terras depopulatus est, et castrum Rofense obfirmavit. His auditis rex Geoffrey of Coutances and Robert Mowbray ravage the country about Bath. Bishop Wulfstan repulses an attack on Worcester. Roger Bigot takes Norwich and Odo ravages Kent.

Simeon, 215. fecit congregari[1] Anglos, et ostendit eis traditionem Normannorum, et rogavit ut sibi auxilio essent, eo tenore, ut si in hac necessitate sibi fideles existerent, meliorem legem, quam vellent eligere, eis concederet: et omne injustum scotum interdixit: et concessit omnibus sylvas suas et venationem; sed quicquid promisit parvo tempore custodivit. Angli tamen fideliter eum juvabant. Convocavit igitur rex exercitum suum, ut iret Rovesceastram, ubi putabat avunculum suum Odonem episcopum esse. Venientes autem ad Tunebrige invenerunt castrum obfirmatum contra regem. Sed Angli viriliter insilientes in illud, destruxerunt totum castrum; qui autem[2] intus erant, manus regi dederunt. His ita gestis, rex cum exercitu vertit iter versus castrum de Pevenesea; jam enim episcopus William, with the aid of the English, takes Tunbridge Castle. He besieges Odo in Pevensey.

[1] *congregari*] convocari, a. b. | [2] *qui autem*] et qui, a. b.

A.D. 1088. Odo recesserat a Roveceastra, et intrabat castrum illud; quem Simeon, 215. rex secutus, obsidebat castrum per vi. integras septimanas cum magno exercitu. Dum hæc fiunt in Anglia, Robertus comes Normanniæ congregat magnum exercitum, et parat cum in Angliam mittere, mox secuturus, quasi de Anglia per Odonem episcopum et cæteros, qui ex sua ibi parte erant, securus. Sed mox Willelmus junior jam mare munierat suis piratis, qui venientes in Angliam tot occiderunt, et in mare merserunt, ut nullus sit hominum qui sciat numerum pereuntium.

Robert prepares to invade England.

Interim dum hæc fiunt in mari, Odo episcopus, et qui cum eo erant, fame coacti reddentes castrum de Pevnesea, promiserunt cum jurejurando se Angliam exituros, nec amplius intraturos nisi rege Willelmo præcipiente; castrum quoque Rofense ante reddituros. Sed cum venisset Rovecestre cum hominibus regis, qui ex parte regis deberent castrum recipere, statim cum eisdem, ab his qui in castello erant, ponitur in vinculis. Quidam asserunt[1] hoc factum esse calliditate episcopi. In hoc certe castro erant strenui milites, et pene tota nobilitas Normanniæ. Erat ibi Eustachius juvenis Boloniensis comes, et multi nobiles Flandrenses. Hæc cum audisset rex, venit cum exercitu Rovecestre, et obsedit civitatem, et parvo peracto spatio, hi qui intus fuerunt se reddiderunt. Et ita episcopus, qui fuit secundus rex Angliæ, honorem suum irrecuperabiliter amisit. Sed veniens Normanniam, statim a Rodberto comite totius provinciæ curam suscepit. Cujus ordinem causæ libellus in hoc descriptus ostendit.[2]

Odo promises to surrender Rochester.

The garrison seize the king's officers.

William takes Rochester.

Odo goes to Normandy, and William bishop of Durham.

Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit.

A.D. 1089. Anno MºLXXXºIXº. Dorobernensis archiepiscopus Lamfrancus, Simeon, 215. F. Wig. ix. kalendas Junii, feria vª., obiit. Eodem anno, iii. idus Augusti, Sabbato, circa horam diei tertiam, terræ motus permaximus exstitit per Angliam.

Lanfranc dies.

A.D. 1090. Anno MºXCº. Rex Anglorum Willelmus junior, fratri suo Rodberto Normanniam adimere, et suæ ditioni cupiens subjugare, primo castellum Walteri de Sancto Walerico, et castellum quod vocatur Albemarle, deinde alia castella sibi condixit, et in eis milites, qui[3] Normanniam devastarent, posuit. Qua re visa, et suorum infidelitate cognita, comes Rodbertus, legatis ad regem Francorum Philippum dominum suum missis, illum in Normanniam venire fecit; unumque de castellis, in quo fratris sui milites fuerunt, ipse et rex obsederunt. Quod cum

William II. invades Normandy and takes several castles.

---

[1] *asserunt*] asserebant, a. b.

[2] *ostendit*] Dunolmensis etiam episcopus Willelmus et multi alii de Anglia exierunt. Savile, from MSS. a. b., Sim. Dun., &c.

[3] *qui*] ut, a. b.

Simeon, 216. F. Wig.

regi nunciatum fuisset,[1] non modica pecuniæ quantitate regi Philippo occulte transmissa, ut ab obsidione discederet, flagitans impetravit.

A.D. 1090. He bribes the king of France.

Anno M°XC°I°. Mense Februario rex Willelmus junior, Normanniam petiit, ut eam fratri suo Rodberto abriperet; sed dum ibi moraretur, pax inter illos ea conventione facta est, ut comes regi comitatum de Owe, Fescamnum, abbatiam in monte Sancti Michaelis sitam, et Keresburg, et castella quæ a se defecerant, bono animo concederet: Cynomannicam vero provinciam, et castella quæ tunc in Normannia comiti reluctabantur, illius dominio rex subjugaret. Omnibus etiam Normannis terras, quas in Anglia ob fidelitatem comitis perdiderant, redderet; et tantum terræ in Anglia, quantum conventionis inter eos fuerat, comiti daret. Ad hæc etiam inter se[2] constituerunt, ut si comes absque filio legali matrimonio genito moreretur, hæres ejus esset rex: similique modo, si regi contigisset mori, hæres illius fieret comes. Hanc conventionem xii. barones ex parte regis, et xii. ex parte comitis juraverunt. Interim dum hæc fierent, germanus illorum Henricus montem Sancti Michaelis, ipsius loci monachis quibusdam illum adjuvantibus,[3] cum omnibus militibus quos habere potuit, intravit, regisque terram vastavit, et ejus homines quosdam captivavit, quosdam exspoliavit. Eapropter rex et comes, congregato exercitu, per totam Quadragesimam montem obsederunt, et frequenter cum eo prælium commiserunt, et homines et equos nonnullos perdiderunt. At rex cum obsidionis diutinæ pertæsus fuisset, impacatus recessit, et non multo post Eadgarum Clytonem honore, quem ei comes dederat, privavit, et de Normannia expulit. Interea mense Maio rex Scottorum Malcolmus cum magno exercitu Northimbriam invasit; si proventus[4] successisset, ulterius processurus, et vim Angliæ incolis illaturus. Noluit Deus; ideo ab incepto est impeditus. Quo rex audito, cum fratre suo Rodberto rediit Angliam mense Augusto. Nec multo post cum classe non modica et equestri exercitu Scotiam profectus est, ut Malcolmum debellaret. Veniens Dunelmum, episcopum Willelmum restituit in sedem suam, ipso post tres annos die, quo eam reliquit, scilicet, iii. idus Septembris. Sed antequam rex intraret Scotiam, paulo ante festum Sancti Michaelis fere tota est demersa classis, multique de equestri exercitu

A.D. 1091. Robert yields to William the county of Eu, Fecamp, Mont S. Michel, and Cherbourg. William is to reduce Maine.

The brothers are to be each others' heirs.

Henry seizes Mont S. Michel, and is besieged there by William and Robert.

William banishes Edgar from Normandy.

Malcolm invades Northumberland in May.

William and Robert proceed against him.

[1] *fuisset*] esset, a. b.

[2] *inter se*] om. a. b.

[3] *quibusdam . . . adjuvantibus*] so F.W., om. S.D.

[4] *proventus*] so F.W.; successus, S.D.

A.D. 1091. Robert and Edgar mediate between the kings.

Simeon, 216. F. Wig.

ejus fame et frigore perierunt. Cui rex Malcolmus cum exercitu in provincia Loidis occurrit. Quod videns comes Rodbertus Clitonem Eadgarum, quem rex de Normannia expulerat, et tunc cum rege Scottorum degebat, ad se accersivit. Cujus auxilio fretus pacem inter reges fecit, ea conventione,[1] ut regi Willelmo, sicut patri ejus obedivit Malcolmus, obediret, et Malcolmo xii. villas, quas in Anglia sub patre ejus habuerat, Willelmus redderet, et xii. marcas auri singulis annis daret. Sed pax inter eos facta non multo tempore duravit. Ipsum etiam Eadgarum cum rege Willelmo pacificavit.

Oct. 15. Great storm at Winchelcomb.

Idibus Octobris, feria iiii., turrim Winchelcumbensis ecclesiæ vehemens ictus fulminis concutiens, parietem juxta culmen ample perforavit, unamque de trabibus discidit, caputque imaginis Christi fortiter percussum in terram dejecit, et crus ejus dextrum fregit. Imago etiam Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ juxta crucem stabat, ictu percussa ad terram decidit. Magnus deinde fumus, cum nimio fœtore subsecutus, totam ecclesiam replevit, et tamdiu duravit, quoad loci illius monachi cum aqua benedicta, et incenso, et reliquiis sanctorum officinas monasterii, psalmos decantando, circuirent.

Simeon, 217. F. Wig.

Oct. 17. Storm at London.

Nec minus xvi°. kalendas Novembris, feria vi^a^., turbo veniens ab Affrico pervalidus Lundoniæ plusquam sexcentas domos, et ecclesias quamplures, concutiendo diverberavit. In ecclesia quoque Sanctæ Mariæ quæ dicitur ad Arcum irruens, in ea duos homines occidit, et tectum cum tignis in altum levans, et huc illucque diu per aera ferens, tandem sex de tignis, eo ordine quo tecto prius infixa erant, tam alte in terram defixit, ut de quibusdam eorum septima, de quibusdam vero octava pars appareret. Erant enim xxvii. vel xxviii. pedum longitudinis. Posthæc rex de Northimbria per Merciam in Westsaxoniam rediit, et secum fere usque ad Nativitatem Domini comitem retinuit, sed conventionem inter eos factam illi persolvere noluit.

Dec. 23. Robert returns to Normandy.

Quod comes graviter ferens, x°. kalendas Januarii cum Clitone Eadgaro Normanniam repetiit.

Eadmer, 25.

Two popes.

Erant duo, ut in Anglia ferebatur, qui dicebantur Romani pontifices, a se invicem discordantes, et ecclesiam Dei inter se divisam trahentes post se: Urbanus scilicet, qui primum dictus fuerat Odo, episcopus Ostiensis, et Clemens, qui Wibertus vocatus fuerat, archiepiscopus Ravennensis; quæ res, ut de aliis mundi partibus sileamus, per plures annos ecclesiam Angliæ in tantum occupavit, ut ex quo Gregorius, qui et Hildebrandus, defunctus fuit, nulli loco papæ usque ad hoc tempus[2] subdi vel obedire voluerit,

---

[1] *conventione*] conditione, a. b.

[2] *tempus*] i.e. when Eadmer wrote.

Simeon, 217. F. Wig. Eadmer, 25. sed Urbanum pro vicario beati Petri Italia Galliaque jam receperat. A.D. 1091.

Simeon, 217. F. Wig. Anno M°XC°II°. Civitas Lundonia maxima ex parte incendio conflagravit. Osmundus Searesbiriensis[1] episcopus ecclesiam, quam Searisbiriæ[2] in castello construxerat, cum adjutorio episcoporum Walcellini Wintoniensis et Johannis Bathoniensis, nonis Aprilis, feria ii^a. dedicavit. Antistes etiam Remigius, qui licentia regis Willelmi senioris episcopalem sedem de Doreceastre mutaverat ad Lindicolniam, constructam in ea ecclesiam pontificali cathedra dignam dedicare volebat, quia diem mortis sibi imminere sentiebat. Sed Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus illi contradicendo resistebat, affirmans eam in sua parochia esse constructam. At rex Willelmus junior, pro pecunia quam ei Remigius dederat, fere totius Angliæ episcopis mandavit, ut in unum convenientes septenis idibus Maii ecclesiam dedicarent. Sed biduo ante diem statutum, occulto Dei judicio ipse Remigius episcopus migravit e sæculo, et ecclesiæ per hoc remansit dedicatio. His actis, rex in Northimbriam profectus civitatem quæ Britannice Cairleil, Latine Lugubalia vocatur, restauravit, et in ea castellum ædificavit. Hæc enim civitas, ut illis in partibus aliæ nonnullæ, a Danis paganis ante cc. annos diruta, et usque ad id tempus mansit deserta.

A.D. 1092. Salisbury cathedral dedicated, April 5.

Disputes about Lincoln.

Bishop Remigius dies.

Carlisle rebuilt.

Anno M°XC°III°. Rex Willelmus junior, in regia villa quæ vocatur Alwestan[3] vehementi percussus infirmitate, civitatem Glavornam festinanter adiit, ibique per totam Quadragesimam languosus jacuit. Qui cum se putaret cito moriturum, ut ei sui barones suggesserunt, vitam suam corrigere, ecclesias non amplius vendere, nec ad censum ponere, sed illas regia tueri potestate, irrectas leges destruere, Deo promisit. Archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ, quem[4] ipse in manu sua tenuit, Anselmo Beccensi abbati, qui tunc in Anglia morabatur, et cancellario suo Roberto, Bloet cognomento, Lindicolnensem dedit præsulatum.

A.D. 1093. William being sick vows to reform.

Simeon, 218. F. Wig.

He appoints Anselm to Canterbury and Robert to Lincoln.

Simeon, 218. Ecclesia nova Dunelmi est incepta iii. idus Augusti, feria v., episcopo Willelmo, et Malcolmo rege Scottorum, et Turgoto priore, ipso die ponentibus primos in fundamento lapides. Durham cathedral begun.

Simeon, 218. F. Wig. Rex Scottorum Malcolmus, die festivitatis Sancti Bartholomæi apostoli, regi Willelmo juniori, ut prius per legatos inter eos statutum fuerat, in civitate Glavorna occurrit, ut sicut quidam primatum Angliæ voluerunt, pace redintegrata, stabilis inter eos amicitia firmaretur. Sed impacati ab in- Malcolm comes to Gloucester

---

[1] *Searesbiriensis*] Sealesbiriensis, a. b.

[2] *Searesbiriæ*] Sealesberiæ, a. b.

[3] *Alwestan*] Alvestan, a. b.

[4] *quem*] quod, A. B. a. b., Sim. D.

A.D. 1093. William refuses to see him. vicem discesserunt. Nam Malcolmum videre, aut cum eo colloqui, præ nimia superbia et potentia Willelmus despexit. Insuper etiam illum, ut secundum judicium tantum baronum suorum in curia sua rectitudinem ei faceret, constringere voluit. Sed id agere, nisi in regnorum suorum confiniis, ubi reges Scottorum erant soliti rectitudinem facere regibus Angliæ, et secundum [judicium] primatum utriusque regni, nullo modo Malcolmus voluit. Posthæc in sole signum apparuit valde mirabile. Simeon, 218. F. Wig.

Paul, abbot of S. Alban's dies. Et comes Scrobesbiriensis Rogerus, et Wido abbas Sancti Augustini, et Paulus abbas ecclesiæ Sancti Albani decesserunt. Iste Paulus contra interdictum monachorum Dunelmensium ecclesiam de Tinemuthe, quam ipsi possederant, per violentiam Roberti comitis ingressus, tactus ibidem infirmitate, rediens in itinere in Seteringtun[1] moritur. Simeon, 218.

Malcolmus rex Scottorum et Edwardus filius ejus primogenitus interfecti sunt in Northimbria.

Malcolm and his son Edward slain, Nov. 13. Rex Scottorum Malcolmus, et primogenitus filius ejus Eadwardus, cum suis exercitibus in Northimbria, die festivitatis Sancti Bricii, a militibus Roberti Northimbrorum comitis occisi sunt. Simeon, 218. F. Wig.

In cujus morte justitia judicantis Dei aperte consideratur, ut videlicet in illa provincia cum suis interiret, quam sæpe ipse vastare, avaritia stimulante, consuevit. Quinquies namque illam atroci populatione attrivit, et miseros indigenas in servitutem redigendos abduxit captivos. Primo[2] Eadwardo regnante, Egelwino episcopante Dunelmi, quando Tosti comes Northimbrorum profectus Romam fuerat. Secundo[3] regnante Willelmo, et prædicto Egelwino episcopante,[4] quando Clivelande depopulatus est. Tertio regnante eodem rege Willelmo et Walchero episcopante Dunelmi,[5] usque Tinam progressus, post cædes hominum et concremationes locorum, multa cum præda revertitur; quarto regnante Willelmo juniore, et Willelmo regente episcopatum Dunelmensem, cum suis copiis infinitis usque Cestre[6] pervenit, animo intendens ulterius progredi: sed adunata contra eum militari manu non multa, metu ipso citius revertitur; quinto, cum omni quo Simeon, 218. His five invasions of England.

[1] *Seteringtun*] Seterintum, a. b.

[2] *Primo*] Semel, a. b.

[3] *Secundo*] Iterum, a. b.

[4] *prædicto . . . episcopante*] sub episcopo Agelwino, a. b.

[5] *et . . . Dunelmi*] sub Walchero episcopo, a. b.

[6] *Cestre*] non longe a Dunelmo sitam, add. Sim. D.

Simeon, 218. potuit, exercitu, in ultimam deducturus desolationem, Northimbriam invasit, sed juxta fluvium Alne perimitur a Morello[1] milite strenuissimo, cum primogenito suo Eadwardo, quem hæredem regni post se disposuerat. Exercitus illius, vel gladio confoditur, vel qui gladios fugerunt, inundatione fluminum, quæ tunc pluviis hyemalibus plus solito excreverant, absorpti sunt. Corpus vero regis, cruentissimi carnificis, cum suorum nullus remaneret qui terra illud cooperiret, duo ex indigenis carro impositum in Tinemuthe sepelierunt; sicque factum est, ut ubi multos vita et rebus et libertate privaverat, ibidem ipse judicio Dei, vitam simul cum rebus amitteret. Cujus morte cognita, regina Scottorum Margareta tanta affecta est tristitia, ut subito magnam incideret infirmitatem. Nec mora, presbyteris ad se accersitis ecclesiam intravit, eisque peccata sua confessa, olec se perungi cœlestique viatico muniri fecit; Deum assiduis et intentissimis precibus exorans, ut in hac ærumnosa vita diutius illam vivere non permitteret. Et[2] exaudita est oratio ejus,[3] nam tertia die post regis occisionem, soluta carnis vinculis, ut creditur ad gaudia transivit æternæ salutis. Quippe cum viveret, pietatis, justitiæ, pacis et caritatis cultrix exstitit devota, frequens in orationibus, corpus vigiliis et jejuniis maceravit, ecclesias et monasteria ditavit, servos Dei et ancillas dilexit et honoravit, esurientibus panem frangebat, nudos vestiebat, et omnibus peregrinis ad se venientibus hospitia, vestimenta et alimenta præbebat, et Deum toto corde diligebat. Qua mortua, Dufenaldum[4] regis Malcolmi fratrem Scotti sibi in regem elegerunt, et omnes Anglos qui de curia regis fuerant, de Scotia expulerunt. Quibus auditis, filius regis Malcolmi Dunekanus,[5] regem Willelmum, cui tunc militabat, ut ei regnum sui patris concederet, petiit, impetravit, illique fidelitatem juravit, et sic ad Scotiam cum multitudine Anglorum ac Normannorum properavit, et patruum suum Dufenaldum de regno expulit, et in loco ejus regnavit. Deinde nonnulli Scottorum in unum congregati, homines illius pene omnes peremerunt. Ipse vero cum paucis vix evasit. Veruntamen posthæc illum regnare permiserunt, ea ratione, ut amplius in Scotiam nec Anglos nec Normannos introduceret, sibique militare sineret.

A.D. 1093. Malcolm is buried at Tynemouth.

Simeon, 219. F. Wig.

Sorrow and death of Queen Margaret.

Donald chosen king of Scots:

expelled by Duncan.

Convenientibus ferme totius Angliæ episcopis, in quibus Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus primatum tenebat, Anselmum Beccensem abbatem ii°. nonas Decembris consecraverunt ad archipræsulatum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ. Eodem

Consecration of Anselm, Dec. 4.

---

[1] *Morello*] Morkello, a. b.

[2] *Et*] Nec multo tardius, a. b., Sim. D., F.W.

[3] *oratio ejus*] om. a. b.

[4] *Dufenaldum*] Duvenaldum, a. b.

[5] *Dunekanus*] Dunechan, a. b.

A.D. 1093. William count of Eu joins the king.

anno Willelmus comes de Owe, auri ingenti victus cupiditate, et promissi honoris captus magnitudine, a naturali domino suo Roberto Normannorum comite, cui fidelitatem juraverat, defecit, et in Angliam ad regem Willelmum veniens, illius se dominio, ut seductor maximus, subjugavit. Simeon, 219. F. Wig.

A.D. 1094. Robert demands the execution of the treaty.

Anno M°XC°IV°. Comes Normannorum Robertus fratri suo regi Willelmo juniori per legatos mandavit, pacem, quam inter se firmaverant, se non diutius esse servaturum; insuper illum vocavit perjurum et perfidum, nisi conventionem inter illos in Normannia factam ei persolveret. Ob hanc causam, rex circa kalendas Februarii Heastingam adiit, et dum ibi moraretur, ecclesiam de Bello in honorem Sancti Martini dedicari fecit. Ubi etiam Herebertum[1] Theodfordensem episcopum pastorali baculo privavit; latenter enim Urbanum papam adire, et ab eo pro episcopatu quem sibi, et abbatia quam patri suo Rodberto ab ipso rege Willelmo mille libris emerat, absolutionem quærere volebat. Dein media Quadragesima rex Normanniam petiit, et ad fratris colloquium sub pace statuta venit, sed impacatus ab eo recessit. Denuo in Martii convenere campo, ubi illi qui sacramentis inter illos pacem confirmavere, regi culpam omnem imposuere. At ille nec culpam agnoscere, nec conventionem voluit persolvere. Idcirco nimis irati discesserunt impacati. Comes quidem Rotomagum perrexit; rex vero ad Owe[2] rediit, et in illo resedit, solidarios undique conduxit, aurum, argentum, terras quibusdam optimatum Normanniæ dedit, quibusdam promisit, ut a germano suo Roberto deficerent, et cum castellis suis se[3] ejus ditioni subjicerent: quibus ad velle patratis,[4] per castella, vel quæ prius habuerat, vel quæ tunc conduxerat, suos milites distribuit. Interea castellum quod Bures vocatur expugnavit, comitis milites in illo captos partim in Angliam custodiendos misit, partim in Normannia custodiæ mancipavit, et fratrem suum multis modis vexans, exhæredare laborabat. At ille necessitate compulsus, dominum suum regem Francorum Philippum cum exercitu Normanniam adduxit; et rex quidem Argentinum castellum obsedit, et ipso die obsessionis DCC. milites regis, cum bis totidem scutariis et castellanis omnibus, qui intus erant, sine sanguinis effusione cepit, captosque in custodia tamdiu servare mandavit, donec quisque se redimeret: et posthæc in Franciam rediit. Comes vero Robertus castellum quod Holm nuncupatur obsedit, donec Willelmus Peverel et DCCC. homines, qui id defendebant, illi se

Consecration of Battle Abbey. — The king goes to Normandy but fails to come to terms with Robert. — Simeon, 220 F. Wig. — William gets possession of the castles, and takes Bures. — Philip king of France, on Robert's side, takes Argentan. — Siege of the Castle of Houlme.

[1] Herbert Lozinga: he had bought for his father, Robert Lozinga, the abbacy of Hyde at Winchester.

[2] *Owe*] Ou, a. b.

[3] *se*] om. a. b.

[4] *patratis*] paratis, a. b.

Simeon. 220. F. Wig. dederent. Quod cum regi innotuisset, nunciis in Angliam missis, xx. millia pedonum in Normanniam sibi jussit in auxilium mitti. Quibus ut mare transirent Heastinges congregatis, pecuniam, quæ data fuerat eis ad victum, Rannulfus præcepto regis abstulit, scilicet unicuique x. solidos, et eos domum repedare mandavit, pecuniam vero regi transmisit. Interea gravi et assiduo tributo, hominumque mortalitate, præsenti et anno sequenti tota vexabatur Anglia. Adhæc primitus Northwalani, deinde[1] Suthwalani, servitutis jugo, quo diu premebantur, excusso, et cervice erecta, libertatem sibi vendicare laborabant. Unde collecta multitudine, castella quæ in Westwalania firmata erant fregerunt, et in Cestrensi et Scrobesbiriensi et Herefordensi provinciis[2] frequenter villas cremabant, prædas agebant, et multos ex Anglis et Normannis interficiebant. Fregerunt et castellum in Mevania insula, eamque suæ ditioni subjiciebant. Interim Scotti regem suum Dunecan,[3] et cum eo nonnullos alios suasu et hortatu Dufenaldi, per insidias peremerunt, et illum Dufenaldum sibi regem rursus constituerunt. Posthæc rex Willelmus, iiii. kalendas Januarii, Angliam rediit, et ut Walanos debellaret, mox exercitum in Waloniam movit, ibique homines et equos perdidit multos.

A.D. 1094. Ranulf takes the travelling money from the troops and dismisses them.

The Welsh rebel, ravage Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, and seize Anglesea.

Duncan king of Scots killed. Donald succeeds.

The king returns home.

F. Wig. Anno M°XC°V°. Vir venerabilis, et valde admirabilis vitæ, Wlstanus episcopus sanctæ Wigornensis ecclesiæ, ab adolescentia divinis mancipatus obsequiis, post multos sancti sudoris agones, quibus, pro gloria regni cœlestis adipiscenda, magna mentis devotione et humilitate sedulus Deo servivit intentissime, die mensis Januarii xviii°., nocte[4] Sabbati, hora mediante septima, migravit e sæculo; anno a primo sæculi die certa ratione divinæ scripturæ $\overline{\text{V}}$CC°XC°IX., noni magni anni ab initio sæculi quadringentesimo lxx°vi°.; a passione Domini secundum Evangelium, M°LXXX°IV°., juxta Chronicam Bedæ M°LX°VI°., secundum Dionysium M°LX°I°., ab adventu Anglorum in Britanniam, DCC°XL°V°. ; ab adventu Sancti Augustini CCCC°XC°VIII., a transitu Sancti Oswaldi archipræsulis, C°III°.; undecimi magni Paschalis cycli XXX°II°., decimi vero a capite mundi D°X°., secundi solaris cycli IIII°., Bissextilis cycli III°., secundi decennovennalis cycli XIII°., secundi lunaris cycli X°., hendecadis V°., indictionalis cycli[5] III°., lustro suæ ætatis XVIII°., Simeon, 220. F. Wig. sui vero pontificatus septimi lustri anno III°. Miroque modo in ipsa sui transitus hora, suo, quem specialiter dilexerat, amico Rothberto Herefordensi episcopo, in oppido quod

A.D. 1095. Death of Wulfstan.

He appears to Robert bishop of Hereford.

[1] *deinde*] deinceps Westwalani et, Sim. D.

[2] *provinciis*] provincia, a. b.

[3] *Duneccan*] Dunechan, a. b.

[4] *nocte . . . cycli*] This elaborate computation is taken from Florence of Worcester ; it does not appear in the printed text of Simeon.

A.D. 1095. S. Wulfstan's ring.

Crickelade vocatur, in visione apparuit, illique ad se tumulandum Wigornam properare mandavit; annulum etiam, cum quo pontificalem susceperat benedictionem, neminem Deus passus est digito extrahere, ne post mortem vir sanctus suos videretur fallere, quibus prædixerat sæpissime, nec illum vita comite se velle perdere, nec etiam sepulturæ die. Simeon, 220. F. Wig.

Pridie nonas Aprilis, in nocte, visæ sunt stellæ quasi de cœlo cadere. Walterus Albinensis[1] episcopus, sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus, ab Urbano papa missus, ante Pascha venit Angliam, pallium, pro quo rex Willelmus anno præcedenti miserat, illi deferens. Quod juxta condictum, die Dominica, quæ erat quarto idus Junii, ab eodem Cantuariam super altare Salvatoris delatum, ab Anselmo assumptum est, atque ab omnibus pro reverentia Sancti Petri suppliciter deosculatum. Simeon. 221. F. Wig.

Anselm receives the pall.

Robert bishop of Hereford dies.

Vir magnæ religionis, Herefordensis episcopus Rodbertus, vi°. kalendas Julii feria iii^a. obiit. Huic prædictus Wigornensis episcopus Wlstanus, xxx°. die postquam de hoc sæculo migravit, denuo in visione apparuit, eumque pro sui negligentia et ignavia acriter corripuit, admonuitque ut tam de suæ vitæ quam de subjectorum emendatione, quam vigilantissime posset, studeret. Quod si faceret, dicebat eum omnium peccaminum a Deo posse veniam cito promereri, adjunxitque quod non diu in cathedra, qua tunc sedebat, sedem haberet, sed secum, si vigilantior esse vellet, coram Deo convivari deberet. Fuerant enim ambo hi patres nimia caritate in Dei dilectione, et ad se invicem conjuncti; ideoque credi fas est, ipsum qui prius de hoc sæculo migravit ad Deum, sollicitudinem egisse sui carissimi, quem in hoc sæculo reliquit, et ut quantocius simul ante Deum gauderent, operam dedisse.

Conspiracy of Robert Mowbray and William of Eu, in favour of Stephen of Aumâle.

Ea tempestate Northimbrensis comes Robertus de Molbrai, et Willelmus de Ou, cum multis aliis, regem Willelmum regno vitaque privare, et filium amitæ illius, Stephanum de Albamarlo,[2] conati sunt regem constituere, sed frustra. Nam ea re cognita, rex exercitu de tota Anglia congregato, castellum prædicti comitis Roberti, ad ostium Tinæ fluminis situm, per duos menses obsedit, et interim quadam munitiuncula expugnata, fere omnes meliores comitis milites cepit, et in custodiam posuit. Deinde obsess castellum expugnavit, et fratrem comitis, et equites, quos intus invenit, custodiæ tradidit. Posthæc ante Bebbanbyrig, id est, urbem Bebbæ reginæ, in quam comes fugerat,[3] castellum firmavit, idque Malveisin nominavit, et in illo

Siege of Bamborough by the king.

---

[1] *Albinensis*] Cardinal bishop of Albano.

[2] *Albamarlo*] Albamarno, a. b.

[3] *fugerat*] fuerat, A. B.

Simeon, 221. F. Wig. milites posuit, et ad Suthimbriam rediit. Post cujus discessum, comiti Roberto vigiles novi castelli promisere in id se permissuros illum intrare, si veniret occulte. Ille autem lætus effectus, quadam nocte cum xxx[a]. militibus, ut id perageret, exivit: quo cognito, equites qui castellum custodiebant, illum insequentes, ejus exitum custodibus novi castelli per nuncios intimaverunt. Quod ille nesciens, die quadam Dominica tentavit peragere cœpta, sed nequivit; deprehensus enim erat. Eapropter ad monasterium Sancti Oswini regis et martyris fugit, ubi sexto die obsessionis suæ graviter in crure est vulneratus, dum suis adversariis repugnaret. Quorum multi sauciati, multi vero sunt perempti; de suis quoque nonnulli vulnerati, omnes sunt capti; ille vero in ecclesiam fugit, de qua extractus in custodiam est positus. Interea Walenses castellum Muntgumeri fregerunt, et Hugonis comitis Scrobesbiriæ homines in illo nonnullos occiderunt; unde rex iratus expeditionem cito mandavit, et post festivitatem Sancti Michaelis exercitum in Valoniam duxit; ibique homines et equos quamplures perdidit. Qui inde reversus comitem Rodbertum ad Bebbamburch duci, et oculos erui jussit, nisi uxor illius ac propinquus ejus Moreal castrum redderent; qua necessitate compulsi castrum reddiderunt. Comes autem forti custodiæ mancipandus ad Windleshoram est ductus; Moreal vero factæ traditionis causam regi detexit.

A.D. 1095. Robert Mowbray is taken and imprisoned.

The Welsh take Montgomery.

Simeon, 222. F. Wig.

The king goes to Wales.

Bamborough surrendered.

Anno M°XC°VI°. Dunelmensis episcopus Willelmus, apud Windleshoram in curia regis, iiii°. nonas Januarii, feria ii[a]. obiit, sed Dunolmi est sepultus, in capitulo ad aquilonalem partem, habens ad Austrum corpus Walcheri episcopi; in medio autem Turgotus, Scottorum quondam episcopus, et ecclesiæ ipsius prior, requiescit.[1]

A.D. 1096. William bishop of Durham dies.

Octavis Epiphaniæ apud Seresbiriam[2] celebrato concilio, Willelmo de Ou, in duello victo, oculos eruere et testiculos jussit rex abscindere; et dapiferum illius, Willelmum Daldri, filium amitæ illius, traditionis conscium, præcepit suspendi. Comitem vero Odonem[3] de Campania, prædicti scilicet Stephani patrem, Philippum filium Rogeri Scrobesbyriensis comitis, et quosdam alios traditionis participes, in custodiam posuit.

William of Eu mutilated; and William Dealdri hanged.

Urbanus papa venit in Galliam[4] et apud Clarum Montem Quadragesimali tempore synodo celebrata, hortatus est Christi-

Council of Clermont.

---

[1] *in capitulo . . . requiescit*] om. Sim. D.; capitolio, A. B. Turgot died in 1115.

[2] *Seresbiriam*] Sealesberiam, a. b.

[3] *Odonem*] Titular count only of Champagne, the actual count being his cousin Hugh. Odo married Adeliza, a sister or half sister of the Conqueror.

[4] *Galliam*] Angliam, b.

A.D. 1096. Council of Clermont.

Simeon, 222. F. Wig.

anos ut Jerusalem proficiscerentur, ad debellandos videlicet Turcos, Sarracenos, Turcopolos, Persas, aliosque paganos, qui tunc temporis Jerosolimam pervaserant, totamque Judæam Christianis expulsis possidebant. Cujus hortatu mox in ipsa synodo comes Sancti Ægidii Raimundus, et cum eo multi alii cruce Christi signati, peregrinationem se pro Deo subituros, et quod suaserat peracturos spoponderunt: quibus auditis, de Italia, Germania, Gallia, Anglia, cæteri Christiani ad eandem profectionem certatim se paravere.

First Crusade.

Quorum duces et primates exstitere Podiensis[1] episcopus Adimarus, cum aliis episcopis quampluribus, Petrus heremita, Hugo Magnus, Philippi Francorum regis germanus, dux Lothariensis Godefridus, Carnotensis comes Stephanus, comes Normannorum Rodbertus, Flandrensis comes Rothbertus, duo germani Godefridi ducis, Bononiensis comes Eustacius, et Baldewinus; prædictus comes Raimundus, Boamundus Roberti Wiscardi filius. Hos ergo subsecutus est populus innumerabilis omnium linguarum.

Nomina principum qui obsederunt Niceam.

List of the nobles of the first Crusade.

Hi sunt principes exercitus qui obsederunt Niceam; Godefrai de Buillun; Tancred, e Buamund; Tatin le Nased, e Tumas de la Fere, e Baldwin de Burch; Drui de Neele. e sis frere Raul, Girad de Ciresi, Ansel de Ribemunt; li quens Guarner de Greez, Baldewin de Munz, e li quens Eustace frere a duc de Buillun, Clarembald de Vendoil, e Rembalt le Frisun, e Huge le Mainne le frere Philippum; Adimarus episcopus. Gwiun de Pursesse nobilis, Baldewin Escalderun, e Baldewin de Gand; e li quens de Forais, e Ansel de Kaiou; Robert le fiz Girard, ed apeled Raimund, Walter de Campes, e le Viel Milum, Stefnes de Albemare fiz al cunt Odum, Willam de Muntpellers.[2]

Samson consecrated bishop of Worcester.

Simeon, 222. F. Wig.

Samson Wigornensis episcopus ab Anselmo Dorubernæ archiepiscopo, Lundoniæ in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Apostoli, xvii°.

[1] *Podiensis episcopus*] Pondiensis archiepiscopus, a. b.

[2] See Albert of Aix, ii. 22. This list is omitted by Savile in his edition, on what authority I cannot find: it does not occur in the older compilation represented by MSS. a. and b.; but is in all the MSS. of Hoveden proper.

Simeon, 222. F. Wig. kalendas Julii, Dominica die consecratur. Post hæc comes Normannorum Robertus, [cum] Jerusalem proficisci cum aliis proponeret animo, nunciis in Angliam missis, germanum suum regem Willelmum petiit ut, inter se pace redintegrata, illi x. millia marcas argenti præstaret, et ab eo Normanniam in vadimonium acciperet. Qui mox petitioni ejus satisfacere gestiens, indixit majoribus Angliæ, ut quisque illorum pro posse sibi pecuniam festinanter accommodarent. Idcirco episcopi, abbates, abbatissæ, aurea et argentea ecclesiæ ornamenta fregerunt; comites, barones, vicecomites, suos milites et villanos spoliaverunt, et regi non modicam summam auri et argenti detulerunt. Rex autem mense Septembri mare transiit, pacem cum germano suo fecit et $\overline{\text{vi}}$.dc.lx.vi. libras illi præstitit, et ab eo Normanniam in vadimonio accepit. A.D. 1096.

Robert pledges Normandy to William for 10,000 marks, which the king borrows of his subjects.

Simeon, 223. F. Wig. Anno MºXCºVIIº. Rex Anglorum Willelmus Quadragesimali tempore Angliam rediit, et post Pascha cum equestri et pedestri exercitu secundo profectus est in Waloniam, ut omnes masculini sexus internecioni daret. At ille de eis vix aliquem capere aut interimere potuit, sed de suis nonnullos, et equos perdidit multos. Posthæc Clitonem Eadgarum ad Scotiam cum exercitu misit, ut in ea consobrinum suum Eadgarum, Malcolmi regis filium, patruo suo Dufenaldo, qui regnum invaserat, expulso, regem constitueret. Christiani ceperunt Nicæam civitatem xiiiº. kalendas Julii, Sabbato. Cometa iiiº. kalendas Octobris per xv. dies apparuit. Nonnulli signum mirabile, et quasi ardens in modum crucis, eo tempore in cœlo se vidisse affirmabant. Mox inter regem et Dorubernensem archiepiscopum Anselmum orta dissensione, quia, ex quo archipræsul factus est, synodum tenere, et prava, quæ per Angliam pullulaverant, non licuit corrigere, mare transiit, et ad tempus in Gallia mansit, et post ad Urbanum papam perrexit Romam. Rex autem circa festum Sancti Andreæ de Anglia Normanniam profectus est. Eximiæ vir religionis, monasterii Sancti Eadmundi abbas Baldewinus, genere Gallus, iiº. kalendas Januarii obiit. A.D. 1097.

Expedition to Wales.

Edgar Atheling sent to make his nephew Edgar king of Scots.

Nice taken.

Quarrel between William and Anselm.

Anno MºXCºVIIIº. Wintoniensis episcopus Walcelinus, iii. nonas Januarii, die Dominica obiit. Æstatis tempore rex Anglorum Willelmus junior civitatem quæ Cinomannis dicitur,[1] magnamque partem illius provinciæ, per vim suæ ditioni subegit. Interea comes Hugo de Scrobesbiry Mevaniam insulam, quæ dicitur [1] consuete Anglesege, et cum eo comes Hugo de Cestria cum exercitu adierunt, et multos Walanorum, quos in ea ceperant, occiderunt; quosdam vero manibus vel pedibus truncatis testiculisque abscisis excæcaverunt. Quendam A.D. 1098.

William subdues Maine.

Cruelty of Hugh Montgomery in Wales.

---

[1] *dicitur*] vocatur, a. b.

A.D. 1098. etiam provectæ ætatis presbyterum nomine Kenredum, a quo Walani in his quæ agebant consilium accipiebant, de ecclesia extraxerunt, et ejus testiculis [abscisis] et uno oculo eruto, linguam illius absciderunt; sed die tertia miseratione Divina illi reddita est loquela. Eo tempore rex Norreganorum Magnus, filius regis Olavi, filii regis Haroldi Harvagri, Orcadas et Mevanias insulas cum suo adjecisset imperio, paucis navibus advectus illuc venit; at cum ad terram rates appellere vellet, comes Hugo de Scrobesbiria cum multis armatis militibus in ipsa maris ripa illi occurrit, et, ut fertur, mox ab ipso rege sagitta percussus, die vii°. quo crudelitatem in præfatum exercuerat presbyterum, interiit.

Simeon, 223. F. Wig.

He is slain by Magnus king of Norway.

Antiochia a Christianis capitur.

Capture of Antioch.

Antiochia civitas a Christianis iii°. nonas Junii, feria iv^a^. capta est, in qua paucis diebus transactis, lancea qua mundi Salvator in cruce pendens vulneratus fuit, Andrea apostolo Sanctorum mitissimo revelante, in ecclesia Sancti Petri apostoli inventa est: cujus inventione Christiani animati, iiii°. kalendas Julii, feria ii^a^., secum illam deferentes de civitate exierunt. Et cum paganis prælio commisso, Corbaran principem militiæ Soltani regis Persiæ, et Turcos, Arabas, Sarracenos, et alias multas gentes in ore gladii fugantes, multisque millibus occisis, Dei virtute plenam victoriam habuerunt. Splendor insolitus per totam fere noctem v^to^. kalendas Octobris emicuit. Eodem anno ossa regis et martyris Canuti de tumulo levata, et in scrinio sunt honorifice collocata. Rogerus dux Apuliæ, adunato grandi exercitu, Capuanam civitatem a sua ditione resilientem obsedit. Urbanus papa, comitante secum Dorubernensi archiepiscopo Anselmo, ut illi mandarat, ad concilium, quod apud Barum kalendis Octobris celebrari constituit, proficiscitur. In quo concilio plurima de fide catholica ab apostolico disserta sunt facunda ratione; ubi etiam mota quæstione ex parte Græcorum, Evangelica auctoritate probare volentium Spiritum Sanctum processionem non habere, nisi tantum a Patre,[1] præfatus Anselmus sic de negotio tractavit, disseruit, absolvit, ut in eo conventu nemo existeret, qui non inde sibi satisfactum putaret.[2]

Translation of S. Canute.

Simeon, 224. F. Wig. Eadmer, 46.

Council of Bari.

Eadmer, 49.

---

[1] *Spiritum . . . Patre*] See Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.*, lib. ii. (pp. 49 and 53, ed. Selden), from whom these particulars are taken.

[2] *putaret*] diceret, b.; consentiret, Sim. D.

Romæ concilium Urbani papæ.

Simeon, 224. F. Wig. Eadmer, 53.

Anno M°XC°IX°. Urbanus papa tertia hebdomada Paschæ magnum concilium tenuit Romæ, in quo excommunicavit omnes laicos investituras ecclesiarum dantes, et omnes easdem investituras de manibus laicorum accipientes, nec non omnes in officium sic dati honoris consecrantes. Excommunicavit etiam eos, qui pro ecclesiasticis honoribus laicorum homines fiunt; dicens nimis execrabile videri, ut manus quæ in tantam eminentiam excreverant, ut, quod nulli angelorum concessum est, Deum cuncta creantem suo signaculo creent, et Eundem Ipsum pro salute totius mundi Dei Patris obtutibus offerant, in hanc ignaviam vel stultitiam detrudantur, ut ancillæ fiant earum manuum, quæ diebus ac noctibus obscenis contactibus inquinantur, sive rapinis ac injustæ sanguinis effusioni addictæ maculantur. "Fiat, fiat!" ab omnibus est clamatum, et in his concilium consummatum. Posthæc archiepiscopus Lugdunum perrexit.

A.D. 1099. Council at Rome, against lay investitures.

Simeon, 224. F. Wig.

Rex Anglorum Willelmus junior Angliam[1] de Normannia rediit, et in Pentecosten Lundoniæ curiam suam tenuit, ac Rannulfo, quem negotiorum totius regni exactorem constituerat, Dunolmensem episcopatum dedit, quem Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus ibi mox consecravit. Idus Julii, feria vi^a^., Jerusalem a Christianis capta est, et posthæc, xi°. kalendas Augusti, Lothariensis dux Godefridus ab omni exercitu in regem est electus. Urbanus papa, iiii°. kalendas Augusti, feria v^ta^.,[2] obiit. Christiani cum Lavedalio[3] principe militiæ, et secundo in potestate totius regni Babyloniæ, ante civitatem Ascalonam, ii°. idus Augusti,[2] eadem feria, bellum habentes maximum, Christo largiente, mirabili victoria potiti sunt. Paschalis vir venerandus, qui ab Hiltibrando papa presbyter fuerat ordinatus, a Romano populo electus, die sequenti in papam est consecratus. Tertio nonas Novembris mare littus egreditur, et villas et homines quamplures, boves et oves innumeras, demersit.

Ranulf Flambard made bishop of Durham.

Jerusalem taken.

Battle of Ascalon, Aug. 12.

Pope Paschal II.

Willelmus rex Anglorum Willelmi regis filius sagitta percussus obiit.

Simeon, 225. F. Wig

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°C°. Clemens papa, qui et Wibertus, obiit. Rex Anglorum Willelmus junior, dum in nova

A.D. 1100. Death of William Rufus.

---

[1] *Angliam*] om. b.

[2] The 29th of July and the 12th of August both fell on Friday, not Thursday, in 1099.

[3] *Lavedalio*] Amiravisso, Sim. D. and F. W. Afdal was his name. Amiravissus is probably equivalent to Admiralius, or Emir. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii., 5.

[4] id est xix. kal. Septembris, suppl. Sim. D.

A.D. 1100. foresta, quæ lingua Anglorum Ytene dicitur, venatu esset occupatus, a quodam Franco Waltero cognomento Tyrello, sagitta incaute directa percussus, vitam finivit, iv°. nonas Augusti, feria v^a., indictione viii^a., et Wintoniam delatus in Veteri Monasterio in ecclesia Sancti Petri est tumulatus. Nec immerito, ut populi rumor affirmabat, hanc procul dubio magnam Dei esse virtutem, atque vindictam. Antiquis enim temporibus, Eadwardi scilicet regis, et aliorum regum Angliæ prædecessorum ejus, eadem regio incolis, Dei cultoribus, et ecclesiis uberrime renitebat, sed jussu regis[1] Willelmi senioris, hominibus fugatis, domibus semirutis, ecclesiis destructis, terra ferarum tantum colebatur habitatione, et inde, ut creditur, causa erat infortunii. Nam et antea ejusdem Willelmi junioris germanus Ricardus [in eadem foresta multo ante perierat, et paulo ante suus fratruelis Ricardus,][2] filius Roberti comitis Normannorum, dum et ipse in venatu fuisset, a suo milite sagitta percussus, interiit. In loco etiam quo rex occubuit, priscis temporibus ecclesia fuerat constructa, sed patris sui, ut prædiximus, tempore diruta erat. Ejusdem regis tempore, ut ex parte supradictum est, in sole, luna et stellis multa signa visa sunt. Mare quoque littus persæpe egrediebatur, et homines et animalia submersit, villas et domos quamplures subvertit. In pago qui Bearrukescire nominatur, ante occisionem regis, sanguis de fonte tribus septimanis emanavit. Multis etiam Normannis diabolus in horribili specie se frequenter in sylvis ostendens, plura cum eis de rege et Rannulfo et quibusdam aliis locutus est. Nec mirum. Nam illorum tempore fere omnis legum siluit justitia, causisque sub justitio positis, sola in principibus imperabat pecunia. Denique eadem tempestate, nonnullis regiæ voluntati magis quam justitiæ obedientibus, Rannulfus contra jus ecclesiasticum, et sui gradus ordinem, presbyter enim erat, ad censum primitus abbatias, dehinc episcopatus, quorum patres a vita decesserant noviter, accepit a rege, et inde singulis annis persolvit illi non modicam summam pecuniæ. Cujus potentia tam vehemens exstitit, et parvo tempore adeo crevit,[3] ut placitatorem ac totius regni exactorem rex illum constitueret. Qui tanta potestate adepta, ubique locorum per Angliam, ditiores ac locupletiores quosdam rerum terrarumque ablatione mulctavit. Pauperes autem gravi injustoque tributo incessanter oppressit; multisque modis, et ante episcopatum et in episcopatu, majores

Simeon, 225. F. Wig.

Fatality of the New Forest.

Portents in this reign.

Extortions of Ranulf Flambard.

---

[1] *regis*] om. b.

[2] *in . . . Ricardus*] om. A. B.; supplied from a. b.

[3] *crevit*] excrevit, b.

Simeon, 226. F. Wig. et minores communiter afflixit. Et hoc usque ad regis ejusdem obitum. Nam eo die, quo occisus periit, Cantuariensem archipræsulatum, Wintoniensem et Searesbyriensem præsulatum in sua manu tenuit. A.D. 1100.

Henricus, filius regis Willelmi senioris, rex Angliæ efficitur.[1]

Regnavit autem idem rex Willelmus xiiii. annis, minus xxviii. diebus. Cui successit frater suus junior Henricus. Et mox, nonis Augusti, in Westmonasterio, a Mauritio Lundoniensi episcopo in regem est consecratus; qui consecrationis suæ die, sanctam Dei ecclesiam, quæ fratris sui tempore vendita et ad firmam erat posita, liberam fecit, ac omnes malas consuetudines et injustas exactiones, quibus regnum Angliæ injuste opprimebatur, abstulit, pacem firmam in toto regno suo posuit, et teneri præcepit; legem regis Eadwardi omnibus in commune reddidit, cum illis emendationibus quibus pater suus illam emendavit; sed forestas, quas ille constituit et habuit, in manu sua retinuit. Nec multo post, id est, vii°. idus Septembris, Rannulfum Dunelmensem episcopum in turri Lundoniæ custodiæ mancipavit, et Dorubernensem archiepiscopum Anselmum de Gallia revocavit. Interea ab Jerosolimis domum[2] redierunt comites Robertus Flandrensis, Eustacius Bononiensis primitus, dein Normannorum comes Rodbertus, cum uxore quam sibi in Sicilia desponsaverat, repatriavit.

Succession of Henry I.

His coronation and measures of reform.

Ranulf imprisoned: and Anselm recalled.

Robert returns from Jerusalem.

Henricus rex Anglorum duxit sibi in uxorem Matildem Malcolmi regis Scottorum et Sanctæ Margaretæ filiam.

Posthæc igitur rex Anglorum Henricus majores natu Angliæ congregavit Lundoniæ, et regis Scottorum Malcolmi et Margaretæ reginæ filiam, Matildem nomine, sororem etiam regum Edgari, Alexandri et David,[3] in conjugem accepit, quam Anselmus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus, Dominica, die festivitatis Sancti Martini, reginam consecravit et coronavit. Venerandæ memoriæ, et vir religionis eximiæ, affabilis om-

Henry's marriage.

Matilda crowned, May 11.

---

[1] Here MSS. A. B. have Merlin's prophecy about Henry I., "Succedet "leo justitiæ ... nidificabit," (Galf. Mon., vii. 3.,) in a hand of the same date as the text, in the margin.

[2] *domum*] om. b.

[3] *sororem . . . David*] om. a. b.

A.D. 1100. Thomas of York dies. nibusque amabilis, Eboracensis archiepiscopus Thomas, xiv°. kalendas Decembris, die Dominica, decessit Eboraci; cui successit Herefordensis episcopus Gerardus. Simeon, 226 F. Wig.

Lodowicus rex Franciæ venit in Angliam.

Ranulf escapes to Normandy. Anno M°C°I°. Lodowicus rex Francorum interfuit curiæ regis Henrici Lundoniæ in Nativitate Domini.[1] Dunelmensis episcopus Rannulfus, kalendis Februarii, de custodia magna calliditate evasit, mare transiit, Normannorum comitem Robertum adiit, eique suasit ut Angliam hostiliter adiret. Nec minus perplures hujus terræ principes, missis ad eum legatis, rogaverunt ut Angliam festinato veniret, coronam et regnum illi promittentes. Civitas Glavorna cum principali monasterio, et aliis multis, viii. idus Junii incendio conflagravit. Robert assembles a fleet to invade England. Comes Normannorum Robertus, equitum, sagittariorum, et peditum congregans multitudinem in loco qui Normannica lingua dicitur Tresport, naves coadunavit. Quibus rex Henricus cognitis, buzsecarlis præcepit mare custodire, ne quis de partibus Normanniæ fines adiret Angliæ. Ipse vero innumerabili exercitu congregato de tota Anglia, non longe ab Hestinga castra posuit in Suthsaxonia. Autumabat enim pro certo fratrem suum illis in partibus nave appulsurum. At ille consilio Rannulfi episcopi, quosdam de regis buzsecarlis adeo rerum diversarum promissionibus fregit, ut fidelitate, quam regi debebant, postposita, ad se confugerent et sibi ad Angliam duces existerent. He lands at Portsmouth and encamps near Winchester. Paratis igitur omnibus cum exercitu navem conscendit, et circa festum ad vincula Sancti Petri, in loco qui Portesmuth[2] dicitur appulit, statimque versus Wintoniam exercitum movens, apto in loco castra posuit. Cujus adventu cognito, quidam de primoribus Angliæ mox ad eum, ut ante proposuerant, transfugere, quidam The English only are faithful to Henry, with the bishops. vero cum rege ficta mente mansere. Sed episcopi, milites gregarii, et Angli animo constanti cum illo perstitere, unanimiter ad pugnam cum ipso descendere parati. Peace made between the brothers. Verum sapientiores utriusque partis, habito inter se salubri consilio, pacem inter fratres ea ratione composuere, ut tria millia marcas argenti singulis annis rex persolveret comiti, et omnibus Forgiveness on both sides. suos pristinos honores, quos in Anglia pro comitis fidelitate Simeon, 227. F. Wig.

---

[1] *Lodowicus . . . Domini*] om. a. b.; Lodowicus electus rex, Sim. D. He was co-regent with his father Philip, who died in 1108.

[2] *Portesmuth*] Moresmuth, a. b.; Morthesmuth, Sim. D.; corrected in A. from *Mortesmuth*.

Simeon, 227. F. Wig. perdiderant, restitueret gratuito: et cunctis, quibus honores in Normannia causa regis fuerant ablati, comes redderet sine pretio; quibus pacatis, regis exercitus domum, comitis vero pars in Normanniam rediit, pars in Anglia secum remansit. Filius Eustacii senioris comitis Bononiensium, Godefridus rex Jerosolimorum, qui præpotens exstiterat dux Lotariensium, diem clausit ultimum, et in ecclesia Golgatana sepultus requiescit. Cujus post obitum, Christiani unanimi consilio ejus germanum sibi in regem elegerunt Baldewinum. Ea tempestate Robertus de Belesmo comes Scrobesbiriensis, Rogeri comitis filius, arcem, quam in occidentali Sabrinæ fluminis plaga, in loco qui Bricge dicitur, Agelfleda Merciorum domina quondam construxerat, fratre suo Eadwardo seniore regnante, contra regem Henricum (ut rei probavit exitus), muro lato et alto restaurare cœpit; cœpit etiam in Walonia ædificare aliam, n loco qui Carrocoue dicitur.

A.D. 1101.

Baldwin I. king of Jerusalem.

Bridgenorth fortified by Robert of Belesme.

Anno M°C°II°. Supradictus comes Robertus de Belesmo, qui comitatum etiam Pontivensis pagi rexit eo tempore, ac in Normannia castella possedit quamplurima: civitatem Scrobesberiam et castellum in ea situm, castella quoque Arundel et Tikehil, alimentis, machinis, armis, militibus ac peditibus contra regem Henricum fortiter[1] munivit. Muros quoque ac turres castellorum, videlicet Brige et Carrocoue, die noctuque laborando et operando, perficere modis omnibus festinavit; Walanos quoque suos homines, ut promptiores sibique fideliores, ac paratiores essent ad id faciendum quod volebat, honoribus, terris, equis, armis incitavit, variisque muneribus donavit. Sed conatus illius et opera nimis cito sunt impedita. Insidiis enim et conatibus ejus per certa indicia detectis, publicum hostem rex illum pronunciavit. Idcirco mox Walanis et Normannis, quot tunc habere potuit, in unum congregatis, ipse et suus germanus Arnoldus partem Stafordensis[2] pagæ vastaverunt, ac inde jumenta et animalia multa, hominesque nonnullos, in Waloniam abduxerunt. At rex sine dilatione castellum ejus Arundel primitus obsedit, et castellis ante illud firmatis, recessit. Deinde Robertum, Lindicolniæ civitatis episcopum, cum parte exercitus Tykehil obsidere jussit. Ille autem Brige cum exercitu pene totius Angliæ obsedit, machinas quoque ibi construere et castellum firmare præcepit. Interim Walanos, in quibus fiduciam magnam Robertus habuerat, ut juramenta quæ illi juraverant irrita fierent, et ab illo

A.D. 1102.

Robert of Belesme fortifies his castles against Henry.

Henry besieges Arundel and Bridgenorth.

---

[1] *fortiter*] firmiter, a. b.

[2] *Stafordensis*] Steaffordensis, a. b.

A.D. 1102. He takes the castles, and banishes Robert and his brother. penitus deficerent et in illum[1] consurgerent, donis modicis facile corrupit. Infra igitur[2] xxx[a]. dies, civitate omnibusque castellis redditis, inimicum suum Robertum superavit, et ignominiose de Anglia expulit: germanum quoque illius Arnoldum paulo post pro sua perfidia simili sorte damnavit. Simeon, 227. F. Wig.

De rege Henrico primo.

At Michaelmas the king invests two bishops elect. Posthæc,[3] in festivitate Sancti Michaelis, Henricus rex fuit Lundoniæ apud Westmonasterium, et cum eo principes regni sui omnes, tam ecclesiastici quam sæcularis ordinis, ubi duos de clericis suis duobus episcopatibus investivit; Rogerum videlicet cancellarium episcopatu Salesbiriensi,[4] et Rogerum lardenarium suum pontificatu Herefordensi: Anselm holds a council. ubi etiam Anselmus Cantuariensis[5] archiepiscopus magnum tenuit concilium, de his quæ ad Christianitatem pertinent, considentibus secum archiepiscopo Eboracensi Gerardo, et episcopis Mauricio Lundoniensi, Willelmo electo episcopo Wintoniensi, Roberto Lincolniensi, Samsone Wigornensi, Roberto Cestrensi, Johanne Batoniensi, Hereberto Norewicensi, Radulfo Cicestrensi, Gundulfo Rofensi, et duobus investitis, Rogero et alio Rogero. Abbots deposed. Osbernus[6] episcopus Exoniensis infirmitate detentus interesse non potuit. In hoc concilio plures abbates Francigenæ et Angli sunt depositi, et honoribus privati, quos injuste adquisierunt, aut in eis inhoneste vixerunt, scilicet Wido Perscorensis, Aldwinus Ramesiensis, et ille[7] de Middeltune, Godricus[8] de Burch, Ricardus de Heli, Robertus de Sancto Edmundo. Death of the elect of Hereford. Præfatus Rogerus Herefordensis ecclesiæ episcopus electus, Lundoniæ infirmitate percussus, mortuus est, et cancellarius reginæ, Reinelmus nomine, loco illius pari investitura subrogatus est. Rex Anglorum Henricus Mariam, Matildis reginæ sororem, Eustacio Bononiensium comiti nuptum tradidit. Simeon, 227. F. Wig. Eadmer, 66, 67. Simeon, 228. F. Wig.

A.D. 1103. Quarrel between Anselm and Henry on investitures. Anno M°C°III°. Magna discordia facta est inter regem Henricum, et Anselmum archiepiscopum, eo quod archiepiscopus nollet consentire ut rex daret investituras ecclesiarum, neque consecrare neque communicare iis quibus rex jam dederat ecclesias, quia apostolicus omnibus et sibi hoc interdixerat. Unde

---

[1] *et in illum*] in illumque, a. b.

[2] *igitur*] om. a. b.

[3] *Posthæc*] These details are abridged from Eadmer nearly in his own words; lib. iii., pp. 66, 67; ed. Selden.

[4] *Salesbiriensi*] Searesberiensi, a. b.

[5] *Cantuariensis*] om. a. b.

[6] *Osbernus*] Osbertus autem, b.

[7] *ille*] Egelric. Cf. Eadmer, l.c.

[8] *Godricus*] Godefridus, b.

Simeon, 228. F. Wig. rex præcepit Gerardo archiepiscopo Eboracensi, quatenus consecraret episcopos quibus ipse rex dederat investituras, scilicet Willelmum Giffardum, et Rogerum, qui fuerat capellanus ejus, cui jam dederat Searesbiriensem ecclesiam. Gerardus præceptum regis suscepit,[1] sed Willelmus Giffard causa justitiæ illud et benedictionem archiepiscopi Gerardi sprevit. Unde regis judicio suis omnibus exspoliatus eliminatur a regno, cæteri vero inconsecrati remanserunt. Rainelmus autem paulo ante episcopatum Herefordensem regi reddidit, quia intellexit se Deum offendisse, in hoc, quod de manu laici alicujus investituram ecclesiæ suscepisset. A.D. 1103.

William Giffard refuses to be consecrated by the archbishop of York.

De eodem.

Posthæc rex tenuit curiam suam in Pascha Wintoniæ. Anselmus archiepiscopus, post multas injurias et diversas contumelias quas passus est, rogatus a rege perrexit Romam v°. kalendas Maii, sicut ei et regi convenit; habens in comitatu Willelmum Wintoniensis ecclesiæ electum antistitem, et abbates de abbatiis depositos, Ricardum Eliensem, et Aldwinum abbatem[2] Ramesensem. Robertus comes Normanniæ venit in Angliam loqui cum rege[3] fratre suo; et antequam rediisset de Anglia, perdonavit ter mille marcas argenti, quas rex sibi omni anno per conventionem debuit. In provincia etiam quæ vocatur Barruscire,[4] in loco qui dicitur Hamstede, visus est a multis sanguis effluere[5] de terra. Eodem anno, iii. idus Augusti, magna intemperies venti facta est, quæ tantum damnum fecit in fructibus[6] terræ per Angliam quantum qui tunc vixerunt, retroactis temporibus nunquam viderunt.

Anselm is allowed to go to Rome.

Robert of Normandy visits England.

Anno M°C°IV°. Venerandi abbates Walterus Eoveshamnensis xiii°. kalendas Februarii, et Serlo Gloecestrensis iii°. nonas Martii obierunt. A.D. 1104.

De eodem.

Rex Anglorum Henricus tenuit curiam suam apud Westmonasterium in Pentecosten. Eodem anno[7] vii°., idus
Simeon, 229. F. Wig. Junii, feria tertia, quatuor circuli visi sunt circa solem

Henry holds a court at Westminster at Whitsuntide.

---

[1] *suscepit*] recepit, a. b.

[2] *abbatem*] om. b.

[3] *rege*] om. b.

[4] *vocatur Barruscire*] cognominatur Barrucsire, b.

[5] *effluere*] fluere, b.

[6] *fructibus*] frugibus, b.

[7] *Eodem anno*] om. b.

A.D. 1104. The count of Mortain loses his English fiefs. albi coloris, circa horam sextam, quisque circulus sub alio, quasi essent picti. Mirati sunt omnes qui hæc videbant, quia nunquam talia viderunt. Willelmus comes de Moretunio[1] exhæredatus est de tota terra sua quam habuit in Anglia. Non facile potest narrari miseria, quam sustinuit isto tempore terra Anglorum propter exactiones regias. Simeon, 229. F. Wig.

De Translatione Sancti Cuthberti.

Exhibition of the relics of S. Cuthbert. Corpus Sancti Cuthberti episcopi ob quorundam incredulitatem abbatum, pontificante Rannulfo episcopo, ostensum est, et a Radulfo Saiensi abbate, postmodum Rofensi episcopo, et deinde Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et fratribus Dunelmensis ecclesiæ, cum capite Sancti Oswaldi regis et martyris, Sanctique Bedæ, multorumque sanctorum reliquiis,[2] certo indicio incorruptum inventum est, præsente Alexandro comite, Eadgari regis Scottorum fratre, postea rege; post annos depositionis ejus ccccxviii., et quinque menses, et xii. dies, qui est vi^tus^. annus Henrici regis, et episcopatus Rannulfi vi^tus^.; ab origine mundi secundum Bedam et Hebraicam veritatem, transacti, quinque millia trecenti et octo, secundum lxx. interpretes $\overline{\text{VI}}$.CCC.VIII. Simeon, 229.

A.D. 1105. The Norman nobles revolt to Henry. Anno M^o^C^o^V^o^. Rex Anglorum Henricus transivit mare. Omnes autem pene majores Normannorum ad ejus adventum, spreto comite domino suo, cui fidelitatem juraverant, in aurum et argentum regis, quod ipse de Anglia illuc portaverat, cucurrerunt, eique castra munitasque civitates tradiderunt. Ille vero Bajocas cum ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ, quæ intus erat, combussit, et Cadomum fratri suo abstulit, et post Angliam rediit, quia Normanniam sibi totam subjugare non poterat, ut copiosiori pecunia fretus, rediens anno sequenti, quod residuum erat, exhæredato fratre suo sibi subjiceret. Comes vero Willelmus de Moreteon ubicunque potuit, nocuit rebus et hominibus regis, propter honorem suum,[3] quem in Anglia perdiderat. Simeon, 229. F. Wig. He burns Bayeux, and seizes Caen.

A.D. 1106. Robert of Normandy visits the king. Anno M^o^C^o^VI^o^. Rodbertus comes Normanniæ venit in Angliam, ut loqueretur fratri suo Henrico regi, quem invenit apud Northamtun. Tunc comes quæsivit ab eo, ut redderet sibi ea, quæ acceperat super eum in Normannia, cui rex omnia contradixit, quare comes iratus mare transivit.

Comet of 1106. In prima vero septimana Quadragesimæ, feria vi^a^. xiiii^o^. kalendas Martii, in vespera ostensa est quædam insolita stella,

[1] *Moretunio*] Moreteon, b.

[2] *cum . . . reliquiis*] om. S.D. The words are in F.W.

[3] *suum*] om. a. b.

Simeon, 229. F. Wig. et per xxv. dies, eodem modo, eadem hora visa est lucere inter Austrum et Occidentem. Parva quidem visa est, et obscura, sed splendor qui de ea exivit valde erat clarus, et quasi ingens trabes de orientali et aquilonali parte claritas ingessit se in eandem stellam. Quidam dixerunt se plures insolitas stellas vidisse illo[1] tempore. In Cœna autem Domini A.D. 1106.
Simeon, 229. visæ sunt duæ lunæ, paulo ante diem, una in Oriente, altera in Occidente, et utraque plena, et erat eo die xiv. luna. Quo anno facta est nimis execrabilis contentio inter Imperatorem de Alemannia Henricum, et filium ejus Henricum, ita quod in bello congressi sunt, et pater a filio peremptus est,[2] cum regnasset annos quinquaginta, cui successit filius ejus prædictus Henricus. Rex Anglorum Henricus ante Augustum mensem transivit mare, vadens in Normanniam, cui omnes fere primi Normannorum se dederunt, exceptis Roberto de Belesmo,[3] et Willelmo de Moreteon, et paucis aliis, qui se tenebant cum comite Roberto. Rex Anglorum Henricus in Assumptione Simeon, 230. F. Wig. Sanctæ Mariæ venit Beccum, ubi ipse et Anselmus archiepiscopus colloquentes ad invicem concordati sunt. Non multo post idem archiepiscopus, jussu et rogatu regis, Angliam rediit.

War between Henry king of Germany and his son.

The king goes to Normandy: he is reconciled with Anselm.

De captione Roberti Curtehose ducis Normanniæ.

Victory of Tenchebrai.

Posthæc rex Henricus congregato exercitu ad quoddam castrum comitis de Moreteon, quod dicitur Tenerchebrai,[4] perrexit, et obsedit illud. Interea dum ibi moraretur, venit comes Robertus frater ejus super eum cum exercitu suo, in vigilia Sancti Michaelis, et cum eo Robertus de Belesmo et comes Willelmus de Moreteon. Facto igitur congressu, rex Henricus victoriam adeptus est. Ibi captus est Robertus comes Normanniæ, et comes Willelmus de Moreteon, et Robertus de Stutevile, et Willelmus Crispinus, et multi[5] alii cum illis[6] capti sunt. Robertus autem de Belesmo in fugam versus est.[7] His ita gestis rex Henricus subegit sibi totam (See Eadmer, 90.) Normanniam, et secundum voluntatem suam disposuit; et hoc per litteras Anselmo archiepiscopo indicavit.

---

[1] *illo*] eo, b.
[2] *ita . . . peremptus est*] Quo anno moritur imperator, a. b.
[3] *Belesmo*] Beleasmo, a. b.
[4] *Tenerchebrai*] Tenerkebrei, a. b.
[5] *multi*] plures, a. b.
[6] *illis*] eo, a. b.
[7] *Willelmus . . . sunt, Rodbertus . . . est*] tr. a. b.

A.D. 1107. Henry sends his prisoners to England, and then returns. Agreement about investiture.

Anno M°C°VII°. Eadgarus rex Scottorum vi^to. idus Januarii obiit, cui Alexander frater suus successit. Normannia sub regia pace disposita, duceque Normannorum Roberto et comite Moreteoni Willelmo in Angliam sub captione præmissis, rex ipse ante Pascha in regnum suum reversus est. In kalendis Augusti conventus omnium episcoporum, abbatum et procerum regni Lundoniæ factus est, et per tres dies absente[1] Anselmo archiepiscopo, inter regem et episcopos satis actum est de ecclesiarum investituris; quibusdam ad hoc nitentibus; ut rex eas faceret more patris et fratris sui, non juxta præceptum et obedientiam apostolici. Nam Paschalis papa, in sententia quæ inde promulgata fuerat firmus stans, concesserat omnia quæ papa Urbanus æque ut investituras interdixerat; ac per hoc regem sibi de investituris consentaneum fecerat. Dehinc præsente Anselmo, astante multitudine, annuit rex et statuit; ut ab eo tempore in reliquum nunquam, per donationem baculi pastoralis, vel annuli, quisquam de episcopatu aut abbatia per regem vel quamlibet laicam manum in Anglia investiretur; concedente quoque Anselmo, ut nullus in prælationem electus, pro hominio, quod regi faceret, consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur. Gerardus Eboracensis archiepiscopus sua manu imposita manui Anselmi, ut ipse volebat, interposita fide[2] sua, pollicitus est, se eandem[3] subjectionem et obedientiam ipsi et successoribus ejus in archiepiscopatu exhibiturum, quam illi promiserat cum ad Herefordensem ecclesiam ab eo sacrandus esset. Willelmus Giffard Wintoniensi, Rogerus Searesberiensi, Reinelmus Herefordensi ecclesiæ, Willelmus Execestrensi, et Urbanus Glamorgacensi ecclesiæ, quæ in Walonia est, electi episcopi simul Cantuariam venerunt, et iii°. idus Augusti, Dominica, pariter ab Anselmo consecrati sunt, ministrantibus sibi in hoc officio suo suffraganeis suæ sedis, Gerardo scilicet archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Roberto Lincolniensi, Johanne Bathoniensi, Hereberto Nortwicensi, Roberto Cestrensi, Radulfo Cicestrensi, Ramnulfo Dunelmensi.[4] Nullus certe fuit tunc temporis, qui meminisset retroactis temporibus simul tot pastores electos et consecratos in Anglia, nisi Eadwardi senioris tempore, quando Pleigmundus archiepiscopus septem episcopos septem ecclesiis in una die consecravit.[5] Hoc anno Mauricius Lundoni-

Simeon, 230. F. Wig. — Eadmer, 91. — Settlement of the question. — Submission of the archbishop of York. — Consecration of five bishops. — Eadmer, 92. — Deaths in 1107.

[1] *absente*] om. a. b.

[2] *ut . . . fide*] om. Sim. D. The words are in Florence.

[3] *eandem*] So F.W.; illam, Sim. D.

[4] *Gerardo . . . Dunelmensi*] om. Sim. D. The words are in Florence.

[5] *consecravit*] ordinavit, b., Sim. D.

Simeon. 230. F. Wig. Eadmer, 92. ensis episcopus, Ricardus Eliensis abbas, Robertus abbas de Sancto Eadmundo, Milo Crispin, Robertus filius Haimonis, Rogerus Bigot, Ricardus de Redvers vita decesserunt. A.D. 1107.

Simeon, 231. F. Wig. Eadmer, 94. Anno M°C°VIII°. Gundulfus episcopus Rofensis ecclesiæ obiit Nonis Martii. Rex Anglorum Henricus pacem firmam legemque statuit, ut si quis in furto vel latrocinio deprehensus fuisset, suspenderetur. Monetam [1] quoque corruptam et falsam sub tanta animadversione corrigi statuit, ut quicunque falsos denarios facere deprehensus fuisset, oculos et inferiores corporis partes sine ulla redemptione amitteret; et quoniam sæpissime dum denarii eligebantur, flectebantur, rumpebantur, respuebantur, statuit, ut nullus denarius vel obolus, quos et rotundos esse jussit, aut etiam quadrans, [si] [2] integer esset, respueretur.[3] Ex quo facto magnum bonum toti regno provisum est, quia ipse rex hæc in sæcularibus ad relevandas terræ ærumnas agebat. Gerardus Eboracensis archiepiscopus obiit, pro quo Thomas prædecessoris sui Thomæ fratruelis [4] eligitur. Philippus rex Francorum obiit, cui Lodovicus filius suus successit. Anselmus archiepiscopus, ut rex rogaverat, Ricardum [5] Lundoniensi ecclesiæ electum pontificem in capella sua apud Paggaham consecravit, ministrantibus ei in hoc officio Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, Rogero Salesberiensi; Radulfo Cicestrensi, et Willelmo Execestrensi, accepta prius ab eo consueta professione de obedientia et subjectione sua. Posthæc Cantuariam veniens, Radulfum Saiensem [6] abbatem, virum religiosum, pro Gundulfo ad Rofensem ecclesiam, iii°.[7] idus Augusti, episcopum consecravit, ministrantibus ei in hoc officio Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, Radulfo Cicestrensi, et Ricardo Lundoniensi.[8] Qui Ricardus antecessorum suorum more honoravit ipso die [matrem][9] suam ecclesiam Cantuariensem honesto munere. A.D. 1108. Strict legislation of Henry I. Laws on the coinage. Thomas II. archbishop of York. Richard consecrated to London, and Ralph abbot of Seez, to Rochester.

Statuta Anselmi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.

Eadmer, 95. "Hæc sunt statuta de archidiaconibus, presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus, et canonicis in quocunque gradu Acts of the council of London.

---

[1] *Monetam*] Florence continues to abridge Eadmer; lib. iv., pp. 94, 95.

[2] *si*] om. A. B. a. b., Sim. D., F.W.

[3] *respueretur*] om. a. b., Sim. D., F.W.

[4] Son of Samson bishop of Worcester, who was brother of archbishop Thomas I.

[5] *Ricardum*] de Belmeis.

[6] *Saiensem*] Sarensem, b.

[7] *iii°.*] should be v^{to}.; Eadmer, 97.

[8] *ministrantibus . . . Lundoniensi*] om. Sim. D.; occurs in F.W.

[9] *matrem*] om. A. B.

A.D. 1108. Acts of the council of London.

" constitutis,[1] [2] quæ anno Dominicæ Incarnationis millesimo centesimo octavo statuerunt Anselmus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et Thomas archiepiscopus Eboracensis electus cum eo, omnesque alii episcopi Angliæ in præsentia gloriosi regis Henrici, assensu comitum et baronum suorum. Statutum est, ut presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, caste vivant, et fœminas in domibus suis non habeant præter proxima consanguinitate sibi junctas, secundum hoc quod sancta synodus Nicena definivit. Illi vero presbyteri, diaconi, subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Lundoniensis concilii fœminas suas tenuerunt, vel alias duxerunt, si amplius missas celebrare voluerunt, eas omnino a se sic faciant alienas, ut nec illæ in domos eorum, nec ipsi in domos earum ingrediantur,[3] sed nec in aliqua domo scienter conveniant, neque hujusmodi fœminæ in territorio ecclesiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos vel eas colloqui[4] oporteat, cum duobus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero in duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus, vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accusatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum violaverit, purgabit se adductis[5] secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus sex, si presbyter fuerit, si autem diaconus quatuor, si subdiaconus duobus. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor statuti sacri judicabitur. Illi autem presbyteri, qui divini altaris [et] sacrorum ordinum contemptores, præelegerunt cum mulieribus habitare, a divino officio remoti, omnique ecclesiastico beneficio privati, extra chorum ponantur infames pronunciati; qui vero rebellis et contemptor fœminam non reliquerit, et missam celebrare præsumpserit, vocatus ad satisfactionem si neglexerit, excommunicetur. Eadem sententia archidiaconos et canonicos omnes complectitur, et de mulieribus relinquendis et de vitanda earum conversatione, et de districtione censuræ, si statuta transgressi fuerint. Jurabunt etiam archidiaconi omnes quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda transgressione hujus statuti, nec patientur[6] presbyteros, quos sciant fœminas habere, vel missam cantare, vel vicarios habere; similiter decani jurabunt.[7] Archidiaconus vero vel decanus,[8] qui hæc jurare noluerit, archidiaconatum vel decaniam perdet. Presbyteri vero, qui

Simeon, 231. F. Wig. Eadmer, 95.

Simeon, 232. F. Wig. Eadmer, 95.

[1] *Hæc sunt statuta . . . constitutis*] om. b.

[2] *canonicis . . . constitutis*] sæcularibus, S.D.

[3] *ingrediantur*] intrent, S.D. and F.W.

[4] *colloqui*] alloqui, interl. b.

[5] *adductis*] adjunctis, a. b.; Sim. D., F.W.

[6] *patientur*] tolerabunt, Sim. D., F.W.

[7] *jurabunt*] facient, Sim. D., F.W.

[8] *decanus*] diaconus, A.

Simeon, 232. F. Wig. Eadmer, 95. "relictis mulieribus Deo et sacris altaribus servire elegerint, "xl. diebus[1] ab officio cessantes, pro se interim vicarios "habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia secundum hoc quod episcopis eorum visum fuerit." A.D. 1108.

Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit.

Anno M°C°IX°. Dorubernensis archiepiscopus Anselmus, xi°. kalendas Maii, feria iiii[a]., Cantuariæ obiit, et sequenti die, quæ fuit Cœna Domini, honorifice sepelitur. Rex Anglorum Henricus circa Rogationes Angliam rediit, et curiam suam apud Westmonasterium in Pentecosten tenuit. Thomas Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus electus, a Ricardo Lundoniensi episcopo v°. kalendas Julii Lundoniæ consecratur, et post ab Ulrico cardinali pallium, quod sibi papa miserat, in kalendis Augusti, die Dominica, Eboraci suscepit, et ipso eodem die Turgodum Dunelmensem priorem ad episcopatum Sancti Andreæ de Scotia, qui dicitur Cenrimunt, consecravit. Eodem anno rex Henricus abbatiam Eliensem ad episcopalem mutavit sedem, et Herveum Bancornensem episcopum eidem ecclesiæ præfecit. Stella cometa mense Decembri visa est circa lacteum circulum, crinem in australem cœli dirigens plagam.

A.D. 1109. Anselm dies, April 21. Henry returns to England, May 30. Consecration of Thomas archbishop of York June 27; and of Turgot bishop of S. Andrew's, Aug. 1. (Simeon, 232. F. Wig.)

Anno M°C°X°. Rex Anglorum Henricus filiam suam Henrico regi Teutonicorum dedit in conjugem.[2] Eodem anno diversa per Angliam signa monstrata sunt. Terræ motus Scrobesbiriæ factus est maximus; fluvius qui Treanta dicitur, apud Notingham a mane usque ad horam diei tertiam spatio unius milliarii exsiccatus est, ita ut homines[3] sicco vestigio incederent per alveum. Stella cometa vi°. idus Julii[4] apparuit, et per tres hebdomadas lucere visa est.

A.D. 1110. Marriage of Matilda with Henry V.

Henricus Rex Teutonicorum Paschalem papam cepit.

Anno M°C°XI°. Henricus Rex Teutonicorum Romam venit, Paschalem papam cepit, et in custodiam posuit, sed postmodum ad pontem, Via salaria, ubi Paschalem festivitatem in campo celebraverunt, pacem cum eo fecit.[5] Baldewinus[6] Flan-

A.D. 1111. Peace between the pope and Henry V.

---

[1] *diebus*] dies, Sim. D., F.W.

[2] *conjugem*] et movit eam a Dovere usque ad Witsand in initio Quadragesimæ, quod fuit iv. idus Aprilis, S.D.; omitted in Florence.

[3] *homines*] omnes, b.

[4] *Julii*] Junii, a. b., S.D., F.W.

[5] *fecit*] The compiler omits the form of the treaty, which is given by Florence and is copied in S.D.

[6] *Baldewinus*] Robert II., who reigned from 1093 to 1111.

A.D. 1111. drensium comes moritur, cui filius suus Baldewinus successit. Rex Anglorum Henricus Flandrenses, qui Northimbriam incolebant, cum tota supellectili sua in Waloniam transtulit, et terram quæ Ros nominatur incolere præcepit. Novum autem monasterium, quod infra murum Wintoniæ constructum erat, agente Willelmo Wintoniensi episcopo, rex extra murum construi jussit, et non multo post mare transiit. Eodem anno hyems asperrima, fames valida, mortalitas hominum, pestis animalium agrestium simul et domesticorum, strages avium permaxima fuit. Simeon, 234. F. Wig.

The Flemings removed from Northumberland to Wales. The New Minster at Winchester removed. The king goes abroad.

A.D. 1112. Anno M°C°XII°. Samson Wigornensis episcopus xxv[tus]., iii°. nonas Maii, die Dominica, obiit. Rex Anglorum Henricus comitem Robertum de Beleasmo in Keresburga mense Octobris in custodiam posuit. Simeon, 235. F. Wig.

Death of bishop Samson.

A.D. 1113. Anno M°C°XIII°. Civitas Wigorna cum principali ecclesia, et omnibus aliis, nec non et castello, xiii°. kalendas Julii igne concremata[1] est. De monachis unus monasterio utilissimus, cum duobus servientibus et quindecim de civibus, igne conflagraverunt. Rex Anglorum Henricus mense Julio Angliam rediit, et comitem Robertum de Belesmo de Normannia ductum apud Warham[2] in custodia arctissima posuit. Simeon, 236. F. Wig.

Fire at Worcester. Henry returns to England.

Viri probitatis eximiæ, dominus prior Thomas et Cholemannus, Sanctæ Mariæ Wigornensis ecclesiæ nobiles cœnobitæ, iiii°. nonas Octobris, Sabbato, modum fecerunt huic vitæ.[3] Teulfus[4] regis capellanus, v°. kalendas Januarii, die Dominica, Wigornensem episcopatum apud Windleshoram suscepit. F. Wig.

Theulf made bishop of Worcester.

Matildis filia Regis Henrici desponsata fuit Henrico Romanorum Imperatori.

A.D. 1114. Anno M°C°XIV°. Henrico Romanorum imperatori Matildis, filia regis Anglorum Henrici, viii°. idus Januarii, Magontiæ desponsata, et in imperatricem est consecrata. Thomas junior Eboracensis archiepiscopus, vi°. kalendas Martii, feria iii[a]., obiit. Simeon, 236. F. Wig.

Consecration of Matilda as empress.

Quo ægrotare incipiente, dixerunt ei medici sui, quod non convalesceret, nisi per coitum, quibus ille

Illness and death of Thomas archbishop of York.

---

[1] *concremata*] cremata, a. b.

[2] *Warham*] Werham, a. b.

[3] *Viri . . . vitæ*] From F. W.; omitted in Sim. D.

[4] *Teulfus*] Eadmer calls him Theobaldus.

respondit, "Væ ægritudini cui competit medicina lux- A.D. 1114.
"uriæ;" et sic virgo electus a Domino vitam finivit temporalem.[1]

Simeon, 236. F. Wig. Radulfus Rofensis episcopus, vi°. kalendas Maii, die Dominica, ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem apud Windeshores eligitur. Civitas Cicestra cum principali monasterio per culpam incuriæ, iii°. nonas Maii, feria tertia, flammis consumpta[2] est.

Ralph, bishop of Rochester translated to Canterbury.

Turstinus regis capellanus in archiepiscopum Eboracensem eligitur.

Torstinus regis capellanus ad Eboracensem archiepiscopatum, die Assumptionis Sanctæ Mariæ, eligitur Wintoniæ, et Arnulfus abbas de Burch ad Hroffensem[3] ecclesiam eligitur episcopus. Rex Anglorum Henricus, postquam exercitum in Waloniam duxit, ante festum Sancti Michaelis mare transiit. Fluvius qui vocatur Medewai per nonnulla milliaria, vi°. idus Octobris, ita a se defecit, ut in medio alveo sui etiam parvissimæ naves elabi aliquatenus non possent; Tamisia etiam eadem die similem defectum sensit; nam inter pontem et regiam turrem, et etiam sub ponte, in tantum fluminis ipsius aqua diminuta est, ut innumera hominum et puerorum multitudo pedibus illud transvadarent, aqua vix genua illorum attingente. Duravit hic aquæ defectus a medio noctis præcedentis usque in profundas tenebras noctis subsequentis: similem quoque aquarum defectum ipso die apud Gernemuthe et in aliis locis per Angliam certo relatu contigisse didicimus.

Thurstan elected to York and Ernulf to Rochester.
The king, after an expedition into Wales goes abroad again.
Very low tides.

A.D. 1115. Anno M°C°XV°. Hoc anno hyems extitit asperrima, ita ut omnes fere per Angliam pontes glacie frangerentur. Imperator Henricus, postquam Coloniam diu obsedit, et multos suorum campestri prælio perdidit, apud civitatem Nussam[4] pacem juramento fecit. Radulfus Dorubernensis archiepiscopus ab Anselmo[5] sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ legato, v°. kalendas Julii, die Dominica, pallium suscepit Cantuariæ, ibique[6] fuerunt

Severe winter.
Peace in Germany.
Archbishop Ralph receives the pall, and

---

[1] *quo ægrotare . . . temporalem*] om. a. b.

[2] *consumpta*] absumpta, S.D.

[3] *Hroffensem*] Herefordensem A.

[4] *Nussam*] The peace seems to have been made at Mentz. Annal. Sax. ap. Eccard, i. 633.

[5] *Anselmo*] Abbot of S. Saba, nephew of the saint.

[6] *ibique*] ubi, a. b.

A.D. 1115. consecrates the bishop of Worcester. congregati totius Angliæ episcopi. Et[1] ipso die cum magno honore consecratus est Teoulfus[2] Wigornensis episcopus. Wilfridus[3] episcopus de Sancto David in Wallia obiit: usque ad illum episcopi extitere Britonici. Cui Bernardus reginæ cancellarius successit. In octavis Apostolorum Petri et Pauli[4] magnum concilium a Cono[5] Romanæ ecclesiæ cardinali Catalaunis celebratum est. In quo excommunicavit episcopos qui concilio non interfuere; quosdam etiam degradavit, et plurimos abbates suis baculis privatos de sedibus deposuit, ecclesiasticum illis interdicens officium. Rex Anglorum Henricus mense Julio Angliam rediit. Simeon, 236. F. Wig. Council of Châlons. Simeon, 237. F. Wig. Eadmer, 116. The king comes home.

Turgot dies. Turgotus quondam Dunelmensis ecclesiæ prior, tunc autem episcopus Scottorum, rediens Dunelmum, ibidem vita decessit. Simeon, 237.

Renelmus Herefordensis episcopus circa festivitatem Omnium Sanctorum obiit; huic Gosfridus regis capellanus successit. Radulfus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ Arnulfum abbatem de Burch ad Rofensem, et Gosfridum[6] regis capellanum[7] ad Herefordensem ecclesiam, die Sancti Stephani martyris, episcopos ordinavit Cantuariæ. Simeon, 237. F. Wig. Consecrations of bishops, Dec. 26.

A.D. 1116. War in Wales. Anno MCXVI°. Griffinus filius Res verno tempore Waloniæ prædam egit, et castella incendit, eo quod rex Angliæ Henricus particulam de terra patris sui ei dare noluit.

Controversia inter Radulfum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et Turstinum Eboracensem electum super consecratione ejusdem Turstini.

Council at Salisbury, March 19. Comites et barones totius Angliæ apud Seresberiam xiiii°. kalendas Aprilis convenerunt.[8] Habita est ibi causa de querela, quæ inter archiepiscopum Cantuariensem Radulfum, et electum pontificem Eboracensem Turstinum, per integrum annum versata fuerat. Hic electus, cum ab ipso pontifice moneretur ut ecclesiæ Cantuariensi faceret quod debebat, et benedictionem suam ecclesiastico more susciperet, respondit, benedictionem quidem se libenter suscipere velle, Simeon, 237. F. Wig. Eadmer, 118.

[1] *Et*] ideoque, a. b.
[2] *Teoulfus*] Theolfus, a. b.
[3] *Wilfridus*] Griffith.
[4] *Petri et Pauli*] om. a. b.
[5] *Cono*] bishop of Palestrina.
[6] *Gosfridum*] Gaufridum, a. b.
[7] *regis capellanum*] om. a. b.
[8] *convenerunt*] ibique in præsentia regis Henrici homagium filio ejus Willelmo fecerunt, [et fidelitatem juraverunt; add. a. b., also Sim. D. and F.W.

Simeon, 237. F. Wig. Eadmer, 118. sed professionem quam exigebat nulla ratione se facturum.[1] A.D. 1116.
Rex autem Henricus, ubi advertit Turstinum in sua pervicacia stare, aperte protestatus est, illum aut morem antecessorum suorum, tam in professione facienda, quam in aliis dignitati ecclesiæ Cantuariensis ex antiquo jure competentibus, executurum, aut episcopatu Eboracensi cum benedictione funditus cariturum. His auditis, ille sui cordis consilio inpræmeditatius credens, renunciavit pontificatui, spondens regi et archiepiscopo se dum viveret illum non reclamaturum, nec aliquam calumniam inde moturum, quicunque substitutus fuisset. Owinus rex Walanorum occiditur. Et rex Anglorum Henricus mare transiit, comitante secum Turstino[2] Eboracensi electo, sperante se revestituram sui pontificatus recuperaturum, et ex regio jussu benedictionem ab archiepiscopo sine exactione professionis adepturum. Circa mensem Augustum reversus a Roma, Anselmus, qui pallium archiepiscopo Cantuariæ a Roma detulerat, venit Normanniam ad regem Henricum litteras apostolici deferens, quæ illi vices apostolicas in Anglia administrare concedebant. Quod cum mox per omnem Angliam divulgaretur, consilio reginæ et quorumlibet nobilium, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus Radulfus, transacta Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ, mare transiit, regem adiit, illumque Rotomagi consistentem reperit, et cum ipso de negotiis pro quibus venerat, juxta rerum ordinem diligenter agens, ad consilium ejus Romani itineris viam ingreditur.

The king refuses to accept Thurstan as elect of York

Simeon, 238. F. Wig. Eadmer, 118.

The king and Thurstan go abroad.

Anselm legate.

Archbishop Ralph goes to Rome.

Simeon, 238. F. Wig.

Anno M°C°XVII°. Secundum regis Henrici præceptum, apud Cirenceastre, novum opus est inceptum. Apud Longobardiam magno terræ motu facto, et, ut testati sunt qui novere, quadraginta dierum spatio durante, plurima domorum ædificia corruerunt: et, quod visu dictuque constat mirabile, villa quædam pergrandis mota est repente de statu proprio, jamque ab omnibus in longe remoto consistere cernitur loco. Mediolani dum patriciæ dignitatis viri, de republica tractantes sub una residerent turri, auribus omnium vox foris insonuit, unum ex illis nomine vocans, et festinato exire rogans: quo tardante, persona quædam apparuit, quæ vocatum virum, ut egrederetur, prece obtinuit. Exeunte illo turris repente cecidit, et omnes qui ibidem erant[3] casu miserabili oppressit. A.D. 1117.

New buildings at Cirencester. Earthquake and portent in Lombardy.

Simeon, 238. Kalendis Decembris exstiterunt nimia tonitrua et fulgura, quæ secuta est magna pluviarum inundatio et grandinis, et iii°. idus

[1] *facturum*] S.D. has here an argument on the independence of York, which is not in Florence.

[2] *Turstino*] Turstano, a. b.

[3] *erant*] aderant, b.

A.D. 1117. ejusdem mensis, luna primo sanguinea et postea obtenebrata apparuit. Robertus Cestrensis episcopus obiit.[1] Simeon, 238.

A.D. 1118. Paschal II. dies. Gelasius made pope. Anno M°C°XVIII°. Sacræ memoriæ Paschalis papa, xiiii°. kalendas Februarii defungitur. et loco ejus Johannes quidam Gaytæ natus est substitutus, et mutato nomine Gelasius est nuncupatus. Hic in monasterio montis Cassini ab infantia monachus nutritus est, et adultus in ministerio venerabilium apostolicorum Desiderii,[2] Urbani et Paschalis assiduus fuerat cancellarii officio functus. Simeon, 238. Cont. F. Wig. Eadmer, 121.

Henricus Romanorum Imperator expulit Gelasium papam ab urbe Roma.

The emperor makes Burdinus pope, as Gregory VIII. Rex vero Teutonicus, Henricus, qui et Romanus imperator, audiens papam esse defunctum, Romam advolat, et Bracarensem episcopum, jam anno præterito ab eodem papa Beneventi excommunicatum, cedente ab urbe Gelasio, papam instituit, et ex Burdino Gregorium nominavit.[3] Death of the Queen. Matildis regina Anglorum, apud Westmonasterium, pridie[4] kalendas Maii, obiit, et in ipso monasterio decenter sepulta est. Dissatisfaction in Normandy. Eodem tempore plures Normannorum fidelitatem, quam regi Henrico juraverant, postponentes, ad regem Francorum Lodowicum principesque ejus, adversarios scilicet ipsius naturalis domini sui, non veriti justitiam, se transtulerunt. Robertus comes de Mellento moritur. Gelasius visits France. Præfatus papa Gelasius per mare Burgundiam venit, et adventus ejus mox Galliæ innotuit.

He publishes his complaints against the emperor. Qui xvii°. kalendas Februarii missa per Gallias epistola, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, clericis, et principibus conquestus est, se ab imperatore de Roma violenter expulsum, et Bracarensem episcopum, excommunicatum, in apostolicam sedem intrusum: simul exhortans, ut ad matris ecclesiæ ultionem, communibus auxiliis, sese præpararent.[5] His discurrentibus per provincias litteris, excitati potentes quique cum mediocribus oc- Simeon, 239.

---

[1] *obiit*] Here the Chronicle of Florence ends; but S.D. and our compiler continue to borrow from the work of his continuator, John of Worcester.

[2] *Desiderii*] That is, Pope Victor III.

[3] *nominavit*] nominat, a. b.

[4] *pridie*] om. b., S.D. iii°., a.

[5] *qui . . . præpararent*] This is an abstract of the letter given at length in S.D. from Eadmer, 122.

Simeon, 239. currere apostolico, et certatim parabant interesse concilio, quod ipse disposuit se media Quadragesima Remis celebraturum. A.D. 1119. Simeon, 239. Cont. F. Wig. Hoc anno ecclesia quædam in Anglia, apud villam quæ dicitur Momerfeld, a Gaufrido Herefordensi episcopo dedicata, redeuntibus ad propria qui ad dedicationem venerant, post aeris serenitatem quæ prius exstiterat nimia, repente cum tonitruo orta est tempestas maxima, qua perculsi[1] quidam in itinere, dum loco in quem venerant cedere non valerent.[2] Erant quidem[3] numero quinque, tres scilicet[4] viri, et duæ fœminæ, quarum una ictu fulmineo percussa occubuit, altera vero ab umbilico usque ad pedum vestigia misere percussa et ignita decidit, viris duntaxat vix vitæ reservatis; quinque etiam caballi eorum fulmine interierunt. Thunder-storm in Herefordshire.

Simeon, 239. Eadmer, 123. Anno MºCºXIXº. Gelasius papa apud Cluniacum obiit, ibidemque sepelitur. A.D. 1119. Death of pope Gelasius. In cujus locum cardinales, aliique Romani, qui eum illuc secuti fuerant, Widonem Viennensem archiepiscopum substituerunt.[5] Calixtus II. pope. Dumque in Burgundia hæc geruntur, apostolatus Romanæ ecclesiæ a supradicto Gregorio administratur. Super his duobus ita in papatum sublimatis, orbis concussus in studia partium dividitur, atque aliis hunc, aliis illum favore prosequentibus, gravi ecclesia scandalo percellitur. Simeon, 240. Cont. F. Wig. Gaufridus Herefordensis episcopus iiiiº. nonas Februarii, et Herebertus Norewicensis episcopus xiº. kalendas Septembris obierunt.[6] The bishops of Hereford and Norwich die. Terræ motus in pluribus locis per Angliam factus est, iiiiº. kalendas Octobris, die Dominica, circa horam diei tertiam.

Remis concilium Calixti papæ.

Simeon, 240. Eadmer, 125. Calixtus papa, xiiiº. kalendas Novembris, generale concilium constituit[7] Remis. Council of Rheims, Oct. 20. Simeon, 240. Cont. F. Wig. Ad hoc concilium multiplex factus est archiepiscoporum, episcoporum, abbatum, et principum diversarum provinciarum concursus, cum clericorum ac plebium multitudine numerosa.[8]

Simeon, 240. Eadmer, 125. Numeratæ sunt ibi personarum pastoralium virgæ ccccxxiv.; inter quos Turstinus Eboracensis electus archiepiscopus, vix quandoque licentia a rege impetrata, propter suum pro- Thurstan, in opposition to the king's

---

[1] *perculsi*] percussi, b.

[2] *valerent*] subsistebant, ins., b.; sustentebant, a.

[3] *quidem*] om. a. b.

[4] *scilicet*] om. a. b.

[5] *substituerunt*] eumque Calixtum nominant, ins., b.

[6] *Septembris obierunt*] om. a. b. obiit, A., corrected to *Augusti*, B.

[7] *constituit*] instituit, b.

[8] *numerosa*] innumerosa, b.

A.D. 1119. wishes, applies to the pope. ficiscitur negotium; præmiserat autem rex legatum suum ad apostolicum, quatenus inter alia et hoc ei diceretur, ne Eboracensem electum aut sacraret, aut ab alio nisi ab archiepiscopo Cantuariæ, uti moris esse solebat, sacrari vel juberet vel permitteret. Ad hoc apostolicus: "Ne putet," inquit, "rex, me de negotio de quo agit, quamvis ratione ejus "careat petitio,[1] secus acturum quam ipse velit: nec enim me "unquam ad hoc mea tulit voluntas, ut antiquam Cantua-"riensis ecclesiæ dignitatem humiliem." Simeon, 240. Eadmer, 125.

Turstinus Eboracensis ecclesiæ archiepiscopus electus consecratur a Calixto.

Thurstan is consecrated by the pope, Oct. 19. Sed mane Dominicæ diei[2] præcedentis diem præstituti concilii Turstino ad consecrationem pontificatus præparato, legati Cantuariensis archiepiscopi calumniati sunt ejus consecrationem a Cantuariensi debere fieri archiepiscopo, sicut mos antiquus, et usque in præsens observatus, exigeret. Ad quod "apostolicus: Nullam," inquit, "injustitiam ecclesiæ Can-"tuariensi facere volumus, sed salva illius dignitate, quod "proposuimus exequemur." Consecratus est tamen ab apostolico Turstinus, Rannulfo Dunelmensi episcopo, qui ad prohibendam hanc consecrationem a rege fuerat missus, nec dum adveniente: postea autem venit.

Legislation by the council, Oct. 20. Against simony. Postera die residentibus ordine in concilio ecclesiasticorum graduum[3] personis, assidente quoque rege Francorum Lodowico, multisque aliis principalibus viris, ex consensu cunctorum renovantur patrum statuta de statuendis, et recidenda de recidendis, quorum hæc sunt quinque capitula. "Quæ sanc-"torum[4] patrum sanctionibus de pravitate simoniaca stabilita "sunt, nos quoque, Sancti Spiritus judicio, et auctoritate sedis "apostolicæ, confirmamus; si quis ergo vendiderit aut emerit, "vel per se vel per quamlibet submissam personam, episco-"patum, abbatiam, decanatum, archidiaconatum, presbytera-"tum, præposituram, præbendam, altaria, vel quælibet eccle-"siastica beneficia, promotiones, ordinationes, consecrationes, "dedicationes ecclesiarum, clericalem tonsuram, sedes in "choro, aut quælibet ecclesiastica officia, et vendens et emens Simeon, 240.

[1] *ejus careat petitio*] om. a. b.
[2] October 19.
[3] *graduum*] om. a. b.
[4] *Quæ sanctorum*] See Ordericus Vitalis, lib. xii. cap. 21.

Simeon. 240. "dignitatis et officii sui ac beneficii periculo subjaceat; quod "nisi resipuerit, anathematis mucrone perfossus, ab ecclesia "Dei, quam læsit, modis omnibus abscidatur. A.D. 1119. Statutes of the council of Rheims.

"Episcopatuum, abbatiarum, aut quarumlibet ecclesiasticarum possessionum investituram per manum laicam fieri "penitus prohibemus. Quicunque igitur laicorum deinceps "investire præsumpserit, anathematis ultioni subjaceat. Porro "qui investitus fuerit, honore quo investitus est, absque spe "recuperationis, omni modo careat. Against lay investiture.

"Universas ecclesiarum possessiones inconcussas in perpetuum et inviolatas esse decernimus. Quod si quis eas "abstulerit aut invaserit, aut potestate tyrannica detinuerit, "juxta illud beati Symmachi capitulum anathemate perpetuo "feriatur. Against spoilers of churches.

Simeon, 241. "Nullus episcopus, nullus presbyter, nullus omnino de clero, "ecclesiasticas dignitates vel beneficia cuilibet, et quasi hæreditario jure, derelinquat: illud etiam adjicientes præcipimus, ut pro baptismatis, chrismatis, olei sacri, et sepulturæ "acceptione nullum omnino pretium exigatur. Against payments for sacred rites.

"Presbyteris, diaconibus, subdiaconibus concubinarum et "uxorum contubernia penitus interdicimus; si qui autem hujus "modi reperti fuerint, ecclesiasticis et officiis priventur et beneficiis. Sane si neque sic immunditiam suam correxerint, communione careant Christiana." Against clerical marriages. Hæc concilii decreta Henrico imperatori, cum non longe abesset[1] ex concilio, primum per honestas personas, ad ultimum per ipsum apostolicum mandantur, ut ante separationem concilii notum esset, utrum ecclesiis per regnum et singulas quasque sibi subjectas provincias consentiat canonicas electiones, videlicet ut episcopi et abbates eligantur ab ecclesia; et liberas consecrationes, ut ubi et a quibus oporteat electi consecrarentur; et investituram ecclesiarum, ut per investituram pastoralis virgæ et annuli, per ostium, Christum ingrediantur, et investituram rerum ecclesiasticarum[2] nihil omnino sibi laicalis exigat persona. Terms proposed by the council to the emperor. Ad hæc ille respondit nihil in his se prætermissurum quod sui juris esse, suorumque sibi contulit antiqua consuetudo progenitorum. Quandoque tamen flexus auctoritate generalis concilii tria illa priora concessit; ultimum vero, scilicet investituram rerum ecclesiasticarum, concedere noluit. He refuses one point. Quapropter, reverso ad concilium papa, excommunicandus decernitur. Quod cum quidam in concilio ægre ferrent, sententiam protulit apostoli-

---

[1] *abesset*] esset, b.

[2] *ecclesiasticarum*] ut de rebus ad ecclesias pertinentibus, ins. S.D.

A.D. 1119. cus, ut qui in hoc scandalizarentur, exeuntes, a fratrum consortio separarentur; proposito de illis septuaginta exemplo, qui cum de Carne Domini manducanda et Sanguine bibendo scandalizarentur, retro abierunt, et jam cum illo non ambulabant. "Et quoniam," inquit, "qui non colligit cum Domino "spargit, et qui non est cum Eo adversus Illum est, illam "inconsutilem tunicam desuper contextam, scilicet, sanctam "ecclesiam, qui nobiscum sentiendo indiscissam servare nolunt, "dissentiendo a nobis discindere contendunt." Talia sermocinante apostolico, illico omnes in eundem consensum reducti, in imperatorem Henricum excommunicationis sententiam jaculantur.

Simeon, 241.
S. John vi. 66.
S. Luke xi. 23.
S. John xix. 23.

The pope excommunicates the emperor.

Thurstan is forbidden to continue in the king's dominions.

Tandem post dies aliquot dissoluto concilio, Henricus rex Anglorum offensus Turstino archiepiscopo, quod præter consensum suum, non ubi mos antiquus exigebat, se consecrari fecisset, interdixit ei reditum in omnem dominationis suæ locum. Post hæc Calixtus papa Gisortium venit, quo ad ejus colloquium rex Anglorum occurrit. Acta sunt multa inter illos, quorum gratia par erat tantas convenisse personas; inter quæ rex a papa impetravit, ut omnes consuetudines quas pater suus in Anglia et in Normannia habuerat, sibi concederet, et maxime ut neminem aliquando legati officio in Anglia fungi permitteret, si non ipse, aliqua præcipua querela exigente, quæ ab episcopis regni sui terminari non posset, hoc fieri a papa postularet. Quibus omnibus pro statu temporis definitis, papa rogat regem Turstino amicum fieri, eumque pontificatui, ad quem ipsum consecraverat,[1] pro amore suo restitui. At rex hoc se, dum viveret, non facturum, in sua fide spopondisse confessus est. Et ille, "Ego apostolicus "sum, et si feceris quod postulo, ab hac fidei sponsione te "absolvam." "Tractabo de hoc," ait, "et quod consilii mei "tenor invenerit, tibi notificabo." Hinc a papa recessit, cui per internuncios de negotio ita respondit: "Pro amore vestro, "qui tanto opere postulatis, ea conditione Turstinum admitto in "pontificatum, ut subjectionem quam prædecessores ejus "fecerant ecclesiæ Cantuariensi faciat. Aliter, me regnante, "Eboracensi ecclesiæ non præsidebit." His ita gestis, abeunte apostolico, Turstinus remansit in Gallia. Willelmus filius Henrici regis et Matildis reginæ, cum esset annorum juvenis xvii., accepit uxorem filiam comitis Andegavensis. Baldewinus[2] comes Flandrensium moritur ex vulnere, quo apud Ou vulneratus fuerat.

Simeon, 241. Eadmer, 125.

Agreement between the king and the pope.

The pope intercedes ineffectually for Thurstan.

Simeon, 242. Eadmer, 125.

Marriage of the king's son William.

---

[1] *consecraverat*] sacraverat, a. b. | [2] Baldwin VII.

Simeon, 242. Anno M°C°XX°. Rex Anglorum Henricus, et rex Francorum Lodowicus, post multa suarum partium detrimenta, die præstituta ineunt colloquia; quo ex consensu concordiæ peracto, jussu regis Henrici filius ejus Willelmus, facto regi Francorum homagio, Normanniæ sub illo suscepit principatum. Ita redeuntibus in pacem regibus, tota tumultuantis Normanniæ seditio comprimitur: et qui contra dominum suum Henricum regem arma levaverant, curvata sub ejus dominium cervice, redeunt. Et quoniam in concordia regum facienda Turstinus archiepiscopus vigilantem se ac diligentem exhibuit, hac sui efficacia proniorem ad sese recipiendum regis animum inflexit. Ad hoc epistola apostolici ad regem jam parantem redire in Angliam directa, Turstinum archiepiscopum suscipere, et in eam præcepit ecclesiam, omni postposita excusatione, restituere. Sed ad hoc præceptum, quid potissimum respondeat, rex distulit, donec redisset in Angliam; ubi congregato concilio, quid facto opus esset, maturius perquireret.

A.D. 1120. Peace between the kings of England and France.

Thurstan admitted to the king's favour.

Normanniæ principes, jubente rege, filio suo Willelmo, jam tunc xviii. annorum, hominium faciunt, et fidelitatis securitatem sacramentis affirmant. Itaque rex, omnibus qui contra se insurrexerant vel devictis vel repacificatis, cunctisque ad votum prospere peractis, quinto profectionis suæ anno necdum completo, lætior solito in Angliam multo navigio revehitur. Delegaverat autem filio cunctoque illius comitatui, navem qua nulla in tota classe videbatur melior, sed, ut eventus ostendit,[1] nulla infelicior. Patre namque præeunte, paulo tardius sed infelicius sequebatur filius.

William receives the homage of Normandy.

De submersione Willelmi filii Regis Henrici.

Nave quippe non longe a terra, in ipso velificationis impetu, super scopulos qui dicuntur Chaterase[2] delata, ac dissoluta, filius regis, cum omnibus qui secum erant, interiit, vi°. kalendas Decembris, feria v^a^., noctis initio, apud Barbeflet.[3] Mane facto thesaurus regis, qui in navi fuerat, invenitur per arenas, corpora vero pereuntium nulla. Perierunt cum filio regis frater suus nothus, Ricardus comes, cum filia regis, quæ erat uxor Rotronis, et Ricardus comes Cestrensis, cum uxore sua nepte regis, sorore Tedbaldi comitis nepotis regis; periit et Othoel magister filii regis, et Gaufridus Ridel, et Robertus Malduit, et Willelmus Bigot, multique alii principales viri, nobiles quoque fœminæ

Loss of the White Ship, with William and his suite on board.

---

[1] *ostendit*] probat, b.

[2] *qui dicuntur Chaterase*] om. a. b.

[3] *Barbeflet*] Barbefleot, a. b.

A.D. 1120. The king's sorrow. quamplures, cum regiis pueris non paucis; militaris numeri cxl., et nautarum l., cum tribus gubernatoribus. Solus quidam macellarius, tabula naufragii pendens, evasit. Rex vero prospero cursu attingens Angliam, alium portum intrasse putabat filium; sed die tertio de interitu illius tristi perturbatur nuntio, et primo quidem subito casu, veluti pusillanimis deficiebat; sed mox dissimulato dolore regios animos ex contemptu resumpsit fortunæ. Illum quippe solum ex legitimo conjugio susceptum regni post se constituerat hæredem. Simeon, 242.

A.D. 1121. Feb. 2. Henry marries Adeliza of Louvain. Anno M°C°XX°I°. Rex Anglorum Henricus in Purificatione Beatæ[1] Mariæ apud Windleshoram,[2] totius Angliæ adunato concilio, filiam Godefridi ducis Luvaniæ Adelinam matrimonio[3] sibi junxit. Ricardus capellanus regis ad Herefordensis, et Robertus Pecche,[4] alius capellanus regis, ad Coventrensis ecclesiæ præsulatum eligitur. Herebertus, eleemosynarius Sancti Petri Westmonasterii, in abbatem ejusdem loci eligitur.[5] Eadmer returns from S. Andrews. Edmerus Cantuariensis ecclesiæ monachus, præcedenti anno electus ad episcopatum Sancti Andreæ in Scotia deposita intentione regendi episcopatum, revertitur ad locum suum. Willelmus de Campellis, Cathalaunensis episcopus, octo diebus ante exitum suum, suscepto habitu monachico, vita decessit xv°. kalendas Februarii. Simeon, 243.

Epistola Calixti papæ pro Turstino Eboracensi archiepiscopo.

The pope insists on the admission of Thurstan to his see. Epistola Calixti papæ super Turstino, directa ad regem Henricum, et Radulfum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, ipsi sacerdotale et episcopale interdicit officium, et tam in matrice Cantuariensi quam in principali Eboracensi ecclesia, cum suis parochiis, divina omnia celebrari officia, cum sepultura mortuorum prohibet, præter baptisma infantium et pœnitentias morientium, nisi infra unum mensem post acceptionem ipsius epistolæ Turstinus, sine exactione professionis, in suam restituatur ecclesiam; He is admitted. quare a rege revocatus in Angliam mox in suum reducitur archiepiscopatum. The pope takes Sutri and the antipope. Eodem anno peracto Paschali festo, Calixtus papa cum multa manu ab urbe digressus, tamdiu Sutrinam[6] civitatem obsedit, donec et Burdinum pseudopapam et locum ipsum cepisset, sicut epistola subdita planius edocet. Simeon, 244.

---

[1] *Beatæ*] Sanctæ, a. b.
[2] *Windleshoram*] Windeshoram, b.
[3] *matrimonio*] in the middle of this word the mutilated MS. Harl. 54 ends.
[4] *Pecche*] Peccator, a. b.
[5] *Herebertus . . . eligitur*] om. a. b
[6] *Sutrinam*] Suthrinam, a.

Epistola ejusdem papæ Calixti pro se ipso. A.D 11

Simeon, 244. "Calixtus episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilectis fratribus "et filiis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, et "cæteris tam clericis quam laicis beati Petri fidelibus per "Gallias constitutis, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Quia derelinquit populus Domini legem, et in judiciis Ejus "non ambulat, visitat Dominus in virga iniquitates eorum, "et in verberibus peccata eorum. Paternæ tamen conservans "viscera pietatis, de Sua confidentes misericordia non repellit. "Diu siquidem peccatis exigentibus per illud Teutonicorum "regis idolum, Burdinum videlicet, fideles ecclesiæ conturbati "sunt; et alii quidem capti, alii usque ad mortem carceris "maceratione afflicti sunt. Nuper autem festis Paschalibus Simeon, 245. "celebratis, cum peregrinorum et pauperum clamores nos "ferre penitus non possemus, cum ecclesiæ fidelibus ab urbe "digressi sumus, et tamdiu Sutrinam[1] civitatem obsedimus, do- "nec Divina potentia et supradictum ecclesiæ inimicum Burdi- "num, qui Diabolo nidum ibidem fecerat, et locum ipsum, in "nostram omnino tradidit potestatem. Rogamus itaque cari- "tatem vestram, ut pro tantis beneficiis una nobiscum Regi "regum gratias referatis, et in Catholicæ ecclesiæ obedientia, "et in Dei servitio constantissime maneatis, retributionem "debitam in præsenti, et in futuro ab Omnipotente Domino[2] "per Ejus gratiam recepturi. Rogamus etiam, has litteras "nostras alter alteri præsentari, omni remota negligentia, "faciatis. Data Suthrii vi°. kalendas Maii."

His circu on the triumph.

The pope announce the captu of the an pope and the city o Sutri.

Uxor quondam Willelmi submersi filii regis Henrici, filia Fulconis comitis Andegavensis, rogante patre, remittitur patriam a rege. Filii regis Walanorum, audita submersione Ricardi comitis Cestrensis, incensis duobus castellis, multisque hominibus interfectis, quædam in illo comitatu loca graviter depopulati sunt. Unde rex Henricus indignatus, de tota Anglia producto exercitu infinito, ad devastandam Waloniam intendit, sed cum ad Snawedune pervenisset, rex Walanorum muneribus et obsidibus oblatis, regi Anglorum placato reconciliatur, moxque exercitus domum remittitur.

William's widow returns t Anjou.

War and peace wit the Welsl

Simeon, 243. Ea tempestate rex Henricus facto, longa terræ incisione, fossato, a Torkeseie usque Lincolniam per derivationem Trentæ fluminis fecit iter navium. Rannulfus quoque Dunelmensis episcopus castellum apud Norham[3] incepit super ripam Thwedæ.[4]

Canal ma from Tor sey to Li coln.

Norham castle bu

Simeon, 245. At in vigilia Natalis Domini ventus insolitus non solum domos, sed etiam turres dejecit lapideas.

---

[1] *Sutrinam*] Suthrinam, b.

[2] *Domino*] Deo, b.

[3] *Norham*] Northam, a. b.

[4] *Thwedæ*] Twedæ, a. b.

A.D. 1122. Movements of the king.

H. Hunt. 218 b.

Anno M°C°XX°II°.[1] Henricus Rex fuit ad Natale apud Norewicz, et ad Pascha apud Northamtun, et ad Pentecosten apud Windleshores. Inde ad Lundoniam et Kent, et postea in Northumbreland apud[2] Dunholm. Eodem anno obierunt Radulfus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Batoniensis episcopus.

Abp. Ralph dies.

A.D. 1123. Death of Ranulf the chancellor,

Anno M°C°XX°III°. Henricus rex fuit ad Natale apud Dunstaple, et inde perrexit ad Berkamstede.[3] Ubi[4] quidam regis cancellarius Rannulfus nomine, xx. annis infirmitate decoctus, semper tamen in curia glorians in malitia, promptus ad omnia scelera, innocentes opprimens, terras multorum sibi diripiens, cum regem ad hospitandum duceret secum, in ipso vertice montis, unde castellum ejus prospiciebatur, elatus mente, corruit ex equo, et monachus super eum equitavit. Unde sic contritus est, ut post paucos dies vita careret. Inde cum rex comitante secum Roberto præsule Lincolniensi, ad Wdestoke pergeret, idem præsul morbo subitaneo gravatus obmutuit,[5] et deportatus[6] ad hospitium paulo post animam exuit, x°. die Januarii mensis.

and of bishop Robert of Lincoln.

William of Corbeuil, abp. of Canterbury.

H. Hunt. 219 a.

Anno M°C°XX°IV°. Ad festum Purificationis dedit rex archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ Willelmo de Curbuil priori canonicorum de Chiche. Ad Pascha apud Wintoniam[7] Henricus rex dedit episcopatum Lincolniæ Alexandro nepoti Rogeri Salesberiensis episcopi, justitiarii totius Angliæ; dedit etiam rex episcopatum de Bathe Godefrido cancellario reginæ. Et circa Pentecosten mare transiit, et recessit ab eo comes de Mollent[8] discordia propalata: rex autem castellum ejus, quod Pontaudemer[9] dicitur, obsedit et cepit.[10]

The king goes to Normandy against the count of Meulan.

A.D. 1124. The count of Meulan captured.

Anno M°C°XX°V°. Magna regi arrisit fortuna. Willelmus quippe de Tankervile[11] camerarius regis, aciebus statutis confligens prædictum comitem de Mollent cepit, et Hugonem de

---

[1] Here the compiler has recourse to Henry of Huntingdon, whose work is his principal source of information down to 1147. The marginal references are to Savile's edition.

[2] *apud*] ad, a. b., H.H.

[3] *Berkamstede*] Berchamstede, a. b.

[4] *Ubi*] Ibi, a. b.

[5] *obmutuit*] Cf. Joh. Wigorn (*ed.* Thorpe, p. 77.)

[6] *deportatus*] Cf. Joh. Wigorn., l.c.; Sim. Dun. c. 247.

[7] *Wintoniam*] Wincestre, a. b.

[8] *Mollent*] Mellend, a. b. Waleran de Beaumont.

[9] *Pontaudemer*] Puntaldmer, b. Puntaldemer, a.

[10] *Ad festum . . cepit*] The events detailed in this paragraph are ascribed in MSS. a. b., A. B., to 1124: they belong unquestionably to the preceding year; and the dates of the years down to the death of Henry I. are consequently one year in advance of the truth. The right dates are given in the margin.

[11] *Tankervile*] Tankervilla, b.

H. Hunt. 219 a.

Munfort[1] sororium ejus, et Hugonem filium Gervasii, et tradidit eos regi, et rex eos in carcerem posuit. Eodem anno obierunt Theolfus Wigornensis, et Ernulfus Rofensis[2] episcopi. A.D. 112

Anno M°C°XX°VI°. Anno toto Henricus rex fuit in Normannia, et ibi dedit episcopatum Wigorniæ Symoni clerico reginæ; Sefrido quoque abbati Glastingberiensi dedit episcopatum Cicestriæ. Porro Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus dedit episcopatum Rofensem[3] Johanni archidiacono suo. Ad Pascha vero Johannes Cremensis, cardinalis Romanus, descendit in Angliam, perendinansque per episcopatus et abbatias non sine magnis muneribus, ad Nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ, celebravit concilium solemne apud Lundonias; ubi magnum ei accidit infortunium. Cum enim in concilio severissime de uxoribus sacerdotum tractasset, dicens summum scelus esse a latere meretricis ad Corpus Christi conficiendum surgere; cum eadem die Corpus Christi confecisset, cum meretrice post vesperam interceptus est. Res apertissima Lundoniæ gesta negari non potuit. Summus honor prius ubique habitus in summum dedecus versus est. Remeavit igitur in sua Dei judicio confusus et ingloriosus. Eodem anno obiit Henricus Romanorum imperator gener Henrici regis Anglorum.[4] Sed[5] a quibusdam asseritur, quod idem imperator pœnitentia ductus, eo quod ipse patrem suum interfecerat, quadam nocte cum ad lectum imperatricis Matildis, scilicet filiæ Henrici regis Angliæ, more solito accederet, extinctis lucernis et ministris abeuntibus, ipse solus nudus pedes et in laneis recessit, relictis imperialibus et uxore et imperio, et nusquam comparuit, ubi esset cognitus. Imperatrix vero, sumptis secum manu beati Jacobi Apostoli incorrupta, et corona imperiali, ad regem Henricum patrem suum rediit. Lotharius autem post decessum vel discessum Henrici imperatoris suscepit imperium. Rex vero Anglorum Henricus præ gaudio manus beati Jacobi Apostoli fundavit nobilem abbatiam de Redinges, et eam bonis multis ditavit, et in eam manum posuit beati Jacobi Apostoli. Coronam autem imperialem in thesauro suo recondidit.[5]

A.D. 112[6]
New bish[ops] of Worces[ter], Chich[es]ter, and [Ro]chester.
Legation [of] John of Crema.
Sin and d[is]grace of t[he] legate.
Death of [the] emperor Henry V.
Current fable abo[ut] him.
The king founds Re[ad]ing abbey.

---

[1] *Munfort*] Munford, a. b.
[2] *Rofensis*] Rovecestriæ, a. b.
[3] *Rofensem*] Rovecestre, a. b.
[4] *Anglorum*] om. a. b.

[5] *Sed a quibusdam . . . recondidit*] om. a. b. The writer of this story, which is an addition of Hoveden's, clearly believed Henry IV. to have

A.D. 1125. Punishment of the moneyers. Dearth.

Monetarii vero fere totius Angliæ, jubente rege, comprehensi, qui monetam furtive corruperant, dextris amputatis, ementulantur. Hoc anno fames magna, et annonæ tanta fuit caritas, quantam nostro vidit in tempore nemo, quando vendebatur onus equi frumentarium sex solidis. Hoc etiam anno Willelmus Cantuariensis præsul, et Turstinus Eboracensis, et Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus abierunt Romam. H. Hunt, 219 a.

The two archbishops go to Rome.

A.D. 1126. The king returns to England.

Anno M°C°XX°VII. Henricus rex ad Natale, et Pascha, et Pentecosten moratus est in Normannia, et confirmatis pactis honorabilibus cum rege Franciæ, ante festum Sancti Michaelis rex victoriosissimus rediit in Angliam; adduxitque secum filiam suam imperatricem tanto viro, ut prædictum est, viduatam. Robertus quoque Cestrensis episcopus obiit.

A.D. 1127. Death of Charles count of Flanders; and succession of William son of duke Robert.

Anno M°C°XX°VIII°. Rex Henricus curiam suam tenuit ad Natale apud Windleshores, pergens inde Lundoniam. In Quadragesima et in Pascha fuit apud Wdestoke, ubi nunciatum est ei, quod Karolus comes Flandrensis, amicus ejus carissimus, nefanda proditione occisus esset a proceribus suis in templo apud Brige, et quod rex Francorum dedisset Flandriam Willelmo filio Roberti Curtehose,[1] nepoti et hosti ejus, et quia jam valde roboratus, multis cruciatibus omnes proditores Karoli multcaverit. Super his igitur rex anxiatus concilium tenuit ad Rogationes apud Lundonias: et Willelmus archiepiscopus similiter in eadem villa apud Westmuster. Circa Pentecosten misit rex filiam suam in Normanniam desponsandam Gaufrido filio comitis[2] Andegavensis, et secutus est eam ipse rex in Augusto. Ricardus Lundoniensis episcopus obiit, cujus episcopatum rex dedit Gileberto Universali, viro doctissimo; decessit etiam Ricardus Herefordensis episcopus. H. Hunt. 219 b.

Marriage of Matilda with Geoffrey of Anjou. The king goes to France.

A.D. 1128. War in France.

Anno M°C°XX°IX°. Rex Henricus per totum annum moratus in Normannia perrexit hostiliter in Franciam, quia rex Francorum tuebatur nepotem et hostem suum; perendinansque apud Sparnum viii. diebus, tam secure ac si in regno suo esset, compulit regem Lodowicum auxilia comiti Flandrensi non ferre; ubi cum originem et procursum regni Francorum rex quæreret Henricus, sic quidam vir doctus ei respondit.

---

been literally killed by his son. Compare the account of Henry IV.'s death given above, where Hoveden varies from his authority, . 163.

[1] *filio Roberti Curtheose*] om. a. b., H.H.

[2] *Gaufrido . . . comitis*] filio consulis, a. b., H.H.

Genealogia regum Franciæ.

A.D. 1128

H. Hunt. 21 b.

Pedigree and succession of the kings of France.

"Regum potentissime, sicut pleræque gentes Europæ, ita "Franci a Trojanis duxerunt originem. Antenor quippe cum "suis profugus ab excidio Trojæ, in finibus Pannoniæ civitatem "Sicambriam nomine ædificavit. Verum post mortem Ante-"noris constituerunt sibi duces super se Turgotum[1] et "Francionem, a quo Franci sunt appellati; quibus defunctis "successit Marcomirus, qui genuit Faramundum primum "regem Francorum; Pharamundus genuit Clodium Crinitum, "a quo reges Franciæ Criniti habentur; Clodio successit "Meroveus cognatus ejus, a quo reges Franci Merovingi sunt "appellati; Meroveus genuit Childericum, et ille genuit "Clodoveum, quem baptizavit Sanctus Remigius; Clodoveus "genuit Clotarium, et ipse genuit Cilpericum, et ille "Clotarium secundum. Clotarius genuit Dagobertum famo-"sissimum regem, et ille genuit Clodoveum. Clodoveus genuit "tres filios de Sancta Batilde regina sua, videlicet, Clotarium, "Childericum atque Theodericum. Theodericus rex genuit "Childebertum, et ille Dagobertum, et ille genuit Theode-"ricum, et ille Clotarium hujus prosapiæ ultimum. Post "quem regnavit Hildericus, qui tonsus et in monasterio "retrusus est, Pipino rege effecto. Ex alterius autem serie "generationis ex filia Clotarii regis Ansbertus genuit Arnol-"dum, et Sanctus Arnoldus Arnulfum,[2] post Metensem epi-"scopum; Sanctus Arnulfus genuit Anchisem, et ille Pipinum "majorem domus, Pipinus Karolum Martellum, et ille Pipinum "regem; Pipinus rex Karolum Magnum imperatorem, qui "quasi sidus effulsit præcedentium et sequentium; Karo-"lus genuit Lodowicum imperatorem, et ille Karolum Calvum "imperatorem, et ille Lodowicum regem patrem Karoli Sim-"plicis; Karolus Simplex genuit Lodowicum, et ille Lota-"rium, et ille Lodovicum hujus prosapiæ regem ultimum. "Quo defuncto, Franci super se statuerunt Hugonem ducem, "filium Hugonis magni ducis.[3] Hugo vero rex genuit piis-"simum regem Robertum, Robertus autem rex genuit tres "filios, Hugonem dulcissimum ducem, et Henricum regem "amantissimum, et Robertum Burgundiæ ducem. Henricus

---

[1] *Turgotum*] Torgotum, a. b.

[2] *Sanctus Arnoldus Arnulfum*] Arnoldus Sanctum Arnulfum, H.H.

[3] *filium . . ducis*] qui filius Hugonis magni ducis fuit, a. b., H.H.

A.D. 1128. Succession of the kings of France. "rex genuit Philippum regem, qui ad finem monachizatus est, "et Hugonem magnum, qui cum magno exercitu Christianorum, et multis Europæ ducibus Jerosolimam obsedit, "et eam de manibus paganorum eripuit, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M°XC°IX°. Philippus vero genuit Lodowicum, qui regnat in præsenti, qui si probitatis antiquorum vestigia teneret, tam secure in regno ejus non "quiesceres." His dictis et actis rex Henricus in Normanniam reversus est. H. Hunt. 219 b.

Thierri of Alsace claims the county of Flanders. Advenit autem quidam dux, Theodericus[1] nomine, a partibus Alemanniæ, Flandriam calumnians, quosdam Flandriæ proceres secum habens, et hoc suasu regis Henrici. Willelmus autem comes Flandrensis collecto exercitu, et aciebus ordinatis, processit contra eum, et pugnatum est acriter. Willelmus consul numerum suorum, cum pauci essent, supplebat probitate inexterminabili. Cruentatus igitur omnia arma sua sanguine hostili, findebat ense fulmineo cuneos hostium, nec potuerunt pondus terribile juvenilis brachii perferre hostes perterriti, et fugæ dediti. Death of count William. Victoriosissimus itaque[2] consul, dum castellum[3] hostile obsideret, et in crastino reddi deberet, jam pene adnihilatis hostibus, Deo volente, parvo vulnere sauciatus in manu, deperiit. Juvenum autem nobilissimus ætate brevi, famam meruit æternam, unde quidam ait:

"Mars obit in terris, deflent par numina numen."[4]

Fulk of Anjou goes on crusade. Hoc etiam anno Hugo de Paens magister militum Templi Jerusalem, veniens in Angliam secum multos duxit Jerusalem; inter quos Fulco frater Gaufridi Andegavensis Consulis rex futurus[5] perrexit. Rannulfus Flambart Dunelmensis episcopus, et Willelmus Giffart Wintoniensis episcopus obierunt. H. Hunt. 220 a.

A.D. 1129. The king of France makes his son Philip king. Anno M°C°XXX°. Lodowicus rex Francorum fecit sublimari filium suum Philippum in regem. Rex vero Henricus pacificatis omnibus, quæ in Francia, Flandria, Normannia, Britannia, Cenomannia, Andegavia erant, cum gaudio in Angliam rediit. Council of London against clerical marriages. Tenuit igitur concilium magnum ad kalendas Augusti apud Lundonias de uxoribus sacerdotum prohibendis. Interérant huic concilio Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Turstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Alexander Lincolniensis episco-

---

[1] *Theodericus*] Teodericus, a. b. Dietrich of Elsass; or Thierri of Alsace.

[2] *itaque*] om. b.

[3] *castellum*] castrum, a. b.

[4] This is the beginning of a short poem,

"Mars obit in terris, deflent par
" sidera sidus,
"Numina par numen, parque de-
" cora decus, &c.

[5] *Fulco . . . futurus*] Gaufridus Andegavensis consul rex futurus, a. b. and H.H.

H. Hunt. 220 a. pus, Gilebertus Lundoniensis episcopus, Rogerus Salesbiriensis episcopus, Johannes Rofensis[1] episcopus, Sifridus Suthsexensis episcopus, Godefridus Bathoniensis[2] episcopus, Symon Wigornensis episcopus, Everardus Norewicensis episcopus, Bernardus Sancti Davidis episcopus, Herveius primus Eliensis episcopus. Wintoniensis[3] et Dunelmensis, et Cestrensis, et Herefordensis episcopi[4] obierant. Hi columnæ regni erant, et radii sanctitatis hoc tempore. Verum rex decepit eos simplicitate Willelmi archiepiscopi. Concesserunt namque ei justitiam de uxoribus sacerdotum, et improvidi habiti sunt, quod postea patuit, cum res summo dedecore terminata est. Accepit enim rex pecuniam infinitam de presbyteris, et redemit eos. Tunc, sed frustra, pœnituit episcopos concessionis suæ, cum pateret in oculis omnium gentium deceptio prælatorum et depressio subjectorum. A.D. 1129. The king's chicanery.

Eodem anno illis quos Hugo de Paens, de quo prædictum est, secum duxerat ad Jerusalem male contigit. Deum siquidem offenderant sanctæ illius telluris incolæ luxuria, et rapina, et variis sceleribus. Ut autem scriptum est in Moyse et Regum libris, non diu scelera locis illis sunt impunita. In vigilia namque Sancti Nicholai a paucis Paganorum multi Christianorum devicti sunt, cum antea soleret e contrario contingere. In obsidione igitur Damascena, cum magna pars Christianorum progressa esset ad victualia perquirenda, mirati sunt pagani Christianos plures et fortissimos se muliebriter fugientes, et persequentes eos innumeros occiderunt. Eos autem, qui refugerant[5] in montibus, tempestate nivis et frigoris Deus ipsa nocte persecutus est, ita quod vix aliquis evasit. Contigit etiam quod filius regis Francorum, qui diademate regni fuerat (ut prædictum est) decoratus, dum caballum ludens agitaret, obvium suem habuit, cui cum pedes equi currentis offenderent, rex novus cecidit, et fractis cervicibus expiravit. Ecce res misera, et admiratione dignissima! ecce quanta celsitudo quam cito, quam leviter, adnihilata est! Misfortune of the crusaders in Palestine. Death of the young king Philip.

Anno tricesimo regni sui, id est anno Christi M°C°. tricesimo primo fuit rex Henricus ad Natale apud Wirecestre, et ad Pascha apud Wdestoke, ubi Gaufridus de Clintune fuit accusatus, et infamatus de proditione regis. Ad Rogationes fuit rex apud Cantuariam ad dedicationem novæ ecclesiæ. Ad festum A.D. 1130. Trial of Geoffrey Clinton.

---

[1] *Rofensis*] Rovecestrensis, a. b.
[2] *Bathoniensis*] Bathensis, a. b.
[3] *Wintoniensis*] Nam Wintoniensis, a. b., H.H.
[4] *episcopi*] om. b.
[5] *refugerant*] fugerant, b.

A.D. 1130. Schism in the papacy. Sancti Michaelis transiit rex in Normanniam. Eodem anno decessit Honorius papa.[1] Quo defuncto factum est schisma, duo enim eliguntur in Romanum pontificem, videlicet Innocentius et Anacletus.[2] H. Hunt. 220 a.

A.D. 1131. The king accepts Innocent II. as pope. Anno M°C°XXX°II°. Rex apud Carnotum recepit papam Innocentium, et Anacletum refutavit. Hos enim utrosque Romani bipartiti elegerant. Expulsus vero ab urbe Innocentius vi Anacleti, qui Petrus de Leues[3] prius vocabatur, auxilio regis Henrici receptus est per totas Gallias. Post hæc rex Henricus rediit in Angliam adducens secum filiam suam, quam postea ex communi consilio principum totius Angliæ viro suo consuli Andegavensi, tunc eam requirenti, reddidit. Herveus Eliensis episcopus obiit.

A.D. 1132. Movements of the king. Anno M°C°XXX°III°. Rex Henricus fuit ad Natale apud Dunestaple, et ad Pascha apud Wdestoke. Eodem anno[4] obiit Baldewinus rex Jerusalem, cui successit Fulco frater Gaufridi Andegavensis consulis. Kings of Jerusalem. Iste Fulco rex Jerusalem genuit ex uxore sua, filia prædictæ regis Baldewini, duos filios, scilicet Baldewinum et Amauri. Baldewinus successit Fulconi patri suo in regnum Jerosolimitanum, qui decessit sine prole. Quo defuncto, Amauri frater ejus successit ei in regnum, qui regnavit undecim annis, et genuit Baldewinum leprosum, postea regem, et duas filias, scilicet Sibillam et Milisent, de quibus in subsequentibus dicetur plenius.[5] H. Hunt. 220 b.

A.D. 1133. See of Carlisle founded. Anno M°C°XXX°IV°. Henricus rex Angliæ post Pentecosten dedit episcopatum Eliensem Nigello et episcopatum Dunelmensem Gaufrido cancellario; fecit etiam rex novum episcopatum apud Carduil, et dedit illum Aiulfo prior de Sancto Oswaldo. Et facta est eclipsis solis, quarto nonas Augusti, circa horam diei sextam, ita ut totus orbis solis quasi nigro scuto videretur obtectus. Henry goes to Normandy. Eodem die, nonnullis ob periculi metum prohibentibus et dissuadentibus regi ne transfretaret,[6] rex tamen feliciter mare transiit.

---

[1] Honorius died Feb. 14, 1130.

[2] *Quo . . . Anacletus*] om. a. b.

[3] *Petrus de Leues*] Pierleoni.

[4] *Eodem anno*] om. a. b.

[5] *cui successit . . . plenius*] cui successit Gaufridus, a. b., H.H. The passage in the text was clearly written after 1184.

[6] *ne transfretaret*] om. a. b.

H. Hunt. 220 b.

Anno M°C°XXX°V°. Gilebertus Lundoniensis episcopus obiit. Rex Henricus moratus est in Normannia præ gaudio nepotum suorum, quos de filia ejus Gaufridus[1] consul Andegavensis genuerat, et fecit[2] archiepiscopos et comites et barones totius suæ dominationis jurare fidelitates Matildi imperatrici filiæ suæ et Henrico filio ejus adhuc minimo, et constituit eum regem post se.

A.D. 1134. Henry causes the barons to swear fealty to Matilda and her son.

Dein sæpius proponebat rex redire in Angliam, sed detinebat eum filia ejus imperatrix discordiis variis, quæ oriebantur pluribus causis inter regem et consulem Andegavensem, artibus scilicet filiæ suæ. Quibus stimulationibus rex in iram et animi rancorem excitatus est, quæ a nonnullis causa naturalis refrigidationis, et postea[3] mortis ejus causa fuisse dictæ sunt. Cum igitur rex a venatu redisset, apud Sanctum Dionysium in sylva Leonum, comedit carnes murænarum, id est, lampredarum, quæ semper ei nocebant, et semper eas amabat. Cum autem medicus comedere[4] prohiberet eum hoc, non adquievit rex salubri consilio ejus; secundum quod dicitur:

Quarrels between Matilda and her husband and father.

A.D. 1135. Account of the illness and death of Henry.

Ovid., Am. III. iv. 17.

"Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata."

Hæc igitur comestio pessimi humoris illatrix, et consimilium vehemens excitatrix, senile corpus lethaliter refrigidans, subitam et summam fecit perturbationem, contra quod natura renitens excitavit febrem acutam ad impetum dissolvendum materiei gravissimæ: sed prævalente morbo, decessit rex magnificus, cum regnasset triginta quinque annis et tribus mensibus, in prima die Decembris; de quo quidam sic ait.[5]

Obiit rex Henricus senior.

Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis,
Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore gemunt.
Janus cautela minor, Alcides probitate,
Conflictu Pallas, arte Minerva gemunt.
Anglia, quæ cunis, quæ sceptro numinis hujus
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit.
Hæc cum rege suo, Normannia cum duce marcet,
Nutriit hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum.

---

[1] *Gaufridus*] om. a. b.

[2] *et fecit . . . post se*] om. a. b.

[3] *causa . . . postea*] om. a. b.

[4] *cum comedere*] comedi, a. b.

[5] Here MSS. A. B. have in the margin Merlin's prophecy, "Væ tibi "Neustria . . . sublimabitur." Galf. Mon. vii. 3.

A.D. 1135. Hic annus ab adventu Normannorum gentis in Angliam LXIX.; ad adventu Britonum ad hanc insulam MMCCLXV., ab initio mundi V^m.CCCXVII., anno gratiæ MCXXXV.

Character of Henry I. as it was popularly regarded.

Defuncto igitur Henrico rege magno, libera, ut in mortuo[1] solent, judicia populi depromebantur. Alii enim tribus vehementer irradiasse splendoribus asserebant, sapientia summa, victoria quoque, atque divitiis; sapientia, nam et consilio profundissimus, et providentia conspicuus, et eloquentia clarus habebatur: victoria, quia, exceptis aliis quæ egregie gesserat, regem Francorum lege belli superaverat: divitiis, quibus omnes antedecessores suos longe præcesserat. Alii autem diverso studio tribus illum vitiis inficiebant; cupiditate nimia, quia ut omnes parentes suos pauperes faceret,[2] opulentus, tributis et exactionibus inhians delatoriis hamis intercipiebat; crudelitate etiam, qua consulem de Moretuil cognatum suum in captione positum exoculavit; nec sciri facinus tam horridum potuit, usque mors secreta regis aperuit; nec minus et alia proponebant exempla, quæ tacemus; luxuria quoque, quia mulierum conditioni more Salomonis continue subjacebat. Talia vulgus libere diversificabant. Successu vero temporis atrocissimi, quod postea per Normannorum rabiosas proditiones exarsit, quicquid Henricus fecerat vel tyrannice vel regie, comparatione deteriorum visum est peroptimum. (H. Hunt. 221 a.)

Succession of Stephen.

Venit enim sine mora Stephanus Theobaldi Blesensis consulis frater, junior eo; vir magnæ strenuitatis et audaciæ; et quamvis ipse jurasset sacramentum fidelitatis Anglici regni imperatrici, et Henrico filio suo;[3] tamen quasi tempestas, invasit diadema regni Angliæ.[4]

The prelates and barons betray their oath to the empress.

Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui primus sacramentum fecerat, eum, proh dolor! in regem benedixit; unde judicium illud Deus in eum statuit, quod sacerdoti magno Jeremiæ percussori statuerat, scilicet ne post annum viveret: similiter Rogerus[5] Salesberiensis episcopus qui secundus sacramentum illud prædictum fecerat, et omnibus aliis prædictaverat, diadema ei, et vires auxilii sui contribuit. Unde postea digno[6] Dei judicio, ab eo[7] quem creavit in regem captus et excruciatus, miserum sortitus est exterminium. Sed quid moror? omnes qui sacramentum juraverant, tam præsules (H. Hunt. 221 b.)

---

[1] *mortuo*] morte, a. b.

[2] *quia . . . faceret*] qua ut omnes parentes sui pauperes opulentus, a. b., H.H.

[3] *imperatrici . . . suo*] om. a. b.

[4] *regni Angliæ*] domini, a. b.

[5] *Rogerus*] magnus, add. a. b.

[6] *digno*] justo, a. b.

[7] *eo*] eodem, a. b.

H. Hunt. 221 b. quam consules et principes, assensum Stephano præbuerunt, et hominium fecerunt. Hoc vero signum malum fuit, quod tam repente omnis Anglia sine mora, sine labore, quasi in ictu oculi ei subjecta est. A.D. 1135.

Primus annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1135. Dec. 26. Stephen crowned.

Anno igitur gratiæ MºCºXXXºVIº., die Sancti Stephani, diadematus rex Stephanus, curiam suam tenuit apud Lundoniam, in cujus coronatione, ut dicitur, pax Domini ad missam nec dicta fuit nec data populo.[1] Corpus autem regis Henrici adhuc insepultum erat in Normannia. Nam rex Henricus prima die Decembris obierat; cujus corpus allatum est Rothomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi consepulta sunt; reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque dissecatum, et multo sale aspersum, coriis taurinis reconditum est et consutum, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse qui, magno pretio conductus, securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa, pretio male gavisus est. Hic est ultimus e multis quos rex Henricus occidit. Inde vero corpus regium Cadomum sui deportaverunt, ubi dum[2] diu in ecclesia positum, in qua pater ejus sepultus fuerat, quamvis multo sale repletum esset, et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger humor et horribilis coria pertransiens decurrebat, et vasis sub feretro susceptus, a ministris horrore fatiscentibus abjiciebatur. Vide igitur, quicunque legis, quomodo regis potentissimi corpus, cujus cervix diademate, auro, et gemmis electissimis, quasi divino splendore vernaverat, cujus utraque manus sceptris præradiaverat, cujus reliqua superficies auro textili tota rutilaverat, cujus os tam deliciosissimis et exquisitis cibis pasci solebat, cui omnes assurgere, omnes expavescere, omnes congaudere, omnes admirari solebant: vide, inquam, quo corpus illud devenerit, quam horribiliter delituerit,[3] quam miserabiliter abjectum fuerit. Vide rerum eventum, ex quo semper pendet judicium, et disce contemnere quicquid sic disterminatur,[4] quicquid sic adnihilatur. Tandem reliquiæ regalis cadaveris allatæ sunt in Angliam,

Horrible state of the late king's body.

---

[1] *populo*] Cum hoc sacramentum factum est, C.

[2] *dum*] om. b.

[3] *delituerit*] delitescerit, A.

[4] *disterminatur*] determinatur, a. b.

A.D. 1136. Henry I. is buried at Reading.

et sepultæ sunt infra duodecim dies Natalis, apud abbatiam de[1] Redinges, quam idem[2] rex Henricus fundaverat, et multis possessionibus ditaverat. Ibique rex Stephanus venit a curia sua, quam Lundoniis[3] tenuerat in ipso Natali, contra corpus patrui sui, nec non et Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, et multi præsules et proceres, et sepelierunt regem Henricum cum debita tanto viro reverentia. Inde perrexit rex Stephanus[4] Oxenefordiam, ubi recordatus est et confirmavit pacta quæ Deo, et populo, et sanctæ ecclesiæ concesserat in die coronationis suæ. Quæ sunt hæc. Primo vovit quod, defunctis episcopis, nunquam retineret ecclesias in manu sua, sed electioni consentiens episcopis eas investiret: secundo vovit, quod nullius clerici vel laici sylvas in manu sua retineret, sicut rex Henricus fecerat, qui singulis annis inplacitaverat eos, si vel venationem caperent in sylvis propriis, vel si eas ad necessitates suas exstirparent vel diminuerent, quod placiti nefandi genus adeo fuit execrabile, ut si visores alicujus sylvam,[5] quem esse pecuniosum æstimarent, a longe conspicerent, statim vastatam perhiberent, sive esset, sive non, ut eum quoquomodo redimere possent: tertio vovit, quod Danegeldum, id est, duos solidos ad hidam, quos antecessores sui accipere solebant singulis annis, in æternum condonaret. Hæc principaliter Deo vovit, et alia, sed nihil horum tenuit. H. Hunt. 221 b.

Stephen at Oxford binds himself to allow free elections, to free the forests, and to abolish Danegeld.

David king of Scots takes Carlisle and Newcastle.

Dum autem rex Stephanus in fine Natalis moram faceret apud[6] Oxeneforde audivit nuncium dicentem sibi: "Rex Scottorum David simulans se pacifice venire ad te gratia hospitandi, "veniens in Carduil[7] et in Novum Castellum, dolose cepit "utraque." Cui rex Stephanus respondit:[8] "Quæ dolose "cepit, victoriose recipiam." Promovit igitur rex impiger exercitum suum, tam magnum, fortem et validum, quantum nullus in Anglia fuisse memorare potuit. Occurrens autem ei rex David circa Dunelmum concordatus est ei, reddens Novum Castellum. Carduil[7] vero retinuit concessione regis Stephani. Rex tamen David homo regis Stephani non est effectus, quia sacramentum primus laicorum juraverat imperatrici, filiæ regis Henrici, scilicet nepti suæ, de Anglia ei manutenenda post mortem regis Henrici.[9] Regis autem David H. Hunt. 222 a.

Stephen recovers Newcastle;

[1] *de*] om. a. b.

[2] *idem*] ipse, b.

[3] *Lundoniis*] apud Lundoniam, a. b.

[4] *Stephanus*] apud, ins. a. b.

[5] *sylvam*] lucum, H.H.

[6] *Dum . . . apud*] Stephanus rex, primo anno regni sui, cum venisset in fine Natalis ad, a. b., H.H.

[7] *Carduil*] Carloil, a. b.

[8] *respondit*] om. a. b.

[9] Here MSS. A. B. have in the margin Merlin's prophecy, "Nocebit possidenti . . . gaudebit." Galf. Mon. vii. 3.

H. Hunt. 222 a.

filius, Henricus nomine, homo regis Stephani effectus est, deditque ei rex Stephanus burgum quod vocatur Huntundona in augmentum. Rediens autem inde rex in Quadragesima, tenuit curiam suam apud Lundoniam in solemnitate Paschali, cum tanta claritate gloriæ, quod ea nunquam fuerit splendidior in Anglia, multitudine, magnitudine, auro, argento, gemmis, vestibus, omnimoda dapsilitate. Ad Rogationes vero laborante de lethargia rege, divulgatum est eum mortuum esse. Quod audiens Hugo Bigod in castellum Nortwiz subintravit, nec reddere voluit, nisi ipsi regi advenienti, valde tamen invitus. Jam ergo cœpit rabies prædicta Normannorum perjurio et proditione pullulare. Cepit igitur rex [castellum] de Hakentun,[1] cujus dominus Robertus quidam proditor a rege descierat. Inde obsedit urbem Excestre, quam tenebat Baldewinus de Redwers contra eum, ibique diu morando, machinas multas construendo multum thesauri sui absumpsit. Sero autem[2] redditum est ei castellum, et vindictam non exercuit in proditores suos, pessimo usus consilio; si enim eam tunc exercuisset, postea contra eum tot castella retenta non fuissent.[3] Inde igitur rex perrexit in insulam Vectæ, et abstulit eam Baldewino de Redwers, de quo prædiximus, et exulavit eum ab Anglia. Elatus igitur rex his prospere gestis, venit venatum apud Bramtun,[4] quæ abest milliario ab Huntedun, et ibi placitavit de forestis procerum suorum, id est de sylvis et venationibus, et fregit votum et pactum Deo et populo.

A.D. 1136. David retains Carlisle as fief, for which his son does homage.

Hugh Bigod holds Norwich against the king.

Stephen takes Exeter and the Isle of Wight.

He holds pleas of the forests, against his oath.

Secundus annus regni regis Stephani.

Anno gratia M°C°XXX°VII°., qui est annus secundus regni regis Stephani, ipse rex Stephanus[5] in Quadragesima transfretavit in Normanniam. Transiit autem Alexander Lincolniensis præsul,[6] et multi proceres cum eo. Ubi rex bellicis altercationibus assolitus, omnia quæ incepit luculenter perfecit, hostium circumventus repulit, hostilia castella depulit, egregie inter summos splenduit. Concordiam cum rege

A.D. 1137. Stephen invades Normandy.

---

1 *Hakentun*] castellum de Haketun, a. b.; Bathentune, H.H. and Gestæ Stephani.

2 *autem*] tamen, a. b.

3 *fuissent*] essent, a. b.

4 *Bramtun*] Bramtoniam, a. b.

5 *Anno . . . Stephanus*] Stephanus rex anno II°, a. b.

6 *præsul*] episcopus vel præsul, a. b.

A.D. 1137. Francorum composuit, et Eustachius filius ejus homo regis Francorum effectus est de Normannia, quæ Francorum adjacet imperio. Quod videns consul Andegavensis, qui supremus[1] hostis ejus erat, qui nimirum filiam regis Henrici duxerat, quæ imperatrix Alemanniæ fuerat, et sacramenta de regno Angliæ acceperat; unde et Angliam calumniabantur sponsus et sponsa: cepit tamen inducias cum rege Stephano. Videbat enim se ad præsens regias vires non posse perfringere, tam pro multitudine probitatis, quam pecuniæ, quæ adhuc ex abundantia thesauri regis defuncti supererat. Cunctis igitur prospere gestis, in ipso vestibulo Natalis Domini[2] rex in Angliam clarus rediit. Eodem anno Lodowicus rex Francorum grossus obiit, cui successit Lodowicus filius ejus.[3] Hi ergo duo anni Stephano regi prosperrimi fuerunt; tertius vero de quo dicemus, mediocris et intercisus, duo vero ultimi exitiales, et prærupti.

H. Hunt. 222 a.

Geoffrey of Anjou gives way before him.

This was the period of his good fortune.

Tertius annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1138. Anno gratiæ M°C°XXX°VIII°., qui erat annus tertius regni regis Stephani, rex Stephanus[4] in ipso ingressu Angliæ provolavit ad Bedefordiam, et in vigilia Natalis Domini et in toto Natali obsedit eam. Quod etiam multis displicuisse Deo visum est, quia solemnitatem solemnitatum parvi vel nihili pendebat. Eodem anno Petrus de Leues antipapa obiit.[5] Reddita autem regi Stephano[6] Bedefordia, ipse statim[7] promovit exercitum suum in Scotiam. Rex namque Scottorum David, qui sacramentum fecerat filiæ regis Henrici, quasi sub velamento sanctitatis per suos exercitus execrabiliter egit. Mulieres enim[8] gravidas findebant, et fœtus anticipatos abstrahebant, pueros super acumina lancearum jactabant, presbyteros super altaria detruncabant, crucifixorum capita abscisa super cæsorum corpora ponebant: mortuorum vero capita mutuantes super crucifixa reponebant. Quæcunque igitur Scotti attingebant, omnia erant plena horroris, plena immanitatis. Aderat clamor mulierum, ululatus[9] senum, morientium gemitus,

Stephen takes Bedford, and marches towards Scotland.

Cruelties of the Scots.

[1] *supremus*] summus, a. b.
[2] *Domini*] om. a. b.
[3] *Eodem . . . ejus*] om. a. b., H.H.
[4] *Anno . . . Stephanus*] Stephanus rex impiger tertio anno, a. b.
[5] *Eodem . . . obiit*] om. a. b., H.H.
[6] *regi Stephano*] ei, a. b.
[7] *ipse statim*] om. a. b., H.H.
[8] *enim*] om. b.
[9] *ululatus*] ejulatus, a. b., H.H.

H. Hunt. 222 a. juvenum[1] desperatio. Rex igitur Stephanus insurgens combussit et destruxit australes partes David regis, ipso quidem David non audente ei congredi. Post Pascha vero exarsit rabies nefanda proditorum. Quidam namque proditorum nomine Talebot tenuit contra regem Herefordiam in Wales, quod tamen rex per obsidionem in suam recepit. Robertus consul, filius Henrici regis nothus, tenuit contra eum fortissimum castellum, quod dicitur Bristoue, et aliud quod vocatur Slede. Willelmus Luvel tenuit castellum de Kari, Paganellus tenuit[2] castellum de Ludelaue; Willelmus de Moun tenuit[2] castellum de Dunestor; Robertus de Nicole tenuit[2] castellum de Waram; Eustachius filius Johannis, luscus et proditor nequam, tenuit[2] castellum de Maltona;[3] Willelmus filius Alani tenuit castellum de Salopesbiri, quod rex quidem cepit armis, captorumque nonnullos suspendit. H. Hunt. 222 b. Quod audiens Walkelinus, qui tenebat castellum de Dovre,[4] reginæ se obsidenti reddidit illud. Occupato igitur rege Stephano[5] circa partes australes Angliæ, David Scottorum rex innumerabilem exercitum promovit in Angliam. Contra quem proceres Borealis Angliæ, cum Willelmo[6] insigni comite Albemarliæ,[7] admonitione et jussu Turstini Eboracensis archiepiscopi restiterunt, fixo Standard, id est regio insigni, apud Alvertun in Cutune mor.[8] Cum autem morbi causa non posset archiepiscopus Eboracensis[9] interesse pugnæ, misit loco sui Radulfum episcopum Orcadum. Qui stans in acie media, loco eminenti, hujusmodi oratione usus est.

A.D. 1138. Stephen ravages the south of Scotland.

General rebellion in England, headed by Robert earl of Gloucester.

David king of Scots invades England.

Battle of the Standard on Cowton Moor.

Oratio Radulfi episcopi Orcadum.

Speech of the bishop of Orkney.

"Proceres Angliæ, clarissimi Normannigenæ, meminisse "vestri vos nominis et generis præliaturos decet, perpendite "qui et contra quos et ubi bellum geratis; vobis enim "impune nemo resistit. Audax Francia vos experta de-"lituit, ferax Anglia vobis capta succubuit, dives Apulia "vos sortita refloruit, Jerusalem famosa et insignis An-"tiochia se vobis utraque supposuit. Nunc autem Scotia "vobis rite subjecta repellere conatur; inermem præferens "temeritatem; rixæ quam pugnæ aptior. In quibus quidem

---

1 *juvenum*] viventium, a. b., H.H.
2 *tenuit*] om. a. b.
3 *Maltona*] Maltune, a. b., Meltune, H.H.
4 *Doure*] Dovere, a. b.
5 *Stephano*] om. a. b.
6 *Willelmo*] om. a. b.
7 *Albemarliæ*] Albemaræ, a. b.
8 *in Cutune mor*] om. a. b.
9 *Eboracensis*] om. a. b.

A.D. 1138. Speech of the bishop of Orkney, before the battle of the Standard.

H. Hunt. 222 b.

"nulla vel rei militaris scientia, vel præliandi peritia, vel "moderandi gratia. Nullus igitur verendi locus, sed potius "verecundiæ; quod hi, quos semper in patria sua petivimus "et vicimus, in patriam nostram ritu transverso, ebrii de-"mentesque convolarunt. Quod tamen vobis ego præsul, et "archipræsulis vestri loco situs, divina providentia factum "denuncio: ut ii qui in hac patria templa Dei violaverunt, "altaria cruentaverunt, presbyteros occiderunt, nec pueris nec "prægnantibus pepercerunt, in eadem condignas sui facinoris "luant pœnas. Quod justissimum Suæ dispositionis arbitrium "per manus vestras hodie perficiet Deus. Attollite igitur "animos, viri elegantes, et adversus hostem nequissimum, "freti virtute patriæ, immo Dei præsentia, exsurgite. Neque "vos temeritas eorum moveat, cum illos tot nostræ virtutis "insignia non deterreant. Illi nesciunt armari se in bello; "vos in pace bellis exercemini, ut in bello casus belli dubios "non sentiatis. Tegite ergo vobis galea caput, lorica pec-"tus, ocreis crura, totumque clypeo corpus: ubi feriat "hostis non invenit quem ferro septum circumspicit. Pro-"cedentes igitur adversus inermes ac nudos quid dubi-"tamus? An numerum? Sed non tam numerus multorum "quam virtus paucorum efficit bellum. Multitudo enim "disciplinæ insolens, ipsa sibi est impedimento, in prosperis "ad victoriam,[1] in adversis ad fugam. Præterea majores "vestri multos pauci sæpe vicerunt; quid ergo confert[2] "vobis gloria parentelæ, exercitatio solemnis, disciplina "militaris, nisi multos pauciores vincatis. Sed jam finem "dicendi suadet hostis, inordinate proruens, et, quod animo "valde meo placet, disperse confluens. Nos igitur archipræ-"sulis vestri loco, qui hodie commissa in Domini domum, in "Domini sacerdotes, et in Domini gregem pusillum vindica-"turi estis, si quis vestrum prælians occubuerit, absolvimus "eum ab omni pœna peccati in nomine Patris, Cujus creatu-"ras fœde et horribiliter destruxerunt, et Filii, Cujus altaria "maculaverunt, et Spiritus Sancti, a Quo sublimatos insane "ceciderunt."

Cries of the armies.

Respondit omnis populus Anglorum, et resonuerunt montes et colles, "Amen, Amen." Exclamavitque simul exercitus Scottorum insigne patrium, et ascendit clamor usque in cœlum, "Albani, Albani;" et mox conserta pugna totus clamor absorptus est horrendo fragore, et ictuum immanitate.

---

[1] *victoriam*] injuriam, A.

[2] *confert*] conferret, a. b.; conferet, H.II.

Principium pugnæ.

A.D. 1138.

H. Hunt. 222 b.

Description of the battle

Dum acies Lodonensium, qui gloriam primi ictus a rege Scottorum invito[1] præripuerant, amentatis missilibus et lanceis longissimis super acies equitum Anglorum[2] loricatas percutiunt, quasi muro ferreo offendentes, impenetrabiles invenerunt. Viri vero sagittarii equitibus immixti, obnubilantes eos, nimirum inermes, penetrabant. Tota namque gens Normannorum et Anglorum in una acie circum Standard conglobata persistebant immobiles. Percusso igitur sagitta summo duce Lodonensium, corruit ipse, et tota gens eorum in fugam conversa est. Offensus namque Deus excelsus erat[3] eis, et omnis virtus eorum tanquam aranearum contextio demolita est. Quod videns acies maxima Scottorum, quæ ex alia parte acerrime pugnabat, expavit animo, et fugæ indulsit. Regalis autem acies, quam ex pluribus gentibus David rex constituerat, simul ut hoc vidit, cœperunt primum singillatim, postea catervatim aufugere, rege jam fere[4] solo persistente. Quod amici regis videntes coegerunt eum sonipede arrepto terga dare. Filius autem regis Henricus[5] strenuissimus, non attendens ad ea[6] quæ fieri a suis videbat, soli gloriæ et virtuti inhians, fugientibus reliquis, fortissime assilivit aciem hostium, et miro impetu percussit. Sola namque acies ejus equis residebat, ex Anglis videlicet et Normannis composita, qui patris in familia conversabantur: equites[7] autem nulla ratione diu persistere potuerunt contra milites loricatos pede persistentes, et immobiliter coacervatos, sed lanceis confractis, et equis vulneratis, aufugere compulsi sunt. Et multa quidem millia Scottorum in eodem campo fama refert occisa, exceptis illis[8] qui in segetibus et in sylvis inventi sunt perempti. Angli itaque et Normanni,[9] minimo sanguine fuso feliciter triumpharunt. Hujus igitur pugnæ duces fuerunt prædictus Radulfus episcopus Orcadum, et[10] insignis, et regio sanguine nec non et militari probitate clarus Willelmus consul[11] Albe-

Flight of the Scots.

David is compelled to fly; his son Henry continues the struggle.

H. Hunt. 223 a.

Great slaughter of the Scots.

---

[1] *invito*] inviti, a. b.

[2] *Anglorum*] nostrorum, a. b., H.H.

[3] *erat*] in, ins. b., H.H.

[4] *fere*] pene, a. b., H.H.

[5] *Henricus*] om. a. b.

[6] *ea*] hæc, a. b.

[7] *equites*] equitantes, a. b.

[8] *illis*] eis, a. b.

[9] *Angli . . . Normanni*] Nostri vero, a. b.

[10] *Hujus . . . Orcadum, et*] Hujus pugnæ dux fuit, a. b., H.H.

[11] *consul*] comes, b.

A.D. 1138. August. Names of the English leaders.

marliæ,[1] et Walterus Espec procerum egregius, et Willelmus Piperellus de Notingham, et Hilbertus[2] de Laci, cujus frater ibi solus ex omnibus equitibus occisus est, cujus eventus belli cum regi Stephano nunciatus esset, ipse et omnes qui aderant summas gratias Deo exsolverunt. Hoc bellum mense Augusto factum est. At in Adventu Domini Albricus Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus, et Hostiensis episcopus, concilium tenuit Lundoniis,[3] et ibidem, annuente rege Stephano, Tedbaldus abbas Beccensis Cantuariensis archiepiscopus effectus est. H. Hunt. 223 a.

Theobald made archbishop of Canterbury.

Quartus annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1139. Stephen takes Sled; invades Scotland; and besieges Ludlow on his return.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XXX°IX°., qui est annus quartus regni regis Stephani, idem[4] rex Stephanus post Natale castellum de Slede cepit obsidione. Perrexit autem post hæc in Scotiam, ubi cum ferro et igne quæque vastaret, rex Scotiæ cum eo concordari coactus est. Henricum igitur filium regis Scottorum secum ducens in Angliam obsedit Ludelawe, ubi idem Henricus unco ferreo equo abstractus pene captus est, sed ipse rex eum ab hostibus splendide retraxit. Inde re imperfecta Oxenefordiam petiit, ubi res infamia notabilis, et ab omni humana consuetudine remota comparuit. Rex namque Rogerum episcopum Salesbiriensem, et Alexandrum Lincolniensem, cum pacifice suscepisset, violenter in curia sua cepit, nihil justitiæ recusantes, et justitiæ[5] æquitatem devotissime poscentes. Ponens igitur ibidem Alexandrum episcopum in carcere, episcopum Salesbiriensem secum duxit ad castellum ejusdem, quod vocatur Divisæ, quo non erat aliud splendidius intra fines Europæ. Angarians igitur eum jejunii tormento, et filii ejus, qui cancellarius[6] fuerat regius, laqueo collum circumnectens ut suspenderetur; tali modo castellum sibi extorsit, male recordans bonorum, quæ in introitu regni sui præ omnibus aliis ei congesserat: talem ei devotionis suæ retributionem exhibuit: similiter cepit Siresburnam, quod parum Divisis decore cedebat. Accipiensque thesauros episcopi comparavit inde Constantiam sororem Lodowici regis Francorum ad opus filii sui Eustacii. Rex inde rediens Alexandrum episcopum, quem dimiserat in captione apud Oxenefordiam, duxit secum ad New-

Council of Oxford.

Seizure of the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln.

Surrender of Sherborn and Devizes.

---

[1] *Albemarliæ*] de Albamarla, b., H.H.

[2] *Hilbertus*] Ilbertus, a. b.

[3] *Lundoniis*] apud Lundoniam, a. b.

[4] *Anno . . . idem*] Rex, a. b.

[5] *sed et justitiæ*] et judicii, a. b., H.H.

[6] *cancellarius*] Roger Pauper.

H. Hunt. 223 a.

ercam. Ibi quidem construxerat idem episcopus castellum super flumen Trente fortissimum et florentissimum. Quo cum venisset, indixit rex episcopo jejunium non legitimum, astruens fide data, eum omni cibo cariturum, donec[1] redderetur castellum. Vix igitur episcopus lacrymis et precibus a suis obtinere potuit, ut castrum suum a jure suo in extraneorum custodiam deponerent; similiter redditum est aliud castellum ejus quod vocatur Slaford, neque forma neque situ a prædicto secundum. Nec longe post cum Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, frater regis, jam[2] legatus Romanæ ecclesiæ, concilium apud Wintoniam teneret, ipse Tedbaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et omnes episcopi qui aderant, ad pedes regios devoluti sunt, devotissima devotione[3] poscentes, ut episcopis prædictis possessiones suas redderet, et ipsi omnia, quæ in eis rex commiserat,[4] benigne condonarent. Sed rex[5] pravorum consilio tot et tantorum tam venerandam prosternationem despiciens, nihil eos impetrare permisit. Ob quod patefacta est domus regis Stephani finitimæ condemnationi. Statim namque filia regis Henrici, quæ fuerat Romanorum[6] imperatrix, cui Anglia juramento fuerat addicata, venit in Angliam; quam cum rex Stephanus obsedisset apud Arundel, vel perfida credens consilia, vel quia castrum videbat inexpugnabile, ire permisit ad Bristouwe. Eodem anno Rogerus Salesberiensis[7] episcopus tam mœrore quam senio confectus demarcuit, et vitam finivit. Stupeant igitur omnes lecturi tantam tamque subitam rerum permutationem! Viro namque præfato tot a juventutis exordio bona contigerant, et sine interpolatione in cumulum creverant, ut omnes dicerent[8] fortunam suæ volubilitatis[9] oblitam. Nec aliquibus adversis in tota vita sua potuit affici, donec tantæ miseriæ cumulus simul confluens in extremis eum præfocavit. Nullus igitur de felicitatis assiduitate confidat, nullus de fortunæ stabilitate præsumat, nullus in rota volubili sedem confixam diu superesse contendat.

A.D. 1139. His treatment of the bishop of Lincoln.

Intercession of the bishops.

The empress Matilda lands.

Death of Roger bishop of Salisbury.

Quintus annus regni regis Stephani.

H. Hunt. 223 b.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°., qui erat annus quintus regni regis Stephani, idem[10] rex Stephanus post Natale fugavit

A.D. 1140. Disgrace of Nigel bishop of Ely.

[1] *donec*] ei, ins. a. b.

[2] *jam*] Henry's legation began March 1, 1139.

[3] *devotione*] supplicatione, a. b.

[4] *et . . . commiserat*] ut omnia in eo commissa, regi, a. b., H.H.

[5] *rex*] om. b.

[6] *Romanorum*] Alemanniæ, a. b.

[7] *Salesberiensis*] prædictus, a. b.

[8] *dicerent*] diceremus, a. b., H.H.

[9] *volubilitatis*] nobilitatis, a. b.

[10] *Anno . . . . idem*] Quinto anno regni sui, a. b., H.H.

A.D. 1140. Ruin of the kingdom.

Nigellum episcopum Eliensem de episcopatu suo; quia nepos prædicti episcopi Salesberiensis erat, a quo odii incendium[1] in progeniem ejus traxerat. Ubi autem ad Natale, vel ad Pascha fuerit, dicere non attinet. Jam quippe curiæ solemnes et ornatus regii schematis ab antiqua serie descendens prorsus evanuerant,[2] ingens thesauri copia jam deperierat,[3] pax in regno nulla, cædibus, incendiis, rapinis omnia exterminabantur; clamor et luctus et horror undique[4] tonabat, et terrebat undique violenta prædatio cum tumultu, unde sic dictum est elegiace. H. Hunt. 223 b.

Quis mihi det fontem, quid enim potius lacrymarum,
Et lacrymem[5] patriæ gesta nefanda meæ?
Advenit caligo Stygis dimissa profundo,
Quæ regni faciem conglomerata tegit.
Ecce furor, fremitus, incendia, furta, rapinæ,
Cædes,[6] nulla fides consociata ruunt.
Jam furantur opes, et opum dominos, et in ipsis
Sopitos castris, O nova furta! premunt.
Perjurare, fidem mentiri, nobile factum;
Prodere vel dominos actio digna viris.
Concio prædonum cimiteria, templa refringit,
Jamque sacerdotes (res miseranda) rapit.
Detorquent unctos Domini, simul et mulieres,
Proh pudor! ut redimant excruciare student.
Affluit ergo fames, consumpta carne, gementes
Exhalant animas ossa cutisque vagas.
Quis[7] tantos sepelire queat cœtus morientum
Ecce Stygis facies, consimilisque lues.

Quarrels on the election of a new archbishop of York.

Eodem anno rex Stephanus dedit Northimbriam Henrico filio David regis Scottorum. Eodem anno obiit Turstinus archiepiscopus Eboracensis, quo defuncto statim fit schisma in ecclesia Eboracensi de electione pontificis. Quidam enim canonicorum elegerunt Willelmum Eboracensis ecclesiæ thesaurarium, quem Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus, consecravit. Cæteri vero canonicorum elegerunt sibi archiepiscopum Henricum Murdac, qui prævaluit, et archiepi-

[1] *incendium*] incentivum, a. b., H.H.

[2] *evanuerant*] evanuaverant, b., H.H.; evacuaverant, A.B.

[3] *deperierat*] perierat, a. b.

[4] *undique*] ubique, a. b., H.H.

[5] *lacrymem*] lacrymer, a. b., H.H.

[6] *Cædes*] Clades, b.

[7] *Quis*] Qui, a. b.

H. Hunt. 223 b.

scopatum tenuit, quamdiu vixit. Et Willelmus archiepiscopus remansit cum Henrico episcopo Wintoniensi, qui eum consecraverat, usque ad obitum Henrici Murdac.[1] A.D. 114[0]

Sextus annus regni regis Stephani.

Anno gratiæ MºCºXLºIº., qui erat annus sextus regni regis Stephani, idem rex[2] obsedit infra Natale civitatem Lincolniæ.[3] Cujus munitiones Rannulfus comes Cestrensis fraudulenter ceperat, seditque ibi rex[4] usque ad Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ. Tunc quippe comes Rannulfus[5] adduxit secum Robertum filium regis Henrici, generum ipsius, et proceres alios validissimos, ad obsidionem regis dissolvendam; cum autem consul[6] audacissimus paludem pene intransibilem vix transisset, in ipsa die aciebus dispositis regem bello aggressus est. Ipse cum suis primam aciem construxerat, secundam illi, quos Stephanus rex exhæreditaverat: tertiam Robertus dux magnus cum suis: a latere vero erat turma Walensium, magis audacia quam armis instructa. Tunc consul Cestrensis, vir bellicosus et armis insignibus coruscans, Robertum consulem proceresque alios sic alloquitur.

A.D. 114[1] Stephen besieges Lincoln, which was in the han[d] of the ear[l] of Chester.

The earls [of] Chester a[nd] Glouceste[r] try to rais[e] the siege.

Oratio Ranulfi consulis Cestriæ contra regem Stephanum.

"Gratias tibi multas, dux invictissime, vobisque proceres, "et commilitones mei, cum summa devotione persolvo, qui "usque ad vitæ periculum amoris effectum mihi magnanimiter "exhibuistis. Cum igitur sim vobis causa periculi, dignum "est ut periculo me prius ingeram: et infidissimi regis, qui "datis induciis pacem fregit, aciem prius illidam. Ego qui"dem tam de regis injustitia, quam de mea confidens virtute, "jamjam regalem cuneum diffindam. Gladio mihi viam per "hostes medios parabo. Vestræ virtutis est sequi præeuntem "et imitari percutientem. Jam videor animo mihi præsago "regias acies transvolare, proceres pedibus conculcare, regem "ipsum gladio transverberare."

Speech of the earl o[f] Chester.

[1] *Eodem anno . . . Murdac*] om. a. b., H.H.; Murdac died in 1153.

[2] *Anno . . . rex*] Sexto anno rex Stephanus, a. b.

[3] *Lincolniæ*] Lincolliæ, a. b.

[4] *rex*] om. a. b.

[5] *Rannulfus*] prædictus, ins. a. b.

[6] *consul*] comes, b.

A.D. 1141.

Dux Robertus respondit in hunc modum Rannulfo comiti Cestriæ.

Answer of the earl of Gloucester.

Dixerat. Dux autem Robertus sic juveni respondit, et in loco stans eminenti hujuscemodi oratione usus est. "Non in- H. Hunt. 223 b.
"dignum est quod ictus primi dignitatem poscis tam ex nobi-
"litate quam virtute, qua præcellis. Si tamen de nobilitate
"contendas, ego filius regis nobilissimi, et nepos regis summi,
"non antecellor. Si de virtute: hic multi sunt electissimi,
"quibus nemo viventium probitate potest præferri. Sed longe
"alia me movet ratio. Rex enim contra sacramenta, quæ
"sorori meæ fecit, regnum crudeliter usurpavit, et omnia
"conturbans, multis militibus causa necis exstitit, et exemplo
"sui, nihil juris habentibus terras distribuit, jure possidentibus
"diripuit; ab ipsis nequiter dehæredatis, summo Judice Deo
"cooperante, et vindictam subministrante, prius aggrediendus
"est. Respiciet, Qui judicat populos in æquitate, de excelso H. Hunt. 224 a.
"cœlorum habitaculo, et injustum juste appetentes[1] in hac
"tanta necessitate nequaquam relinquet. Unum vero est,
"proceres fortissimi, militesque universi, quod vobis animo
"firmiter ingerere volo, quod per paludes, quas vix pertrans-
"istis, nulla potest esse fugientibus reversio. Hic igitur vel
"vincendum vel occumbendum: spes fugæ nulla. Hoc solum
"superest, ut in urbem gladiis viam paretis. Si quid autem
"veri conjecturat animus mihi, et hoc, quod fugere nusquam[2]
"potestis, illud est, quod hodie, Deo vobis adjuvante, victo-
"riam præstabit. Necesse est enim, ut ad probitatem confugiat,
"cui non potest esse aliud diffugium. Cives autem Lincol-
"nienses, qui stant urbi suæ proximi, in impetus gravedine
"animis liquescentibus ad domos suas transfugere victoriosi
"videbitis. Veruntamen contra quos bellum geratis attendite.
"Alanus Britonum dux contra vos, immo contra Deum, procedit
"armatus; vir nefandus et omnium scelerum genere pollutus;
"malitia parem nescius, cui nunquam nocendi defuit affectus,
"cui se non esse crudelitate incomparabilem, solum et supre-
"mum videtur opprobrium. Procedit quoque contra vos comes
"Mellensis,[3] doli callidus, fallendi artifex, cui innata est nequitia
"incorde, in ore fallacia, in opere pigritia; gloriosus corde,
"magnanimus ore, pusillanimis opere; ad congrediendum
"ultimus ad digrediendum primus; tardus ad pugnam, velox ad
"fugam. Procedit contra vos Hugo[4] consul, cui parum visum[5]

He enumerates the leaders of the enemy: the counts of Brittany, Meulan, Norfolk,

---

[1] *appetentes*] appetens, a. b.

[2] *nusquam*] nunquam, a. b.

[3] *comes Mellensis*] Waleran II. de Beaumont.

[4] *Hugo*] Bigot, earl of Norfolk.

[5] *visum*] justum, a. b.

H. Hunt. 224 a.

" est se contra imperatricem perjurum fuisse, nisi et secundo " patentissime perjuraret, affirmans regem Henricum Stephano " regnum concessisse, et filiam suam abdicasse, qui nimirum " fallaciam virtutem credit, et elegantiæ perjurium ducit. Pro- " cedit consul de Albemarle,[1] vir in crimine singularis constan- " tiæ, ad audiendum volubilis, ad relinquendum immobilis: " quem sponsa sua causa spurcitiæ intolerabilis fugitiva re- " liquit. Procedit consul ille, qui consuli prædicto sponsam ab- " ripuit, adulter patentissimus, et excellenter impurus, Baccho " devotus, Marti ignotus, vino redolens, bellis insolens. Procedit " Symon comes Hamtuniensis, cujus actus sola locutio, cujus " datus sola promissio, qui cum dicit fecit, cum promittit dedit. " Procedunt cæteri[2] proceres regi consimiles, latrociniis as- " sueti, rapinis delibuti, homicidiis saginati, omnes tandem " perjurio contaminati. Vos igitur, viri fortissimi, quos mag- " nus rex Henricus erexit, iste dejecit; ille instruxit, iste de- " struxit; erigite animos, et de virtutibus vestris, imo de Dei " justitia confisi, vindictam vobis a Deo oblatam de facinorosis " præsumite, et gloriam immarcescibilem posteris vestris præ- " figite. At jam si vobis idem animus est ad hoc Dei judicium " perpetrandum, progressionem vovete, fugam abjurate, erec- " tis in cœlum unanimiter dextris." Vix finierat, et omnes extensis in cœlum[3] manibus terribili clamore fugam abjuraverunt, et se in armis colligentes in hostes splendide progrediuntur.

A.D. 1141. Aumâle, Warenne (Northampton, and others.

De signis ruinæ regis Stephani.

Ill omens on the side of Stephen.

Rex interea Stephanus curarum magnis exæstuans fluctibus missam in tanta solemnitate audierat. Cum autem de more cereum rege dignum Deo offerens manibus Alexandri episcopi imponeret, confractus est. Hoc fuit regi signum contritionis. Cecidit etiam super altare pixis, cui Corpus Domini inerat, abrupto vinculo, præsente episcopo. Hoc fuit signum regi ruinæ. Deinde rex strenuissimus egreditur, aciesque cum securitate summa bello disponit:[4] ipse pedes omnem circa se multitudinem loricatorum, equis abductis, strictissime collocavit. Consules cum suis in duabus aciebus in equis pugnare instituit. Sed equestres acies illæ admodum parvæ comparuerunt.[5] Paucos enim secum, fictos tamen,[6] consules adduxe-

He prepares for battle.

---

[1] *Albemarle*] William, count of Aumale and earl of Holderness.

[2] *cæteri*] om. b.

[3] *cœlum*] cœlis, b.

[4] *disponit*] disposuit, a. b.

[5] *comparuerunt*] comparaverunt, a. b.

[6] *fictos tamen*] ficti et factiosi, a. b., H.H.

A.D. 1141. rant. Acies autem regalis maxima erat uno tantum, scilicet ipsius regis insignita vexillo. Tunc quia rex Stephanus festiva carebat voce, Baldewino, magnæ nobilitatis viro et militi fortissimo, sermo exhortatorius ad universum cœtum injunctus est. Qui loco stans excelso, omnium oculis in eum erectis, ubi attentionem eorum modesta taciturnitate stimulavit, sic exorsus est. H. H 224 a.

Oratio Baldewini ad populum pro rege Stephano.

Speech of Baldwin on Stephen's behalf.

"Omnes, qui aciebus dispositis conflicturi sunt, tria prævidisse oportet. Primum justitiam causæ; deinde militum copiam; postremo astantium probitatem. Justitiam causæ, ne periculum animæ incurratur; copiam militum, ne hostium numerositate comprimatur; probitatem astantium, ne numero confisa, debilibus tamen innixa subruatur. In omnibus his negotium quo tenemur expeditum videmus. Causæ namque nostræ justitia est; quod regi ea, quæ coram Deo vovimus, servantes, contra suos in eum perjuros in periculo mortis astamus. Numerus vero nobis in equitibus non inferior, in peditibus confertior. Probitatem vero tot consulum, tot procerum, militum quoque bellis semper assuetorum quis vocibus exequetur? Virtus autem ipsius regis infinita vobis loco perstabit millium. Cum igitur sit in medio vestrum dominus vester, unctus Domini, cui fidem devovistis, votum Deo persolvite; tanto donativum majus a Deo accepturi, quanto fidelius et constantius pro rege vestro fideles contra infideles,[1] legitimi contra perjuros pugnaveritis. Securi quin H. Hun 224 b. etiam et summa repleti confidentia, contra quos bellum geratis, perpendite. Roberti ducis vires notæ sunt. Ipse quidem de more multum minatur, parum operatur; ore leoninus, corde leporinus; clarus eloquentia, obscurus inertia. Consul autem Cestrensis vir audaciæ irrationabilis, promptus ad conspirandum, inconstans ad perficiendum; ad bellum impetuosus, periculi improvidus; altiora se machinans, impossibilibus anhelans; assiduorum paucos adducens, advenarum[2] dispersam multitudinem congregans; nihil habet quo[3] timeri debeat. Semper enim quicquid viriliter incepit, effœminate

[1] *infideles*] infidos, a. b.; fidi contra infidos, H.H.

[2] *advenarum*] convenarum, a. b., H.H.

[3] *quo*] quod, a. b., H.H.

H. Hunt. 224 b.

" reliquit. In omnibus quippe gestis suis infortunate rem " agens, vel in congressibus victus aufugit, vel si raro victor " extitit, majora victis detrimenta sustinuit. Walenses autem, " quos secum adduxit, soli despectui vobis sint, qui inermem " bello præferunt temeritatem, et arte et usu belli carentes, " quasi pecora decurrunt in venabula. Alii vero tam proceres " quam milites, transfugæ et gyrovagi, utinam numero plures " adducerentur, qui quanto numero plures, tanto effectu dete-" riores. Vos igitur consules et viri consulares meminisse " decet[1] vestræ virtutis et nobilitatis. Hodie probitates ves-" tras numerosas in cacumen florentissimum extollite, et " patrum imitatores filiis vestris splendorem sempiternum re-" linquite. Assiduitas itaque victoriarum incentivum sit vobis " confligendi.[2] Jam siquidem, nec fallor, eos advenisse pœnitet: " jam de fuga meditantur, si locorum asperitas admittat. Cum " igitur[3] nec illis confligere nec confugere sit possibile: quid " aliud fecerunt,[4] nisi quod vobis, Dei nutu, et se et impedi-" menta sua obtulerint? Equos itaque eorum et arma et " ipsorum corpora ditioni vestræ subjecta conspicitis. Exten-" dite ergo[5] animos vestros, et dextras inexpugnabiles, viri " bellicosi, ad diripiendum cum summo tripudio quod ipse " vobis attulit[6] Deus." Sed jam antequam orationis seriem terminaret, clamor adest hostium, clangor lituorum, equorum fremitus, terræ sonitus.

A.D. 114[...] Speech of Baldwin before th[e] battle of Lincoln.

Principium pugnæ.

Acies exhæredatorum, quæ præibat, percussit aciem regalem (in qua consul Alanus, et ille de Mellent, et Hugo consul de Estangle, et Simon comes, et ille de Warenna inerant) tanto impetu, quod statim quasi in ictu oculi dissipata est: et divisio eorum in tria devenit: alii namque eorum occisi sunt, alii capti, alii aufugerunt. Acies cui principabatur consul de Albemarle et Willelmus Yprensis percussit Walenses, qui a latere procedebant, et in fugam coegit. Sed acies consulis Cestrensis perculit cohortem prædicti consulis, et dissipata est in momento sicut acies prior. Fugerunt igitur omnes equites regis, et Willelmus Yprensis a Flandria oriundus, vir exconsularis et magnæ probitatis. Rex itaque Stephanus, cum acie sua pedestri, relictus est in medio hostium. Circuierunt igitur[7] undique

Descript[ion] of the ba[ttle].

Defeat o[f] the king['s] forces.

[1] *decet*] namque vos decet, a. b.

[2] *confligendi*] Assiduitas infortuniorum incentivum fiet illis fugiendi, ins. Savile, from a. b.

[3] *igitur*] ergo, a. b.

[4] *fecerunt*] egerunt, a. b., H.H.

[5] *ergo*] igitur, a. b.

[6] *attulit*] obtulit, a. b., H.H.

[7] *igitur*] om. a. b.

A.D. 1141. aciem regalem, et totam in circuitu expugnabant, sicut castellum solet assiliri. Tunc vero horrendam belli faciem videres, in omni circuitu regalis aciei ignem prosilientem ex galearum et gladiorum collisione, stridorem horrendum, clamorem terrificum; resonabant colles, resonabant urbis muralia. Impetu igitur equorum regalem turmam offendentes, quosdam cædebant, alios sternebant, nonnullos abstractos capiebant. Nulla eis quies, nulla respiratio datur,[1] nisi in ea parte qua rex fortissimus stabat, horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum ejus immanitatem. Quod ubi comes Cestrensis comperiit, regis invidens gloriæ cum omni pondere armatorum irruit in eum. Tunc apparuit vis regis fulminea, bipenni maxima cædens hos, diruens illos. Tunc novus oritur clamor, omnes in eum, ipse in omnes. Tandem regia bipennis ex ictuum frequentia confracta est. Ipse mox gladio abstracto dextra regis digno, rem mirabiliter agit, donec et gladius confractus est. Quod videns Willelmus de Kahannes,[2] miles validissimus, irruit in regem, et eum galea arripiens voce magna clamavit, "Huc omnes, huc, "regem teneo." H. Hunt. 224 b.

His bravery in resistance.

The earl of Chester attacks him.

Stephen is captured.

Rex Stephanus capitur.

Advolant omnes, et capitur rex; capitur et Baldewinus, qui orationem fecerat persuasoriam, multis confossus vulneribus, multis contritus ictibus, ubi egregie resistendo gloriam promeruit sempiternam. Capitur etiam Ricardus filius Ursi, qui in ictibus dandis et recipiendis clarus et gloriosus comparuit. Adhuc capto rege pugnabat acies regalis; nec enim circumventi fugere poterant, donec omnes vel capti vel cæsi sunt. Civitas ergo hostili lege direpta est, et rex in eam miserabiliter introductus est.

Rex Stephanus ducitur ad imperatricem.

He is brought to Matilda and imprisoned at Bristol.

Dei ergo [3] judicio circa regem peracto, ducitur ad imperatricem, et in turri de Bristoue captivus ponitur. Imperatrix ab omni gente Anglorum in dominam suscipitur, exceptis Kentensibus, ubi regina et Willelmus Yprensis contra eam pro viribus repugnabant. Suscepta prius est a Romano legato Wintoniensi episcopo, et mox a Lundoniensibus. Erecta est autem H. Hunt. 225 a.

---

[1] *datur*] dabatur, a. b., H.H.

[2] *de Kahannes*] de Kains, H.H.

[3] *ergo*] igitur, a. b., H.H.

H. Hunt. 225 a.

in superbiam intolerabilem, quia suis incerta belli prosperassent, et omnium fere corda a se alienavit. Igitur sive subdolorum instinctu, sive Dei nutu, expulsa est a Lundonia. Irritata igitur muliebri angore regem unctum Domini in compedibus poni jussit. Post dies autem, cum avunculo rege Scottorum, et fratre suo Rodberto, viribus coactis veniens obsedit turrim Wintoniensis[1] episcopi. Episcopus autem misit pro regina et Willelmo Yprensi, et pro universis fere proceribus Angliæ. Factus est igitur exercitus utrinque magnus. Dimicabant quotidie non congressibus acierum, sed militarium anfractuum circuitionibus. Non igitur sic in belli cæcitate confundebantur gesta, sed patebat cujusque probitas: et gloria pro meritis aderat; ut mora illa probis omnibus voluptuosa videretur in illustrium virorum splendoribus excelsis. Venit tandem exercitus Lundoniensis, et aucti numerose, qui contra imperatricem certabant, fugere eam compulerunt.

A.D. 1141. Pride of the empress; she attacks the bishop of Winchester.

Dux Robertus frater imperatricis capitur.

Capti sunt multi in fuga; captus est etiam Robertus frater imperatricis, in cujus turri rex captivus erat, cujus sola captione rex liberari poterat. Absolutus est uterque.

The earl of Gloucester is taken prisoner.

Rex Stephanus a captione liberatus est.

Sic igitur rex Dei justitia miserabiliter captus, Dei misericordia miserabiliter[2] liberatus est, et ab Anglorum proceribus magno susceptus gaudio.

Release of the king.

Chr. Mailr. 166.

Eodem anno Albericus de Ver occisus est Lundoniis seditione civium. Eodem anno obiit Gaufridus Dunelmensis episcopus, cui successit in episcopatu Willelmus de Sancta Barbara Eboracensis ecclesiæ decanus, quem Henricus episcopus Wintoniensis Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus consecravit.[3]

William of S. Barbara bishop of Durham.

Septimus annus regni regis Stephani.

H. Hunt. 225 a.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°II°., qui erat annus septimus regni regis Stephani, idem rex[4] Stephanus construxit castrum apud Wintoniam.[5] Tunc superveniens multitudo nimia hostium

A.D. 1142. Stephen surprised at Winchester.

[1] *Wintoniensis*] Lundoniensis, H.H. (ed.)

[2] *miserabiliter*] misericorditer, B.; mirabiliter, a. b.

[3] *Eodem anno . . . consecravit*] om. a. b.

[4] *Anno . . . rex*] Septimo anno rex, a. b., H.H.

[5] *Wintoniam*] Wiltonam, a. b., H.H.

A.D. 1142. ex insperato, cum regii milites congressionibus bellicis incepissent, et non potuissent resistere, regem in fugam compulerunt. Capti sunt autem ex suis plerique; captus est etiam Willelmus Martel dapifer regis, qui pro redemptione sua dedit insigne castellum de Syreburne. Eodem anno rex obsedit imperatricem apud Oxenefordam, post festum Sancti Michaelis, usque ad Adventum Domini; et parum ante Natale fugit imperatrix per Tamensem glaciatam, circumamicta vestibus albis, reverberatione nivis et similitudine fallentibus oculos obsidentium; fugit ad castellum de Walingford,[1] et sic Oxeneford regi tandem est reddita. H. Hunt. 225 a.

Flight of the empress from Oxford.

Octavus annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1143. Anno gratiæ MCXLIII., qui erat annus octavus regni regis Stephani,[2] rex Stephanus interfuit concilio Lundoniæ in media Quadragesima; quod quia nullus honor vel clericis vel ecclesiæ Dei a raptoribus deferebatur, et æque capiebantur et redimebantur clerici ut laici, tenuit inde Wintoniensis episcopus, urbis Romanæ[3] legatus, concilium apud Lundoniam clericis pro tempore necessarium. In quo sancitum est, ne aliquis qui clerico violenter manus ingesserit, ab alio possit absolvi quam ab ipso papa, et in præsentia ipsius. Unde clericis aliquantulum serenitatis, vix tandem, illuxit. Eodem anno cepit rex Gaufridum de Mandavilla in curia sua apud Sanctum Albanum, magis secundum retributionem nequitiæ consulis quam secundum jus gentium; magis ex necessitate quam ex honestate. Nisi enim hoc egisset, perfidia consulis illius, quem de barone consulem fecerat, regno privatus fuisset. Igitur ut rex eum liberaret, reddidit[4] ei turrim Lundoniæ, et castellum de Walendene, et illud de Plaisseiz. Possessionibus igitur carens consul prædictus invasit abbatiam Sancti Benedicti de Rameseya, et monachis expulsis raptores immisit, et ecclesiam Dei speluncam fecit latronum. Erat autem summæ probitatis, sed summæ in Deum obstinationis; magnæ in mundanis diligentiæ. Ipso anno ante Natale Wintoniensis episcopus, et postea Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Romam petierunt de legatione acturi, mortuo jam Innocentio papa, cui successit Cœlestinus.

Council at London for the protection of the clergy.

Stephen seizes Geoffrey de Mandeville.

He is forced to surrender his castles, and seizes the abbey of Ramsey.

[1] *Walingford*] Walingeford, a. b.

[2] *Anno . . . Stephani*] Octavo anno, a. b., H.H.

[3] *Romanæ*] Romæ, b.

[4] *reddidit*] reddit, b.

Nonus annus regni regis Stephani.

H. Hunt. 225 a.

Anno gratiæ MºCºXLºIVº., qui fuit annus nonus regni regis Stephani,[1] rex Stephanus Lincolniam obsedit, ubi cum munitionem contra castellum quod Cestrensis consul vi obtinebat construeret operatores sui ab hostibus præfocati sunt fere octoginta. Itaque re imperfecta rex confusus abscessit. Anno autem ipso consul Gaufridus de Mandavilla regem validissime vexavit, et in omnibus valde gloriosus effulsit. Mense autem Augusti miraculum justitia Sua dignum virtus divina monstravit. Duos namque, qui monachis evulsis ecclesias Dei converterant in castella, similiter peccantes simili pœna mulctavit. Robertus namque Marmiun, vir bellicosus, hoc in ecclesia de Coventre perversus exegerat. Porro Gaufridus, ut diximus, in ecclesia Ramesiensi scelus idem patraverat. Insurgens igitur Robertus Marmium in hostes inter ingentes suorum cuneos, coram ipso monasterio solus interfectus est, et excommunicatus morte perenni depascitur. Similiter Gaufridus prædictus consul novus, inter acies suorum confertas, a quodam pedite vilissimo solus sagitta percussus est. Et ipse vulnus ridens, post aliquot dies tamen ex ipso vulnere excommunicatus occubuit. Ecce Dei laudabilis, et omnibus sæculis prædicanda, ejusdem sceleris eadem vindicta! Dum autem ecclesia illa pro castello teneretur, ebullivit sanguis a parietibus ecclesiæ et claustri adjacentis, indignationem divinam manifestans, sceleratorum exterminationem denuncians. Quod multi quidem viderunt, et ego [2] ipse meis oculis inspexi. Quia igitur improbi dicebant Deum dormire, excitatus est Deus, et in hoc signo, et in significato. Eodem quippe anno, et Ernulfus filius Gaufridi consulis, qui post mortem patris ecclesiam incastellatam retinebat, captus est, et per hoc exulatus; et princeps militum suorum in hospitio suo ab equo corruens, effuso cerebro exspiravit. Princeps autem peditum suorum, Reimerus nomine, cujus officium fuerat frangere ecclesias vel incendere, dum mare cum uxore sua transiret, ut multi perhibuerunt, navis immobilis facta est. Quod monstrum nautis stupentibus, sorte data rei causam inquirentibus, sors cecidit super Reimerum. Quod cum ille nimirum totis contradiceret viribus, secundo et tertio sors jacta in eum devenit. Positus igitur in scapha est, et uxor ejus, et pecunia scelestissime acquisita, et statim navis cursu velocissimo, ut prius fecerat, pelagus sulcat. Scapha vero cum nequissimis subita voragine circumducta in æternum absorpta est. Eodem anno Cœlestino papa defuncto Lucius substituitur.

A.D. 1144. Stephen fails in an attack on Lincoln.

H. Hunt. 225 b.

Death of Geoffrey de Mandeville at Ramsey

His son Arnulf is banished: and his followers fall into misfortune

[1] *Anno . . . Stephani*] Nono anno, b., H.H.

[2] *ego*] Henry of Huntingdon.

Decimus annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1145. Stephen attacks Farringdon and takes it.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°V°., qui fuit annus decimus regni regis Stephani,[1] rex Stephanus prius in agendis circa discessus [2] Hugonis Bigot occupatus fuit. Sed in æstate Robertus consul et omnis inimicorum regalium cœtus castellum construxerant apud Ferendunum, rex insignis viribus collectis advolat, et Lundoniensium terribilem et innumerosum adduxit exercitum. Assilientes igitur totis diebus castrum, dum Robertus consul et fautores sui copiosiores et majores non procul ab exercitu regis expectarent, laboriosissima probitate non sine magna sanguinis effusione ceperunt. Tunc demum regi fortuna cœpit in melius permutari, et in sublime protelari. Eodem anno Lucius papa obiit; cui successit Eugenius papa.[3] Eodem anno episcopus Lincolniensis Alexander iterum Romam petens honorifice susceptus est ab Eugenio papa novo, viro summa dignitate condigno. Cujus mens semper benigna, cujus discretio semper æqua, cujus facies semper non solum hilaris, sed etiam jocunda. Rediens autem secundo anno, ecclesiam Lincolniensem, quæ combustione deturbata [4] fuerat, miro artificio sic reformavit, ut pulchrior appareret quam cum primum nova facta fuerat.

H. Hunt. 225 b.

His fortune brightens.

The bishop of Lincoln visits Rome.

Annus undecimus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1146. Stephen seizes the earl of Chester at Northampton, and forces him to restore Lincoln.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°VI°., qui erat annus xi. regni regis Stephani,[5] rex Stephanus magnum congregans exercitum castellum construxit inexpugnabile, situm contra Walingeford, ubi Rannulfus comes Cestrensis, jam regi concordia conjunctus, cum magnis interfuit copiis. Dehinc vero consul ipse ad regis curiam cum pacifice venisset, apud Northamtunam, nihil tale metuentem, rex cepit, et in carcerem intrusit, donec redderet ei clarissimum Lincolniæ castellum, quod ab eo dolose ceperat, et cætera quæcunque fuerant ditionis suæ castella. Sic igitur consul ejectus carcere, in liberum restitutus est arbitrium.

---

[1] *Anno . . . Stephani*] Decimo anno, b., H.H.

[2] *discessus*] discursus, H.H.

[3] *Eodem . . . papa*] om. a. b., H.H.

[4] *deturbata*] deturpata, a. b., H.H.

[5] *Anno . . . Stephani*] Undecimo anno, a. b.

Chr. Mailros. 166. (ed. Fulman.) Eodem anno nobilis civitas Edissa Syriæ, quæ nunc Roaise vocatur, in nocte Nativitatis Domini proditione capitur a Saracenis, dum episcopus et consul de Sancto Ægidio Raimundus, et innumerabiles exercitus de universo regno, et populus vacarent divino officio, et ipsi a paganis detruncati sunt. In hac civitate beatus Thomas apostolus, olim ab India translatus, dicitur requiescere.[1] A.D. 1146 Edessa taken. (Dec. 1144.

Duodecimus annus regni regis Stephani.

H. Hunt. 226 a. Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°VII°., qui erat annus regni regis Stephani duodecimus, idem rex Stephanus ad Natale Domini in urbe Lincolniensi diademate regali insignitus est, quo regum nullus introire, prohibentibus quibusdam superstitiosis, ausus fuerat. Post discessum vero regis venit consul Cestrensis Lincolniam cum militaribus copiis, ut assiliret eam. Dux igitur ejus, vir fortis et invictissimus, in introitu portæ Borealis occisus est, et ipse consul pluribus amissis fugere compulsus est. Cives igitur Lincolnienses victoriosi, summo gaudio repleti, virgini virginum protectrici eorum laudes et gratias insigniter exsolverunt. Ad Pentecosten rex Franciæ Lodoveus et consul Flandrensis Theodericus, et consul de Sancto Ægidio, et innumerabiles exercitus de universo regno Francorum, et multi de gente Anglorum, crucibus assumptis iter Jerosolimitanum arripuerunt, ut paganos, qui ceperant urbem Rohais, expugnarent. Imperator vero Alemanniæ Conradus, majorem satis exercitum duxit, transiitque uterque exercitus per imperatorem Constantinopolis, qui eos postea prodidit. Mense Augusto profectus est Alexander episcopus Lincolniensis Altisiodorum ad Eugenium papam, qui prius Parisius, tunc ibi morabatur. Ipse quidem a papa honorifice susceptus est: sed ex intempestiva caloris nimietate seminarium languoris et mortis attulit in Angliam, et anno sequenti defunctus est, et successorem habuit Robertum de Chednei.[2]

A.D. 1147 Stephen crowned at Lincoln. The crusade of Lewis VI[I] and the Emperor Conrad. The bishop of Lincoln visits the pope at Auxerre.

XIII^{us}. annus regni regis Stephani.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°VIII°., qui erat annus XIII. regni[3] regis Stephani, exercitus imperatoris Alemanniæ et regis

A.D. 1148 Failure of the Crusade

[1] *Eodem . . . requiescere*] om. a. b.
[2] *Chedney*] Keidnæi, b.
[3] *Anno . . . regni*] Anno tertiodecimo, a. b.

A.D. 1148. Sins of the Franks in Palestine.

Francorum, qui summis ducibus illustrati cum summa incedebant superbia, ad nihilum devenerunt, quia Deus sprevit eos. Ascendit enim in conspectu Dei incontinentia eorum, quam exercebant in fornicationibus et in adulteriis manifestis, quod Deo multum displicuit; postremo in rapinis et in omni genere scelerum. Prius itaque[1] fame consternati, proditione imperatoris Constantinopolitani, postea ferro hostili defecerunt. Rex autem Franciæ et imperator Alemanniæ, cum paucissimis, prius Antiochiam, postea Jerosolimam ignominiose confugerunt. Tunc vero rex Franciæ, quasi aliquid acturus ad detrimentum famæ refocillandum, auxilio militum Templi quod est in Jerusalem, et viribus undique congestis, obsedit Damascum, sed nihil proficiens rediit in Galliam. Interea quidam exercitus navalis virorum non potentum, nec alicui magno duci innixi, nisi Deo Omnipotenti, quia humiliter profecti sunt, gratiam Dei meruerunt, et magnam probitatem ostenderunt. Civitatem namque, in Hyspania famosam, quæ vocatur Ulixisbona, et aliam quæ vocatur Almade, et regiones adjacentes, a multis pauci, Deo cooperante, bellantes obtinuerunt. Vere "Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat "gratiam." Exercitus enim Francorum regis et imperatoris splendidior et major fuerat quam ille qui prius Jerusalem conquisierat; et a paucissimis contriti sunt, et quasi telæ aranearum disterminati sunt et demoliti. His autem pauperibus, de quibus prædixi, nulla multitudo resistere poterat, sed quanto eis plures insurgebant, debiliores efficiebantur. Pars autem eorum maxima venerat ex Anglia.[2]

H. Hunt. 226 a.

Lewis besieges Damascus.

Capture of Lisbon. (1147.)

I. Pet. v. 5.

Geoffrey of Anjou invades Normandy.

Interim Gaufridus consul Andegavensis, maritus supradictæ imperatricis filiæ regis Henrici, intravit Normanniam cum magno exercitu, et debellavit eam, et obtinuit in ea multa castella et civitates munitas.

The Normans disaffected towards Stephen.

Proceres enim Normanniæ, memores sacramenti quod fecerant prædictæ imperatrici et hæredibus suis de Normannia, ex facili se convertebant ad servitia eorum. Eustacius namque, filius regis Stephani, qui dux erat Normanniæ, et Constantiam sororem Lodovei regis

---

[1] *itaque*] ita, a. b.

[2] *ex Anglia*] Here MSS. a. and b. end; and at this point the quotations from Henry of Huntingdon cease.

Franciæ in uxorem duxerat, jam obierat,[1] et rex Franciæ dederat Constantiam sororem suam Reimundo comiti de Sancto Ægidio in uxorem; et jam tanta[2] guerra accreverat regi Stephano in Anglia, quod non potuit intendere ad defensionem Normanniæ. Henricus autem filius Matildis imperatricis jam sexdecim annorum juvenis, nutritus in curia David regis Scottorum avi matris suæ, factus est miles[3] ab eodem rege David in civitate Carleoli, prius dato sacramento, quod si ipse rex Angliæ fieret, redderet ei Novum Castellum et totam Northimbriam, et permitteret illum et hæredes suos in pace sine calumnia in perpetuum possidere totam terram quæ est a fluvio Twede ad fluvium Tine. Deinde idem Henricus, per auxilium et consilium David regis Scottorum transfretavit in Normanniam, et receptus a proceribus Normanniæ factus est inde dux. A.D. 1148. Henry of Anjou is knighted by his uncle David of Scotland.

XIIII[tus]. annus regni regis Stephani.

Anno gratiæ M°C°XL°IX°., qui est XIIII. regni regis Stephani, Henricus dux Normannorum venit in Angliam cum magno exercitu, et reddita sunt ei castella multa et munitiones quamplures; et fecit monetam novam, quam vocabant monetam ducis; et non tantum ipse, sed omnes potentes, tam episcopi quam comites et barones, suam faciebant monetam. Sed ex quo dux ille venit, plurimorum monetam cassavit. Eodem anno Lodoveus rex Francorum, et uxor ejus Alienor, a Jerosolimis redierunt in Galliam. A.D. 1149. Henry invades England. Lewis VII. returns from the crusade.

XV[tus]. annus regni regis Stephani.

Chron. Mailros. 167. Anno gratiæ M°C°L°., qui est annus XV. regni regis Stephani, facta est abbatia de Holcoltram, et abbatia de Kinros in Murevia. Eodem anno ordo Præmonstratensis venit ad Driburc ad festum Sancti Martini. A.D. 1150. Abbeys built in the North.

---

[1] *jam obierat*] A piece of confusion. Eustace died August 18, 1153, and Constance was married to Raymond in 1154.

[2] *tanta*] dehinc, ins. Savile from C.

[3] *miles*] This is placed in the Chronicle of Melrose in 1149.

XVI^tus. annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1151. Ireland divided into four provinces, under four archbishops.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°I°., qui est annus XVI. regni regis Stephani, papa Eugenius quatuor pallia per legatum suum Johannem Papirum in Hiberniam transmisit, quo nunquam antea pallium delatum fuerat, et in quatuor locis quatuor constituit archiepiscopos: unum apud Armarc; alterum apud Cassel; tertium apud Diveline; quartum apud Connath. Eodem anno obiit Gaufridus comes Andegaviæ, et Henricus filius ejus successit ei in comitatu. Chr. Mailros. 167.

Death of Geoffrey of Anjou.

XVII^mus. annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1152. Struggles between Stephen and Henry.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°II°., qui est annus XVII. regni regis Stephani, hoc anno et duobus annis præcedentibus rex Stephanus et Henricus dux Normannorum sæpe et multum congressi sunt, et ab invicem non sunt separati nisi cum magno rerum et hominum detrimento; sed dux Normanniæ semper victoriam obtinuit. Nam vires ejus crescebant in majus et melius de die in diem, regis autem potentia magis ac magis decrescebat. Principes namque regni, memores sacramenti quod fecerant imperatrici et hæredibus suis, fere omnes adhæserunt prædictæ imperatrici, et filio suo duci Normanniæ. Eodem anno Henricus comes Northanhimbrorum, filius David regis Scottorum, et Matildis filia ejus obierunt.

Death of Henry, the heir of Scotland.

XVIII^vus. annus regni regis Stephani.

A.D. 1153. Peace made between Stephen and Henry.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°III., qui est annus XVIII. regni regis Stephani, pax Angliæ reddita est, pacificatis ad invicem rege Stephano et Henrico duce Normannorum, quem rex Stephanus adoptavit sibi in filium, et constituit hæredem, et successorem regni, mediantibus venerabilibus viris, Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, et Henrico Wintoniensi episcopo. Rex vero constituit ducem justitiarium Angliæ sub ipso, et omnia regni negotia per eum terminabantur; et ab illo tempore rex et dux unanimes exstiterunt in regimine regni, ita quod de cætero inter illos nulla oriebatur discordia. Eodem anno obiit David rex Scottorum, nono

Henry is appointed justiciar.

Death of King David,

Chron. Mailros. 167. kalendas Junii; et Malcolmus nepos ejus, filius comitis Henrici, puer duodecim annorum successit ei in regnum. Eodem anno obiit papa Eugenius; cui successit Anastasius in papatu. Eodem anno obiit Bernardus Abbas de Clara Valle. Eodem anno obiit Willelmus Dunelmensis episcopus; cui successit Hugo de Puteaco, thesaurarius Eboracensis ecclesiæ, prædicti regis Stephani nepos, et consecratus est ab Anastasio papa Romæ Dominica ante Natale Domini. Eodem anno obiit Henricus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, quo defuncto Willelmus archiepiscopus, quem papa Eugenius suspenderat, Romam profectus est, et invenit gratiam apud Anastasium papam, et redditus est ei archiepiscopatus Eboracensis.

A.D. 11[illegible]
Pope Eugenius I[illegible] and S. Be[illegible]nard.
Hugh de Puiset m[illegible] bishop of Durham.
S. Willia[illegible] recovers [illegible] see of Yo[illegible]

XIX^nus^. annus regni regis Stephani.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°IV°., qui est annus XIX. et ultimus regni regis Stephani, obiit Eustachius filius regis Stephani. Eodem anno Willelmus Eboracensis archiepiscopus in sedem suam honorifice est susceptus; sed non multo post, proditione clericorum suorum, post perceptionem Eucharistiæ infra ablutiones liquore lethali infectus, extinctus est: quem Hugo Dunelmensis episcopus sepelivit honorifice in ecclesia Sancti Petri Eboraci. Cui successit dono regis Stephani in archiepiscopatu Rogerus Cantuariensis archidiaconus.

A.D. 11[illegible]
Death of Eustace, king's so[illegible] and of William, archbisho[illegible] of York.

Eodem anno rex Stephanus multa obsedit castella et obtinuit, et multa ex illis prostravit, inter quæ fuit fere ultimum castellum de Drax:[1] et paulo post obiit rex Stephanus, et sepultus est in abbatia de Fevere-sham. Cui Henricus dux Normannorum, filius Matildis imperatricis, successit in regnum, coronatus et in regem consecratus a Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo Lundoniis, Dominica ante Natale Domini. Eodem anno Theobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus dedit Thomæ Beket clerico suo archidiaconatum Cantuariæ. Eodem

Stephen takes the castle of Drax.
His death
Henry II. succeeds.
Thomas Becket made arch[illegible]deacon of Canterbu[illegible]

[1] The castle of Drax, belonging to Philip of Colville, (W. Newb. i. 32.) stood within a very few miles of Howden; this then is probably one of the very few original entries made by Roger of Hoveden in this part of the Chronicle.

A.D. 1154. anno Lodoveus rex Francorum fecit divortium fieri inter ipsum et uxorem suam Alienor, filiam ducis Aquitanniæ, jurantibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, comitibus et baronibus illam demeruisse uxorem suam esse.

Marriage of Henry and Eleanor.

Henricus autem rex Angliæ duxit prædictam Alienor in uxorem, de qua genuit filios et filias. Rex vero Franciæ non habens ex Alienor uxore sua prolem virilis sexus, nisi tantummodo duas filias, quarum unam dedit Henrico comiti de Campania in uxorem et alteram Theobaldo comiti Blesensi, fratri prædicti comitis Henrici.[1] Deinde Lodoveus rex Francorum duxit sibi in uxorem filiam regis Hispaniæ, de qua duas tantummodo genuit filias.

Remarriage of Lewis VII.

---

[1] The marriage of Mary daughter of Lewis and Eleanor took place in 1153, and that of her sister Alicia to count Theobald of Blois in 1164. *Art de Vérifier les Dates.* If this latter date is correct this passage was not written until after 1164, and indeed it is probable from the use of the word *tantummodo* in the next sentence that it was written after the death of Louis's second wife, who died in 1160. This being so, it is unnecessary to look for higher authority for the statement which belongs to Hoveden himself or his editor.

[PARS POSTERIOR.]

Primus annus regni regis Henrici.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°V°., qui erat primus annus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus castella inimicorum suorum in Anglia obsedit et cepit; et quædam illorum in manu sua retinuit; quædam autem prostravit. Deinde in Normanniam transfretavit, et homagium fecit Lodovico regi Francorum de Normannia, et Aquitannia, et Andegavia, et Cenomannia, et Turonica, et de omnibus earum pertinentiis. Eodem anno obiit papa Anastasius; cui successit Adrianus.

A.D. 1155. Henry demolishes the unlawful castles. He does homage to Lewis VII. Chron. Mailr. 167.

IIs. annus regni regis Henrici.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°VI., qui erat annus secundus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus rediit de Normannia in Angliam: et omnia fere castella, quæ facta fuerant in Anglia tempore regis Stephani, demoliri fecit; et novam fecit monetam, quæ sola recepta erat et accepta in regno; et ipse pacem stabilivit in regno, et leges Henrici regis avi sui præcepit per totum regnum suum inviolabiliter teneri, et in multis acquievit consilio Theodbaldi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Eodem anno conventus sanctimonialium secundo venit ad Eccles.

A.D. 1156. After the demolition of the castles, a new coinage is struck. Chron. Mailr. 167.

IIIs. annus regni regis Henrici.

Anno gratiæ M°C°L°VII°., qui erat annus III. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Henricus prece et consilio Theobaldi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi dedit cancellariam[1] suam Thomæ Cantuariensi

A.D. 1157. Thomas is made chancellor.

---

[1] *cancellariam*] This entry is misplaced. Thomas was probably made chancellor immediately on the king's accession (Gerv. 1377), and certainly in the first year of the reign, for in the second year he accounts for the honour of Berkhamstead, as chancellor.

A.D. 1157. archidiacono, et multos redditus tam ecclesiasticos quam sæculares ei contulit; et eum in tantam dilectionem et familiaritatem recepit, quod nullus par ei erat in regno, excepto solo rege. Eodem anno Malcolmus rex Scottorum venit ad regem Angliæ apud Cestre, et homo suus devenit, eo modo quo avus suus fuerat homo veteris regis Henrici, salvis omnibus dignitatibus suis.

Homage of Malcolm, king of Scots.

Chron. Mailr. 168.

IV[s]. annus regni regis Henrici.

A.D. 1158. Anno gratiæ M°C°L°VIII°., qui erat annus IIII[tus]. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Henricus secundo fecit se coronari apud Lincolniam extra muros civitatis in Wikeford.[1] Eodem anno iterum firmatum est castellum de Werc, præcepto regis. Et ipse rex et Malcolmus rex Scottorum convenerunt apud Carlel; sed non bene facti amici[2] recesserunt, ideoque rex Scottorum nondum[3] miles factus est.

Coronation at Lincoln. (1157.)

Chron. Mailr. 168.

V[s]. annus regni regis Henrici.

A.D. 1159. Anno gratiæ M°C°L°IX°., qui erat annus V[tus]. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Henricus tertio fecit se, et Alienor uxorem suam coronari, in solemnitate Paschali[4] apud Wirecestre: ubi cum ad oblationem venirent, deposuerunt coronas suas, et eas super altare obtulerunt; voventes Deo, quod nunquam in vita sua de cætero coronarentur. Eodem anno obiit Waldevus abbas de Melros, iii. nonas Augusti, qui fuit avunculus regis Malcolmi. Eodem anno Adrianus papa obiit; cui successit Alexander papa iii., canonice electus et consecratus. Sed Fredericus Romanorum imperator, nolens eum recipere, erexit sibi idolum, Octovianum scilicet antipapam;

Coronation at Worcester. (1158.)

Disputes about the papacy.

Chron. Mailr. 168.

[1] *Wikeford*] The coronation of Henry II. at Lincoln took place at Christmas, 1157. W. Newb. ii. 9.

[2] *facti amici*] ad invicem pacificati, Chron. Mailros.; ad invicem placati, C.

[3] *nondum*] non adhuc, Chr. Mailr.

[4] *Paschali*] It was in 1158 that Henry was crowned at Easter at Worcester. R. de Diceto, 531.

Chr. Mailr. 168. quem in execrabili concilio, et conventiculo sanguinum adversus papam Alexandrum[1] facto, cum gente sua statuit adorandum, et schisma factum est in ecclesia decem et octo annis[2] perdurans. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, magno congregato exercitu, obsedit Tolosam; et quamvis ibi diu sedisset, et thesauros suos in variis expensis exinanisset, tamen nihil ibi proficiens imperfecto negotio inde recessit. In eodem vero exercitu obierunt Willelmus comes Boloniæ, filius regis Stephani, et Hamo filius comitis Gloucestriæ, et multi alii. Rediens ab hoc exercitu Malcolmus rex Scottorum factus est miles Turonis a rege Anglorum Henrico.

A.D. 1159.

Henry engages in the war of Toulouse.

Malcolm, king of Scots, knighted.

VI^tus. annus regni regis Henrici.

Chron. Mailr. 168. Anno gratiæ MºCºLXº., qui erat annus VI. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, Malcolmus rex Scottorum rediit in terram suam de exercitu Tolosæ. Cumque venisset in villam quæ dicitur Pert, Feretach[3] comes, et quinque alii comites, irati contra regem quia ipse Tolosam perrexerat, obsederunt villam de Pert, et regem capere voluerunt, sed non poterant. Malcolmus rex tribus vicibus cum magno exercitu perrexit in Galweiam, et tandem subjugavit eam sibi. Eodem anno rex Malcolmus dedit sororem suam Margaretam Conano[4] duci Britanniæ in uxorem.

A.D. 1160.

Return of Malcolm.

Conquest of Galloway.

VII^mus. annus regni regis Henrici.

Anno gratiæ MºCºLXºIº., qui erat annus VII. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, Henricus rex et Lodoveus rex Francorum dissenserunt, propter quasdam terrarum suarum divisas, et propter castella de Gisortio et de Neafle, quæ tunc temporis erant in manu Lodovei regis Francorum, quæ idem rex Henri-

A.D. 1161.

Peace between Henry and Lewis VII.

---

[1] *adversus papam Alexandrum*] apud Papiam, Chr. Mailros.

[2] *decem et octo annis*] multo tempore, Chr. Mailros. The text then was written after 1177.

[3] *Feretach*] earl of Strathern.

[4] *Conano*] Constance the wife of Geoffrey and mother of Arthur and Eleanor of Brittany was the offspring of this marriage.

A.D. 1161. Proposed marriages between the two families.

cus calumniatus est suo debere adjacere ducatui Normanniæ. Sed mox pacificati sunt in hunc modum: quod rex Franciæ traderet duas filias suas, quas habebat de uxore sua filia regis Hispaniæ, quarum una vocabatur Margareta, et altera Alesca, ad opus duorum filiorum regis Henrici, scilicet Henrico et Ricardo, adhuc puerulis minimis: et traderet prædicta castella de Gisortio et de Neafle in manu Templariorum custodienda, donec prædictæ filiæ desponsarentur præfatis filiis regis Henrici; et quandocunque constaret eis, scilicet, Roberto de Pirou, et Tostes de Sancto Homero, quod Margareta filia regis Franciæ desponsata fuisset Henrico filio regis Angliæ, traderent Henrico regi utrumque castellum. His itaque ex utraque parte[1] fidei sacramento confirmatis, rex Francorum tradidit utramque filiam suam regi Angliæ, et prædicta castella Templariis in custodia. Et paulo post Henricus rex Angliæ fecit Henricum filium suum desponsare Margaretam filiam regis Franciæ, cum adhuc essent puveruli in cunis vagientes; videntibus et consentientibus Roberto de Pirou, et Tostes de Sancto Omero, et Ricardo de Hastinges[2] Templariis qui custodiebant præfata castella; et statim tradiderunt illa castella regi Angliæ. Unde rex Franciæ plurimum iratus fugavit illos tres Templarios a regno Franciæ, quos rex Angliæ benigne suscipiens multis ditavit honoribus. Eodem anno obiit Teobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Romanæ ecclesiæ legatus.

Marriage of Henry's son Henry to Margaret of France.

Surrender of her dower castles to Henry.

Death of archbishop Theobald. — Chron. Mailr. 168.

VIII^{us}. annus regni regis Henrici.

A.D. 1162. Thomas made archbishop of Canterbury.

Anno gratiæ MºCºLXºIIº., qui erat annus VIII. regni Henrici regis filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex

---

[1] *parte*] gestis et, Savile from C.

[2] *Ricardo de Hastinges*] Master of the Temple in London, 1160, 1164, &c. Gervase, 1386. *Tract. de Inv. S. Crucis de Waltham*, p. 38.

Henricus dedit Thomæ cancellario suo archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ. A.D. 1162.

Eodem anno Alexander papa venit in Galliam expulsus a sede sua per Fredericum Romanorum imperatorem. Quem Alexandrum Lodoveus rex Francorum et Henricus rex Anglorum honorifice susceperunt, et pro papa catholico habuerunt. Eodem anno Malcolmus rex Scottorum dedit sororem suam Adæ[1] comiti de Hoilande in uxorem.

Alexander III. visits France.

Chron. Mailr. 168.

IX^nus^. annus regni regis Henrici.

Anno gratiæ M^o^C^o^LX^o^III^o^., qui erat annus IX. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Angliæ rediit de Normannia in Angliam: et rex Malcolmus convaluit apud Donecastre de magna infirmitate; et pax firma facta est inter illum et regem Angliæ.

A.D. 1163. Peace between Henry and Malcolm.

Chron. Mailr. 169.

Eodem anno generale concilium tenuit Turonis Alexander papa, in quo excommunicavit Octovianum antipapam.

Council of Tours.

Eodem anno gravis discordia orta est inter regem Angliæ et Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, de ecclesiasticis dignitatibus, quas idem rex Anglorum turbare et minuere conabatur; et archiepiscopus ille leges et dignitates ecclesiasticas modis omnibus illibatas conservare nitebatur. Rex enim volebat presbyteros, diaconos, subdiaconos, et alios ecclesiæ rectores, si comprehensi fuissent in latrocinio, vel murdro, vel felonia, vel iniqua combustione, vel in his similibus, ducere ad sæcularia examina, et punire sicut et laicum. Contra quod archiepiscopus dicebat, quod si clericus in sacris ordinibus constitutus, vel quilibet alius rector ecclesiæ, calumniatus fuerit de aliqua re, per viros eccle-

Causes of the quarrel between Henry and Thomas.

The archbishop defends the immunities of the clergy.

---

[1] *Ade*] Ada, sister of king Malcolm, was married to Florence III., count of Holland, who reigned from 1157–1190.

A.D. 1163. siasticos et in curia ecclesiastica debet judicari; et si convictus fuerit, ordines suos amittere; et sic alienatus ab officio et beneficio ecclesiastico, si postea forisfecerit, secundum voluntatem regis et bailivorum suorum judicetur.

X^mus^. annus Henrici regis secundi.

A.D. 1164.

Marriage of Matilda with Henry the Lion.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LX°IV°., qui erat annus X. regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, idem Henricus dedit Henrico duci Saxoniæ Matildem filiam suam in uxorem.[1]

Council of Westminster.

Eodem anno rex magno congregato concilio, et omnibus archiepiscopis et episcopis Angliæ in unum coram illo congregatis, petiit ab eis, ut ipsi pro amore et servitio suo, et pro stabilitate regni, reciperent leges Henrici avi sui, et eas fideliter custodirent. Cui Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, pro se et pro aliis, respondit: quod ipsi leges illas, quas rex avitas vocabat, reciperent, et bona fide servarent, salvo in omnibus ordine suo, et honore Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ. Sed conventio illa plurimum displicuit regi; et nitebatur modis omnibus efficere, ut episcopi promitterent ei, se leges illas servaturos sine aliqua exceptione; sed Cantuariensis archiepiscopus hoc nullo modo concedere voluit.

Henry tries to force the customs of his grandfather on the bishops.

Advice of Arnulf of Lisieux to

Deinde post multum tempus Ernulfus[2] Lexoviensis episcopus venit in Angliam, et sollicite laboravit die

---

[1] These events are misplaced. The application for the hand of Matilda was made in 1165. The Council of Westminster, to which the following paragraphs belong, was held in October 1163. MS. C. omitting the events of the former year places all this under 1163. Henry the Lion was duke of Saxony from 1139, and of Bavaria from 1154, to 1180, when he was deprived. He lived until 1195.

[2] *Ernulfus*] Bishop of Lisieux, 1141-1182.

ac nocte ut pax fieret inter regem et archiepiscopum, sed ad plenum fieri non potuit. Deinde per consilium Lexoviensis episcopi rex separavit Rogerum[1] Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et Robertum de Melun[2] Herefordensem episcopum, et Robertum[3] Lincolniensem episcopum, et alios quosdam ecclesiæ prælatos, a consortio et consilio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ut per illos præfatum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum in suos conatus facilius alliceret.

A.D. 1164. divide the bishops.

Deinde venit in Angliam quidam vir religiosus dictus Philippus de Eleemosyna, missus a latere Alexandri summi pontificis et cardinalium omnium, ad pacem faciendam inter regem et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem; per quem summus pontifex et omnes cardinales mandaverunt Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, ut ipse pacem cum domino suo rege Angliæ faceret, et leges suas sine aliqua exceptione custodiendas promitteret. His igitur et aliis magnorum virorum consiliis acquiescens Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, venit ad regem apud Wodestoke, et ibi promisit regi et concessit se bona fide, et sine malo ingenio, leges suas servaturum.

Philip of Aumône sent to mediate between Henry and Thomas.

Thomas promises to observe the laws.

Et paulo post[4] congregato clero et populo regni apud Clarendun, pœnituit archiepiscopum quod ipse concessionem illam fecerat regi. Et volens resilire a pacto dixit se in illa concessione graviter peccasse, et quod in hoc amplius non peccaret. Unde rex plurimum in ira adversus eum commotus, minatus est ei et suis mortem et exilium. Venerunt ergo ad archiepiscopum Salesberiensis[5] et Norewicensis[6] epi-

Council of Clarendon.

Thomas draws back from his promise.

His friends beg him to temporize.

---

[1] *Rogerum*] Archbishop of York, 1154–1181.

[2] *Melun*] Bishop of Hereford, 1163–1167.

[3] *Robertum*] Chesnei, bishop 1148–1167.

[4] *paulo post*] A.D. 1164, Jan. 25.

[5] Jocelin de Bohun.

[6] William de Turbe.

A.D. 1164. scopi, et Robertus[1] Leicestriæ et Reginaldus Cornubiæ comites; et duo Templares, scilicet Ricardus de Hastinges et Tostes de Sancto Omero; et lacrymantes provoluti ad pedes archiepiscopi petebant, ut saltem propter honorem regis veniret ad eum, et coram populo diceret se leges suas recepisse. Precibus igitur tantorum virorum archipræsul victus, venit ad regem, et coram clero et populo dixit, se leges illas, quas rex avitas vocabat, suscepisse. Et concessit ut episcopi leges illas susciperent, et ut illas custodire promitterent. Tunc præcepit rex universis comitibus et baronibus regni, ut irent foras, et recordarentur legum Henrici regis avi sui, et eas in scripto redigerent. Quod cum factum fuisset, præcepit rex archiepiscopis et episcopis, ut sigilla sua apponerent scripto illi; et cum cæteri proni essent ad id faciendum, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis juravit, quod nunquam scripto illi sigillum suum apponeret, nec leges illas confirmaret. Cumque vidisset rex quod tali modo non posset procedere, fecit leges illas in chirographo poni, et medietatem illius tradidit Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, quam ipse contra prohibitionem totius cleri recepit de manu regis, et conversus ad clerum dixit, "Sustinete fratres; per hoc scriptum scire poterimus malitiam regis, et a quibus debeamus cavere nos." Et sic recessit archiepiscopus a curia: sed in nullo gratiam regis assequi potuit. Et quia ipse hoc inconsulte fecerat, ipse seipsum suspendit a celebratione divini officii ab illa hora, usque dum ipse vel nuncius ejus locutus fuisset cum domino papa.

He consents to receive the customs.

He refuses to set his seal to them,

but receives them at the king's hand.

Arrival of the archbishop of Rouen.

Deinde venit in Angliam Rotrodus[2] Rothomagensis archiepiscopus ex parte domini papæ, ad pacem facien-

[1] de Beaumont.

[2] *Rotrodus*] de Beaumont, 1165–1184. He was at this time bishop of Evreux.

A.D. 1164.

dam inter regem et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. Quod rex nullo modo concedere voluit, nisi dominus papa bulla sua leges illas confirmasset. Quod cum nulla ratione fieri posset, misit rex Johannem Oxenefordensem[1] et Gaufridum Ridel,[2] clericos suos, ad Alexandrum papam, petens ab eo legationem totius Angliæ committi Rogero Eboracensi archiepiscopo, ut sic per eum posset Cantuariensem archiepiscopum confundere. Sed dominus papa petitionem regis in hac parte audire noluit: tamen ad petitionem clericorum regis concessit dominus papa, ut rex ipse legatus esset totius Angliæ; ita tamen, quod ipse nullum gravamen facere posset Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Quod cum rex vidisset, per indignationem remisit domino papæ litteras legationis suæ, quas Johannes Oxenefordensis et Gaufridus Ridel attulerant.

Henry asks that Roger, archbishop of York, may be made legate.

The pope consents to make the king legate; Henry refuses.

Eodem anno, in vigilia Sanctæ Agathæ virginis et martyris, factus est terræmotus magnus in insula Siciliæ, adeo quod Catanensium civitatem funditus subvertit, et episcopum et clerum et omnes illius civitatis habitatores occidit; viros siquidem belligeros numero triginta tria millia, exceptis mulieribus et parvulis, qui numerari non poterant. Eodem die post subversionem civitatis, mare Catanensium retraxit se per triginta passuum stadia, relicta in arena diversorum piscium copia, ad quam comprehendendam suburbani civitatis subversæ concurrerunt, et dum intenderent capturæ piscium, refluxit mare, et involvit eos, et traxit in profundum.

Earthquake at Catania.

Chron. Mailr. 169.

Eodem anno Willelmus[3] frater Henrici regis Angliæ obiit. Eodem anno Octovianus antipapa obiit; cui successit Wido Cremensis antipapa. Eodem anno facta est ab-

Death of William of Anjou.

---

[1] John of Oxford, afterwards dean of Salisbury and bishop of Norwich.

[2] Geoffrey Ridel, archdeacon of Canterbury, and afterwards bishop of Ely.

[3] William of Anjou died Jan. 30, 1164. R. de Monte. The antipope Octavian, April 20, 1164. Jaffé, 831.

A.D. 1164. Rebellion of Somerled of Argyle.

batia de Cupre a rege Malcolmo. Eodem anno Sumerledus, regulus de Arregaidele surrexit contra naturalem dominum suum regem Malcolmum: et cum exercitu magno Hybernensium applicuit apud Remfriu, et ibidem a paucis comprovincialibus interfectus est. Eodem anno obiit Herebertus[1] Glascuensis episcopus; cui successit Ingelrannus regis cancellarius, et consecratus est ab Alexandro papa apud Senonem civitatem,[2] licet nuncii Rogeri Eboracensis archiepiscopi plurimum resisterent. Chron. Mailr. 169.

The pope consecrates the bishop of Glasgow.

XI^us. annus Henrici regis secundi.

A.D. 1165. Council of Northampton. (1164.)

Anno gratiæ M^oC^oLX^oV^o., qui erat annus undecimus[3] regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Henricus magnum congregavit concilium apud Northamtune; ubi rex tædium magnum fecit Thomæ Cantuariensi archiepiscopo. Inprimis enim fecit rex equos suos hospitari in hospitiis illius; sed archiepiscopus mandavit regi, quod ipse ad curiam non veniret, donec hospitia sua vacuarentur ab equis et hominibus suis.

New offence given to Thomas.

He asks leave to go to the pope.

In crastino colloquii venit Thomas archiepiscopus ad curiam regis in capella ejus, et statim petiit ab eo licentiam transfretandi ad Alexandrum papam, qui ea tempestate moram faciebat in Francia, et habere non potuit. Dixit enim ei rex, "Tu prius respondebis "mihi de injuria quam fecisti Johanni Marescallo "in curia tua." Conquestus enim erat regi idem Johannes, quod cum calumniatus esset in curia archiepiscopi terram quandam de illo tenendam jure hæreditario, et diu inde placitasset, nullam inde potuit

Henry insists on his answering the complaints made against him.

[1] *Herebertus*] Bishop of Glasgow, 1147–1164.

[2] "die apostolorum Simonis et "Judæ," add. Chron. Mailros.

[3] The eleventh year of Henry II. began on the anniversary of his coronation, Dec. 19, 1164; and the the events recorded in the text preceded this by several months. The Council of Northampton, Oct. 6–13, 1164 falls clearly within his tenth year on any computation, as Stephen his predecessor died Oct. 25, 1154. The following account seems to be drawn from the life of Becket by Roger of Pontigny.

A.D. 1165. (1164.)

Complaint of John, the Marshall.

assequi justitiam; et quod ipse curiam archiepiscopi sacramento falsificaverat secundum consuetudinem regni. Cui archiepiscopus respondit: "Nulla justitia defuit "Johanni in curia mea, sed ipse (nescio cujus consilio, "an propriæ voluntatis motu) attulit in curia mea "quendam troparium,[1] et juravit super illum, quod "ipse pro defectu justitiæ a curia mea recessit; et vide- "batur justitiariis curiæ meæ quod ipse injuriam mihi "fecit, quod sic a curia mea recessit; cum statutum sit "in regno vestro, 'Quod qui curiam alterius falsificare "'voluerit, oportet eum jurare super sacrosancta evan- "'gelia.'"[2] Rex quidem non respiciens ad verba hæc, juravit quod ipse haberet de eo judicium. Et barones curiæ regis judicaverunt eum esse in misericordia regis; et quamvis archiepiscopus niteretur judicium illud falsificare, tamen prece, et consilio baronum posuit se in misericordia regis de quingentis libris, et invenit ei inde fidejussores. Et sic a curia recedens ad hospitium suum ivit, et propter iram et indignationem[3] quam in animo conceperat decidit[4] in gravem ægritudinem.

The archbishop's answer.

He is adjudged to pay five hundred pounds.

He falls sick.

Quod cum regi constaret, ut eum magis affligeret, statim misit ad eum, et summonuit eum per bonos summonitores, quod in crastino venisset, paratus reddere illi rationem villicationis suæ, quam habuit in regno suo ante consecrationem suam. Archiepiscopus autem, sciens quod grave ei immineret exterminium si in curia venire properasset, modis omnibus quæsivit dilationem: tum quia tempus summonitionis brevissimum erat, tum quia ipse graviter infirmabatur. Cumque rex vidisset

Henry summons him to give account of his receipts as chancellor.

He pleads illness.

---

[1] *troparium*] troper, A. B. C.

[2] The rule is thus laid down by Glanvill, xii. 7. "Quod (sc. curiam "ipsam ei de recto defecisse in "placito ipso) et ipse petens sic "esse suo juramento et cum duo- "bus aliis id audientibus et intelli- "gentibus, et cum eo jurantibus, "probabit." "Sufficit ei falsare "curiam ipsam sub forma præ- "dicta."

[3] *iram et indignationem*] tædium et dolorem, C.

[4] *decidit*] in lectum et, C.

A.D. 1165. (1164.) The earls of Leicester and Cornwall sent to him.

quod archiepiscopus ad diem illum non veniret, misit ad eum Robertum comitem Leicestriæ, et Reginaldum comitem Cornubiæ ad videndum ægritudinem illius. Qui cum venissent, invenerunt illum in lecto jacentem infirmum, et ad petitionem illius dederunt ei respectum veniendi ad curiam usque mane. Eodem die dictum erat ei et nunciatum a familiaribus regis, quod si ipse ad curiam regis venisset, vel interficeretur, vel in carcerem mitteretur.[1]

The archbishop celebrates the mass of S. Stephen, and goes to court.

Super his igitur archipræsul habito cum suis familiaribus consilio, per consilium cujusdam sapientis, in crastino antequam ipse ad curiam pergeret, cum summa devotione celebravit missam de Sancto Stephano protomartyre, cujus officium tale est: "Etenim sederunt Ps. cxix. 23. "principes et adversum me loquebantur, etc.;" et causam suam Summo Judici, Qui Deus est, commendavit. Tamen pro celebratione illius missæ, graviter accusatus fuit postmodum a Gileberto Lundoniensi episcopo, qui pro rege loquebatur. Imponebat enim illi Lundoniensis episcopus quod missam illam celebraverat per artem magicam, et in contemptu regis. Itaque post celebrationem missæ archiepiscopus imposuit collo suo stolam, deinde induit cappam nigram canonicalem, et profectus est statim ad curiam regis. Et statim factus est undique magnus concursus populi, ut viderent finem.

He carries his cross before him, and enters the hall.

Ipse autem crucem suam portabat in manu sua dextra, cum sinistra vero tenebat lorum equi in quo sedebat. Et cum venisset ad aulam regis descendit, et ipse crucem suam bajulans, intravit domum regis. Deinde intravit exteriorem cameram solus portans crucem suam. Nullus enim suorum sequebatur eum. Et cum intrasset, invenit plebem multam in ea, et sedit inter illos. Rex autem erat in secretiori thalamo cum suis familiaribus.

Tunc venit ex parte regis ad archiepiscopum Gilebertus

---

[1] *vel . . . vel . . . mitteretur*] Transposed by Savile, after C.

Lundoniensis episcopus, qui multum increpavit eum, quod sic cruce armatus venit in curia. Et voluit crucem a manibus ejus eripere, sed archiepiscopus eam fortius tenuit. Sed Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus dixit Lundoniensi episcopo, "Frater, dimitte archiepi-"scopum crucem suam tenere; ipse enim debet illam "bene portare." Tunc Lundoniensis episcopus multum iratus adversus Wintoniensem episcopum dixit ei, "Male "locutus es frater, et malum inde tibi continget, quia "contra regem locutus es."

A.D. 1165. (1164.)

The bishops try to persuade him to lay down his cross.

Deinde venit ad eum Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus.

Ovid. Met. III 376.

"O quotiens voluit blandis accedere dictis,
"Et molles adhibere preces,

Sed antiquum odii incendium repugnabat, nec permisit eum quicquam pacifice loqui, immo plurimum increpabat eum, quod sic armatus cruce ad curiam veniret: dicens quod rex gladium habebat acutiorem, et ideo si consilio suo acquiesceret, crucem suam tolleret. At quidam de circumstantibus sic ait,

"Crede mihi; si credis ei, tu decipieris:
"Fistula dulce canit volucres dum decipit auceps;
"Impia sub dulci melle venena latent.

Ovid. Am. I. viii. 104.

Archiepiscopus autem Cantuariensis crucem suam deponere noluit, sed dicebat, "Si gladius regis carnaliter "corpora cædit, gladius meus spiritualiter percutit, et "animam mittit in gehennam." Et dum ipse sederet expectans, dixerunt quidam secreto, quod mors ejus jurata erat a regalibus. Et ex illa hora quæsivit occasionem recedendi a curia, et ut commodius recedere possit, appellavit ad præsentiam summi pontificis; et causam ecclesiæ et suam posuit sub protectione Dei, et domini papæ; et præcepit universis episcopis appellationem suam inviolatam servare.

He refuses.

He now meditates escape.

Tunc omnes episcopi laudaverunt ei, ut ipse satis-

A.D. 1165. (1164.)

The bishops advise him to throw himself on the king's mercy.

faciens voluntati regis, redderet ei archiepiscopatum suum in misericordia illius, sed archiepiscopus noluit eis inde credere. Tunc mandavit ei rex per milites suos, ut sine dilatione veniret, et redderet ei plenariam computationem de omnibus receptis, quæ receperat de redditibus regni, quamdiu cancellarius ejus fuit; et nominatim de triginta millibus librarum argenti. Quibus archiepiscopus respondit: "Dominus meus rex scit, "quod ego sæpius ei reddidi computationem de omnibus his quæ ipse modo a me petit, antequam electus fuissem ad archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem. Et "in electione mea Henricus filius ejus, cui regnum adjuratum fuit, et omnes barones scaccarii, et Ricardus "de Luci justitiarius Angliæ, clamaverunt me quietum, "Deo et sanctæ ecclesiæ, de omnibus receptis et "computationibus, et ab omni sæculari exactione ex "parte domini regis; et sic liber et absolutus electus "fui ad hujus officii administrationem; et ideo amplius "nolo inde placitare." Quod cum regi constaret, dixit baronibus suis, "Cito facite mihi judicium de illo, qui "homo meus ligius est, et stare juri in curia mea "recusat." Et exeuntes judicaverunt eum capi dignum et in carcerem mitti.

He declares that he has been acquitted of all the king's accounts.

The barons adjudge him to prison.

The earls bring him news of the sentence.

Tunc misit rex Reginaldum comitem Cornubiæ et Robertum comitem Leicestriæ ad indicandum illi judicium de illo factum. Qui dixerunt ei, "Audi judicium "tuum." Quibus archiepiscopus respondit: "Prohibeo "vobis ex parte Omnipotentis Dei, et sub anathemate, "ne faciatis hodie de me judicium, qui appellavi ad præsentiam domini papæ." Dum autem prædicti comites redirent ad regem cum responso illo, archiepiscopus exivit a thalamo, et progrediens per medium illorum venit ad palefridum suum, et ascendit, et exivit ab aula, omnibus clamantibus post eum, et dicentibus, "Quo progrederis, proditor; expecta et audi judicium "tuum." Cum autem veniret ad portas exteriores invenit eas clausas, et timuit sibi valde, ne ab inimicis

He leaves the hall.

suis caperetur, sed Deus Omnipotens eum liberavit. Nam Petrus de Munctorio, quidam suus serviens, vidit claves multas pendere juxta portam in clavo: quas arripiens januam aperuit, et archiepiscopus exilivit eques. Janitores autem regis stabant attoniti, non dicentes verbum.

A.D. 1165. (1164.) His wonderful escape.

Archiepiscopus vero festinanter venit ad domum canonicorum regularium, ubi ipse hospitatus fuerat, et præcepit mensas apponi, et omnes pauperes, quicunque inventi fuerunt ante januam, introduci ad edendum et bibendum in Nomine Domini Jesu Christi. Et factum est ita. Et ipse cum illis et gente sua decenter cœnavit in refectorio canonicorum, et post cœnam stravit lectum suum in ecclesia inter templum et altare. Interim secreto fecit præparari iter suum, volebat enim de nocte abire, et in crepusculo, dum rex et cæteri per villam cœnarent, ipse sumpsit secum duos fratres de ordine Cisterciensi, quorum unus dicebatur Robertus de Caune, et alter Scayman, et unum solum servientem, qui dicebatur Rogerus de Broi.

After supper he prepares for flight.

Et exierunt villam ad portam, quæ sola erat sine custode, et in diluculo venerunt Lincolinum, et in domum Jacobi hospitati sunt. Archiepiscopus vero habitum suum mutavit, et mutato nomine fecit se appellari Dereman. Et ita a paucis cognitus et per ignotas vias et semitas ad mare properavit. Et equitaverunt in noctibus, et in diebus latuerunt inter amicos et notos, et sic tandem pervenerunt ad mare, usque Sandicum portum.

He comes in the morning to Lincoln: and thence goes to the sea.

Et ille navem clam intravit, clamque recessit, et mane applicuit in Flandriam, et statim perrexit in Franciam. Sed antequam ipse ad Lodowicum regem Francorum veniret, Gilebertus Foliot Lundoniensis episcopus, et Willelmus comes de Arundel, pervenerunt ex parte regis Angliæ ad prohibendum regi Franciæ, ne ipse illum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum reciperet in regno suo; et ut ipse mandaret domino papæ, ne pro

He lands in Flanders, and proceeds to King Lewis.

A.D. 1165. Lewis receives him in spite of Henry's entreaties, and recommends him to the pope.

amore illius Cantuariensem archiepiscopum in familiaritatem susciperet. Sed quanto magis præfati nuncii regis Angliæ plus laborarent, ut Cantuariensis archiepiscopus a regno Franciæ expelleretur; tanto magis rex Franciæ illum et causam suam fovebat. Præterea rex Franciæ misit fratrem Francum[1] eleemosynarium suum ad Alexandrum papam, qui tunc morabatur in Francia: mandans ei, ut sicut honorem Romanæ ecclesiæ diligebat, et auxilium regni Franciæ, sic in omnibus manuteneret Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum et causam ejus contra tyrannum Angliæ. Et ex illo tempore dominus papa recepit Cantuariensem archiepiscopum in magnam familiaritatem. Interim

Henry sends an embassy to the pope.

Henricus rex Angliæ misit ad dominum papam Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum, et Henricum Wintoniensem, et Gilebertum Lundoniensem, et Hilarium Cicestrensem, et Bartholomæum Exoniensem episcopos; et Widonem Rufum,[2] et Ricardum de Yvecestre[3] et Johannem de Oxeneford clericos; et Willelmum comitem de Arundel, et Hugonem de Gundevile,[4] et Bernardum de Sancto Walerico, et Henricum filium Geraldi.[5]

The ambassadors visit the pope at Sens, and ask for a legate.

Et illi invenerunt papam apud civitatem Senonensem, et multa mala, et falsa dixerunt adversus Cantuariensem archiepiscopum; sed dominus papa eis non credidit, sciens quod falsum dixerunt adversus eum testimonium. Illi autem videntes se non posse proficere, petierunt a domino papa duos legatos mitti in Angliam, ad cognoscendam controversiam quæ erat inter regem et archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, et ad determinandam eam

[1] The name of brother Francus does not appear in the list of the almoners given by Moreri under the title of Grands Aumoniers.

[2] *Widonem Rufum*] Dean of Waltham, and baron of the exchequer.

[3] *Ricardum de Yvecestre*] Archdeacon of Poictiers, and afterwards bishop of Winchester.

[4] *Hugonem de Gundevile*] Sheriff of Hants in 1170.

[5] *Henricum filium Geraldi*] The king's chamberlain.

ad honorem Dei, et sanctæ ecclesiæ, et regni. Sed dominus papa nullum cardinalem nec aliquem legatum mittere voluit; sciens quod rex Angliæ potens erat in opere et sermone, et quod legati ex facili possent corrumpi, utpote qui plus aurum et argentum sitiunt, quam justitiam et æquitatem. Nuncii itaque regis Angliæ nihil proficientes, a curia domini papæ recesserunt. Et quarto die sequenti venit illuc Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et ad pedes domini papæ prostratus, obtulit ei chirographum supradictum, in quo leges Angliæ, quas rex avitas vocabat, erant scriptæ.

A.D. 1165. The pope avoids sending a legate.

Thomas arrives at Sens.

Quas cum dominus papa coram omnibus cardinalibus et clero et populo multo lectas audiret, damnavit illas in perpetuum, et anathematizavit omnes qui eas tenerent, vel aliquo modo foverent.

The pope condemns the constitutions of Clarendon.

Chr. Mailr. 169.

Eodem anno duæ cometæ apparuerunt ante solis ortum, mense Augusti; una ad Austrum, altera ad Aquilonem. Cometa est stella, quæ non omni tempore, sed maxime in obitu regis aut in excidio regionis apparet. Et quando cum crinito diademate apparuerit fulgens, regale nunciat lethum: si autem ferens comas, rutilansque sparserit illas, patriæ monstrat excidium.[1]

Comets.

Eodem anno papa Alexander Romam rediens, a Romanis honorifice suscipitur.[2] Eodem anno obiit Malcolcolmus rex Scottorum; cui successit Willelmus frater ejus. Eodem anno Henricus rex Anglorum transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam, faciens grave edictum et execrabile, contra Alexandrum papam et Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. Cujus capitula hæc sunt.

The pope returns to Rome.

Chr. Mailr. 169.

Death of Malcolm.

(I.) "Si quis inventus fuerit ferens litteras vel mandatum "domini papæ, vel Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, continens in"terdictum Christianitatis in Anglia, capiatur, et de eo, sine "dilatione fiat justitia, sicut de regis traditore et regni.

Henry's edict against the pope and archbishop. (1169.)

(II.) "Item nullus clericus, vel monachus, vel conversus "alicujus religionis, permittatur transfretare, vel redire in "Angliam, nisi de transfretatione habeat litteras justitiarum,

[1] The Chronicle of Melrose, from which this appears to be taken, continues to describe the storms and prodigies that took place in the North this year.

[2] Nov. 23, 1165.

A.D. 1165. Royal proclamation against the pope and archbishop. (1169.)

" et de reditu litteras regis. Et si aliquis aliter inventus fue-" rit, capiatur et retineatur.

(III.) " Item interdictum est, ne aliquis ferat mandatum ali-" quod domini papæ, vel Cantuariensis. Et si quis talis in-" ventus fuerit, capiatur et retineatur.

(IV.) " Item generaliter interdictum est, ne aliquis appellet " ad dominum papam, vel ad Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, " neque de cætero aliquod eorum mandatum in Anglia reci-" piatur, neque aliquod placitum ex mandato eorum teneatur. " Et si quis contra hoc interdictum aliquid fecerit, capiatur " et retineatur.

(V.) " Item si episcopi, vel presbyteri, vel abbates, vel " monachi vel clerici vel laici, sententiam interdicti tenuerint, " sine dilatione de terra ejiciantur, et tota eorum cognatio, ita " quod nihil de catallis suis secum deferant, et catalla et pos-" sessiones eorum capiantur in manu regis.

(VI.) " Item omnes clerici, qui habent redditus in Anglia, " sint summoniti per omnes comitatus, quod sint infra tres " menses post summonitionem in Anglia ad redditus suos, " sicut diligunt habere ipsos redditus et redire in Angliam. " Et si non venerint ad terminum prædictum, catalla et pos-" sessiones eorum capiantur in manu regis.

(VII.) " Item Lundoniensis et Norewicensis episcopi sum-" moneantur, quod sint coram justitiis regis ad rectum facien-" dum, quod contra statuta regni interdixerunt terram comitis " Hugonis, et in ipsum sententiam tulerunt. Item denarii " Sancti Petri colligantur et custodiantur."[1]

---

[1] These instructions were not issued in the year 1165, nor probably before 1169, under which year Gervase (c. 1409) gives a very similar set of injunctions. This is proved by a comparison of the viith clause with certain of Becket's letters : ed. Giles.

July 7, 1166, pope Alexander III. writing from the Lateran, announces that he has excommunicated earl Hugh (Bigot) for his treatment of the canons of Panteney: S. T. C., iv. 35. The matter seems to have been laid before the king at Oxford in January or February 1166 ; S. T. C., v. 219.

April 22, 1167. The pope writing from the Lateran informs the archbishop that he has directed the bishops of Winchester and Worcester to absolve the earl ; but if he does not make restitution within 40 days of his absolution he is to be excommunicated again; and if he delays for a year, his lands are to be put under interdict, S. T. C., iv. 23. He did not make restitution, and his lands were put under interdict; this could not have been done before April 1168. After the interdict certain of his clerks presumed to celebrate, and were excommunicated. The bishop of Norwich re-

Verba beati Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ad Henricum regem Angliæ in concilio suo apud Chinun.[1] A.D. 1165.

Letter addressed by the archbishop to the king at the conference at Chinon. (1166).

" Desiderio desideravi videre faciem vestram et loqui vobis-" cum; multum quidem propter me, sed maxime propter vos. " Propter me, ut visa facie vestra reduceretis ad memoriam " servitia quæ dum essem in obsequio vestro exhibui vobis " devote[2] juxta animi mei conscientiam; sic Deus me adjuvet " in examine ultimo, quando omnes astabunt ante tribunal " Ipsius, recepturi prout gesserunt in corpore suo, sive bonum (2 Cor. v. 10.) " sive malum: et ut commoverem vos in pietate super me, " quem oportet mendicando vivere inter alienos; licet tamen " gratia Dei cum abundantia victualia ad sufficientiam habea-" mus. Estque nobis consolatio quam multa, quod dicit apo-" stolus: 'Omnes qui pie volunt vivere in Christo, persecutio-" 'nem patientur.' (1 Tim. iii. 12.) Et propheta: 'Non vidi justum derelictum, " 'nec semen ejus quærens panem.' (Ps. xxxvii. 25.) Propter vos, tribus ex " causis: tum quia dominus meus estis, tum quia rex, tum " quia filius meus spiritualis. Eo quod dominus, debeo et " offero vobis consilium meum,[3] quodcunque debet episcopus " secundum honorem Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ domino: eo quod " rex, teneor vobis ad reverentiam et commonitionem:[4] eo quod " filius, officii ratione ad castigationem et coercionem. Corri-" pit enim pater filium, nunc blandis, nunc asperis, ut sic " vel sic revocet eum ad benefaciendum. Nosse debetis, vos " Dei gratia regem esse primo, quia vos ipsum regere debetis, " vitamque vestram optimis informare moribus, ut vestri ex-

---

ports to S. Thomas their excommunication and absolution, S. T. C., vi. 227; and the earl himself is absolved, and the bishop of Norwich congratulated on the occasion by S. Thomas shortly after his reconciliation with the king, S. T. C., iii., 311. If this argument be correct, the injunctions in the text are those of 1169. They are given in S. T. C., ii. 206, with two additional clauses, which complete their likeness to those given in Gervase, and are there stated to be sent by Wimer, priest and chaplain, and Walter Grimsbi, sheriff. Walter became sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1170. But cf. Lord Lyttelton's *Henry II.*, Book iii. App. 15.

[1] This was the conference of Chinon held in May 1166, described by John of Salisbury in his ep. 145. Becket was not present, the letter in the text is that presented on the occasion. It is to be found in Ralph de Diceto, c. 541. Giles, S. T. C., iii. 365.

[2] *devote*] et fideliter, add. G.

[3] *meum*] et obsequium, add. G.

[4] *commonitionem*] communionem, A.

A.D. 1165. Letter addressed by the archbishop to the king at the conference at Chinon. (1166.)

" emplo cæteri provocentur ad melius, juxta illud sapientis, " 'Componitur orbis, regis ad exemplum.' Secundario, alios " demulcendo, alios puniendo, potestatis auctoritate, quam " ab ecclesia recepistis tum sacramento unctionis, tum gladii " officio, quem gestatis ad malefactores ecclesiæ conterendos.[1] " Inunguntur enim reges in tribus locis, in capite, in pectore, " et brachiis; quod significat gloriam, scientiam, et fortitudi- " nem. Qui antiquis temporibus justificationes Dei non ob- " servabant, sed prævaricati sunt mandata ejus, his sublata " est gloria, scientia, fortitudo, et eorum generationi: exempla " Pharaonis,[2] Saulis, Nabugodonosor, Salomonis, et aliorum " quampluriurn. Qui autem post delictum suum, cordis contri- " tione humiliaverunt se Domino; his gratia Dei accessit cum " omnibus supradictis abundantius et effectius, sicut David, " Ezechiæ, et aliis quampluribus. Christus fundavit ecclesiam, " eique comparavit libertatem proprio sanguine; sustinendo " flagella, sputa, clavos, mortis angustias, nobis relinquens " exemplum ut sequamur vestigia Ejus; unde apostolus: 'Si " 'compatimur, et conregnabimus; si commorimur, et conre- " 'surgemus.' Ecclesia Dei in duobus constat ordinibus, in " clero et populo. In clero sunt apostoli et apostolici viri, " episcopi, et cæteri rectores[3] ecclesiæ, quibus commissa est " cura et regimen ipsius ecclesiæ, qui tractare habent nego- " tia ecclesiastica, ut totum reducant[4] ad sanitatem[5] animarum. " Unde dictum est Petro, et in Petro aliis rectoribus ecclesiæ:[6] " 'Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam " 'Meam, et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.' In " populo sunt reges, duces et comites, et aliæ potestates, quæ " sæcularia habent tractare negotia, ut totum reducant ad " pacem et unitatem ecclesiæ. Et quia certum est, reges " potestatem suam ab ecclesia accipere, et non ipsam ab illis, " sed a Christo, (salva pace vestra loquar,) non haberetis epi- " scopis præcipere absolvere aliquem, vel excommunicare, " trahere clericos ad sæcularia examina, judicare de decimis, " de ecclesiis, interdicere episcopis, ne tractent de transgres- " sione fidei vel juramenti, et multa quæ in hunc modum " scripta sunt inter consuetudines vestras, quas dicitis avitas. " Dominus enim dicit, 'Leges meas custodite.' Et iterum per " prophetam, 'Væ qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribentes " 'scribunt injustitias; opprimunt pauperes in judicio, et vim

Claudian, viii. 299.

1 Pet. ii. 21.

2 Tim. ii. 12.

S. Matt. xvi. 18.

Levit. xviii. 5.

Is. x. 1.

[1] *conterendos*] coercendos, G.

[2] *Pharaonis*] probationis, A. B.

[3] *rectores*] doctores, G.

[4] *reducant*] redigatur, G.

[5] *sanitatem*] salutem, C.

[6] *ecclesiæ*] non regibus, non principibus, G.

" 'faciunt causæ humilium populi Dei.' Audiat itaque dominus " meus (si placet) consilium fidelis sui, commonitionem episcopi " sui, castigationem patris sui. Neque cum schismaticis[1] ali- " quam de cætero habeat familiaritatem vel communionem.[2] " Notum enim est fere toti mundo, quam devote, quam honori- " fice dominum papam receperitis,[3] quantum Romanam eccle- " siam foveritis et honoraveritis, quantum dominus papa et " ecclesia Romana personam vestram dilexerint, honoraverint, " et in quibuscunque per Deum potuerint, vos exaudierint. " Nolite, ergo domine, si salutem animæ [vestræ] deside- " ratis, eidem ecclesiæ quod suum est aliqua ratione subtra- " here, seu in aliquo ei citra justitiam contraire; immo ean- " dem ei in regno vestro permittatis habere libertatem, quam " in aliis habere dinoscitur. Memores quoque sitis profes- " sionis quam fecistis, et posuistis scriptam super altare apud " Westmuster, de servanda ecclesiæ Dei libertate sua, quando " consecratus fuistis et unctus in regem a prædecessore nostro. " Ecclesiam etiam Cantuariæ, in[4] qua promotionem et conse- " crationem recepistis, in eum statum restituatis et dignita- " tem, in quibus fuit temporibus prædecessorum vestrorum et " nostrorum. Possessiones autem ad ipsam ecclesiam[5] perti- " nentes, villas, castella, prædia, quæ pro voluntate vestra " distribuistis, res etiam omnes ablatas, tam nostras quam " clericorum nostrorum et laicorum, in integrum nobis resti- " tuatis; permittatis etiam nos libere et in pace redire in " sedem nostram,[6] et nos vobis tanquam carissimo domino et " regi fideliter et devote[7] servire parati sumus, in quibuscun- " que poterimus, salvo honore Dei et ecclesiæ Romanæ, et " ordine nostro: alioquin pro certo sciatis, quod divinam seve- " ritatem et ultionem sentietis."

A.D. 1165. Letter addressed by Thomas to the king at the conference at Chinon. (1166.)

Epistola beati Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad Alexandrum summum pontificem.[8]

" Ad audientiam tuam, pater sanctissime, confugio; ut qui " ecclesiæ libertatem tanto tui discrimine redemisti, eam vel

Letter of the archbishop to the pope.

[1] *cum schismaticis*] In reference to the negotiations with Frederick Barbarossa in 1165.

[2] *communionem*] nec cum eis aliquo modo contrahat; ins. G.

[3] *receperitis*] in Sept. 1162.

[4] *in*] a, G.

[5] *ecclesiam*] et nos, add. G.

[6] *nostram*] officioque nostro libere uti, sicut debemus et ratio exigit; add. G.

[7] *devote*] pro viribus nostris, add. G.

[8] Giles, S. T. C., iii. 3.

A.D. 1165. The archbishop lays his complaints before the pope.

"solam vel maximam meæ persecutionis causam attendas, qui "exemplo tuo usus sum. Dolui enim statum ecclesiæ labefactari paululum, et jura ejus in avaritiam principum dissipari, et occurrendum credidi morbo venienti; et quo plus "illi domino meo, cui post Deum cætera debeo, me sciebam "obligatum, eo tutius iniquis ejus instigationibus arbitrabar "resistendum, donec obtinuerunt illi, et serenitatem illius "obfuscaverunt mihi. Exinde, ut moris est apud principes, "criminationes et calumnias injecerunt in occasionem persecutionis meæ; et ego ejici malui quam succumbere.[1] Accessit enim his malis, quod vocatus fui coram rege tanquam "laicus satisfacere.[2] Unde mihi resistendi suffragia speraveram, inde deceptus sum. Animadverti etenim dominos "et confratres nostros episcopos istos, pro aulicorum arbitrio, "in me paratos animadvertere. Ita cunctis incursantibus fere "suffocatus, ad tuæ pietatis audientiam, quæ nec in extremis "agentes negligit, respiravi; sub qua demonstraturus assisto, "me nec ibi fuisse judicandum, nec ab illis. Nam quid aliud "hoc esset, patres mei, quam vestra jura vobis subtrahere? "quid aliud quam spiritualia temporalibus submittere? semel "natum hoc exemplum esset ad multa, eoque credidi firmius "esse resistendum,[3] quod proclivior via nocendi nasceretur, si "prius debilitatem agnoscerent. At inquient 'reddenda erant S. Luke, xx. 25.
"'Cæsari quæ Cæsaris sunt:' sed si in pluribus obtemperandum sit regi, in illis tamen obtemperandum non est, quibus efficitur ne rex sit. Non essent illa Cæsaris, sed tyranni; in quibus et si non pro me, pro seipsis ei resisterent. "Nam si Illi extremum judicium reservatur, Qui potens est "judicare corpus et animam, nunquid extrema erit inter homines summa, qui judicat secundum seipsum?[4] Si justam "foverunt partem, quid me impetebant? Quid me arguunt? "si ad eum appellavi apud quem jus vitari[5] vel non licet "vel non expedit, aut injuste me causabantur, aut de justitia "vestra diffidebant. Dupliciter namque confundebar, si coram "sanctitate vestra convincerer.[6] Numquid eorum persecutionem merui,[7] pro quibus tantis occursibus me opposueram? "Et obtinuissem, si voluissent illi. Sed male caput agit, si

[1] *succumbere*] subscribere, Giles.

[2] *satisfacere*] ut satisfacerem, Giles.

[3] *credidi . . . resistendum*] condidi . . res instandum, A.; corr. B.

[4] *seipsum*] spiritum, Giles.

[5] *jus vitari*] mentiri, Giles.

[6] Nec miror tum laicos in clerum hujusmodi machinari conscriptionem, sed dominos et fratres meos non solum hujus factionis conscios, verum etiam prolocutores exstitisse admiror,—ins. Giles.

[7] *merui*] metui, G.

"jam membris destruitur; quin etiam si oculi contra caput "linguam assumant. Si bene prævidissent, in se perniciem "machinabantur, et eorum usi sunt principales auxilio in "eorum servitutem, quod hæc tanti odii causa fiant, ut pro "me extinguendo se ipsos extinguerent. Ita pro tempora-"libus spiritualia negligunt, deficiunt in utrisque. Quid quod "etiam me reclamante, et ad audientiam vestram appellante, "patrem suum judicio[1] damnare ausi sunt? Quinetiam si in "universam ecclesiam cum offenso nobis principe aspirationem[2] "fecerunt? Et te, pater sanctissime, suspicio ista potuit "attingere. At inquient, regi tenebantur ex debito domini: "sed illi corporaliter, spiritualiter mihi. Cui potius teneri "potuerunt quam sibi ipsis? Nonne potius corporalium "damnum quam spiritualium?[3] Inquient rursus, hoc tem-"pore principem non fuisse provocandum. Quam subti-"liter in suam servitutem argumentantur. Immo ipsi provo-"cant, qui excessibus suis alas præbent ad suffragium. Quie-"visset enim, nisi adquievissent illi. Et quo tempore magis "constantia exigitur quam inter persecutores? nonne famili-"ares ejus persecutionibus comprobantur? Si semper succum-"bant, qualiter obtinebunt? Necesse est aliquando resistant. "Condescende ergo, pater sanctissime, in fugam meam et "persecutionem, et me aliquando magnum fuisse reminiscere "tempore tuo, et propter te injuriis lacessitum. Utere rigore "tuo, coerce illos, quorum instinctu nomen hujus persecu-"tionis obrepsit, nec domino regi horum aliquid imputetur, "qui hujus machinationis potius est minister quam repertor."

A.D. 1165. Argument of the archbishop against the king.

Epistola beati Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ad suffraganeos suos.[4]

Letter of the archbishop to his suffragans. (1166.)

"Thomas, Dei gratia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humi-"lis, venerabilibus fratribus suis Lundoniensi,[5] cæterisque "totius Cantuariensis provinciæ episcopis, sic transire per "bona temporalia, ut non amittant æterna. Fratres mei dilec-"tissimi, quare non consurgitis mihi adversus malignantes?
Ps. xciv. 16. "Ut quid non statis mecum adversus operantes iniquitatem?

---

[1] *judicio*] in præjudicio, G.

[2] *aspirationem*] conspirationem, G.

[3] *spiritualium*] negligendum fuit, ins. G.

[4] Giles, S. T. C., iii. 161. The letter was issued shortly after the excommunications pronounced at Vezelai, June 12, 1166. Joh. Salisb., ep. 145. Cf. Robertson's Becket, App. xxv.

[5] Gilbert Foliot.

A.D. 1165. Letter of the archbishop to his suffragans. (1166.)

"An ignoratis quoniam dissipat Dominus ossa eorum qui "hominibus placent? confundentur, quoniam Dominus sprevit "eos. Satis novit discretio vestra, quoniam error cui non "resistitur, approbatur, et veritas cum minime defendatur, "opprimitur. Videturque, testante Gregorio, consentire er-"ranti, qui ad resecanda, quæ corrigi debent, non occurrit. "Inde est quod dominum nostrum regem Angliæ satis super-"que satis sustinuimus: nec ullum ex eo sustinentiæ nostræ "assecuta est ecclesia Dei compendium. Periculosum et in-"tolerabile de cætero nobis visum est, et tantos illius offi-"cialiumque suorum circa ecclesiam Dei, et ecclesiasticas "personas excessus, ut hactenus, impunitos relinquere. Præ-"sertim cum sæpissime nunciis et litteris, modisque aliis, "prout decuit, studuerimus eum a perverso proposito suo "revocare. Et quoniam vix ab eo auditi sumus, nullatenus "tamen exauditi, scriptum illud, in quo illæ non consuetu-"dines, sed potius pravitates, quibus perturbatur et confun-"ditur ad præsens Anglicana ecclesia, continentur, ipsiusque "scripti auctoritatem, invocata Spiritus Sancti gratia, publice "condemnavimus et cassavimus, universos etiam observatores, "exactores, consiliatores, adjutores, seu defensores earum "excommunicavimus. Omnesque vos episcopos a promissione "qua contra institutionem ecclesiasticam, et ad earum obser-"vationem tenebamini, auctoritate Dei et nostra absolvimus. "Quis enim dubitat sacerdotes Christi, regum et principum, "omniumque fidelium, patres et magistros censeri? Nonne "miserabilis insaniæ esse cognoscitur, si filius patrem, disci-"pulus magistrum sibi conetur subjugare, et iniquis obliga-"tionibus illum potestati suæ subjicere, a quo credit se non "solum in terra, sed etiam in cœlis ligari posse et solvi? "Proinde ne in hujus sententiæ commissum incidamus, auc-"toritatem ipsius scripti, ipsumque scriptum, cum pravitati-"bus quæ in eo continentur, in irritum duximus et cas-"savimus. Præsertim his, 'Quod non appelletur ad sedem "'apostolicam super aliqua causa, nisi licentia regis. Quod "'non liceat archiepiscopo vel episcopo exire de regno, et "'venire ad vocationem domini papæ, sine licentia regis. "'Quod non liceat episcopo excommunicare aliquem qui "'teneat de rege in capite, sine licentia regis, vel [aliquem "'alium] officialium suorum sub interdicto ponere. Quod non "'liceat episcopo coercere aliquem de perjurio vel fide læsa. "'Quod clerici trahantur ad sæcularia judicia. Quod laici, "'seu rex, seu alii, tractent causas de ecclesiis, vel decimis; "'et alia in hunc modum.' Denunciamus etiam excommuni-"catum, et excommunicavimus ex nomine Johannem de Oxene-"ford, qui in hæresim damnatam incidit, præstando jura-

Ps. liii. 6.

Decr. I. dist. lxxxiii. can. 3. 5.

He absolves them from their promise to the constitutions.

He condemns the constitutions themselves.

He denounces the excommunicated.

"mentum schismaticis; per quem schisma jam fere emortuum "in Alemannia revixit; communicando etiam nominatissimo "illi schismatico Reginaldo[1] Coloniensi: et quia contra mandatum domini papæ, et nostrum, Salesberiensis ecclesiæ "decanatum sibi usurpavit. Quod quidem factum, tam detestabile,[2] tam juri contrarium, tam ecclesiæ Dei exemplo perniciosum penitus cassavimus, et devocavimus in irritum; "præcipientes episcopo Salesberiensi[3] et capitulo in virtute "obedientiæ, et in periculo ordinis sui, ne de cætero, visis "litteris nostris ex eo facto, eum decanum haberent. Similiter "et Ricardum de Yvecestre denunciamus excommunicatum, "et excommunicavimus, eo quod in eandem heresin damnatam "inciderit, communicando Reginaldo Coloniensi schismatico; "machinando etiam et fabricando omnia mala, cum schismaticis et Theutonicis illis, in perniciem ecclesiæ Dei, et præsertim ecclesiæ Romanæ, ex pactis contractis inter dominum "regem et ipsos. Excommunicavimus etiam Ricardum de "Luci,[4] et Gocelinum de Baillol, qui pravitatum illarum "auctores et fabricatores exstiterunt; Rannulfum etiam del "Broc,[5] qui bona ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, quæ alimenta de "jure sunt pauperum, occupavit et detinet, hominesque nostros tanquam laicos cepit, et in captione detinet. Excommunicavimus etiam Hugonem de Sancto Claro, et Thomam filium Bernardi,[6] qui ejusdem ecclesiæ Cantuariæ "bona et possessiones absque conniventia nostra occupaverunt. Omnesque qui de cætero in possessiones et bona "ecclesiæ Cantuariæ, contra voluntatem nostram et consensum, manus violentas extendent, eadem excommunicationis "sententia innodavimus. Juxta illud papæ Lucii. 'Omnes "'ecclesiæ raptores, atque suarum facultatum alienatores, a "'liminibus ejusdem matris ecclesiæ sequestramus, anathe- "'matizamus, damnamus, atque sacrilegos esse judicamus.' "Et non solum eos, sed etiam eis comprehendit[7] consentientes. Et alibi dicit Scriptura, 'Qui consentit peccantibus,

A.D. 1165. The excommunications: (1166.)

John of Oxford;

Richard of Ilchester;

Richard de Luci; Jocelin de Bailleul; Ranulf de Broc, and others.

Decr. II. caus. xvii. qu. iv. c. 5.

---

1 *Reginaldo*] Of Dassel, archbishop 1159–1167.

2 *tam detestabile*] om. G.

3 *Salesberiensi*] Jocelin de Bohun, 1142–1184.

4 *Ricardum de Luci*] The chief justice, 1155–1179.

5 *Rannulfum del Broc*] The lord of Saltwood, to whom the king had committed the custody of the property of the see of Canterbury.

6 *Thomam filium Bernardi*] Afterwards chief justice of forests, 1178–1184.

7 *comprehendit*] om. G., who reads after consentientes, "quia non tantum qui faciunt rei judicantur, "sed etiam qui facientibus consentiunt. Par enim pœna et agentes "et consentientes comprehendit."

A.D. 1165. He quotes the canons against the accomplices and defenders of the sinners. (1166.)

" 'et alium peccantem defendit, maledictus erit apud Deum " 'et apud homines; corripieturque increpatione severissima.' " Et iterum. 'Si quis peccantem defendit, acrius quam qui " 'peccavit, coerceatur.' Sane in domini regis personam sen- " tentiam adhuc ferre distulimus, expectantes si forte inspi- " rante Divina gratia resipiscat; in proximo tamen eam laturi, " nisi citius resipuerit. Et inde est, quod fraternitati vestræ " mandamus, atque in virtute obedientiæ præcipimus, quatenus " viros prætaxatos, qui a nobis excommunicati sunt, vos quo- " que prout excommunicatos et habeatis, et denunciari faciatis. " Juxta illud decretum Honorii papæ: 'Licitum[1] sit omnibus " 'episcopis excommunicatorum suorum nomina tam vicinis " 'episcopis quam suis parochianis pariter indicare, eaque in " 'celebri loco posita præ foribus ecclesiæ, cunctis venien- " 'tibus inculcare, quatenus in utraque diligentia excommu- " 'nicationis, ubique ecclesiasticus aditus denegetur et excom- " 'municationis causa omnibus auferatur.' Tibi autem, frater " episcope Lundoniensis, mandamus, et in vi obedientiæ injun- " gimus, quatenus litteras præsentes aliis fratribus et coepi- " scopis nostris omnibus de provincia nostra manifestes et " ostendas. Valete in Christo, et pro nobis orate constanter."

Decr. II. caus. xi. qu. iii. c. 100.

Decr. II. caus. xi. qu. iii. c. 20.

Henry makes an expedition to Wales. (1165.)

Chr. Mailr. 169.

His ista gestis, Henricus rex Angliæ rediit de Normannia in Angliam, et cum magno exercitu perrexit in Guallias, ubi multos de nobilibus, baronibus et hominibus suis perdidit. Et justitiam fecit de filiis Ris,[2] et de filiis ac filiabus nobilium ejus; scilicet oculos puerorum eruit, et nares auresque puellarum abscidit.

A.D. 1166.

XII^{us}. annus regni regis Henrici II^{i}.

Henry banishes the relations of the archbishop.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LX°VI°., qui erat annus duodecimus regni Henrici regis filii Matildis imperatricis, idem rex Henricus expulit ab Anglia, et ab omnibus terris suæ dominationis, omnes homines et fœminas quos invenire potuit de cognatione beati Thomæ Cantuari-

---

[1] *Licitum*] Curæ, G. as in the Canon.

[2] *Ris*] Rhys ap Gruffudd; prince of South Wales, 1136–1197. See Brut, p. 203, and Gir. Camb. *Itiner. Cambriæ*, lib. i., cap. x. The Chronicle of Melrose does not mention any loss sustained by Henry in this campaign.

ensis: pueros etiam in cunis vagientes, et adhuc ad ubera matrum pendentes, misit in exilium, ut visis illis augmentaretur dolor præfati archiepiscopi. Quid facis, tyranne? Quæ te dementia vicit, ut sic sine causa expelleres a regno tuo, qui malum non fecerunt, nec dolus inventus est in ore eorum?

A.D. 1166. Cruelty of such a proceeding.

Ovid, ex Ponto, I. i. 22.

"Nil impedit ortos
"Exule servatis legibus urbe frui."

Quos cum beatus ille Thomas videret, turbatus est valde, et dolori eorum compatiens plusquam martyr fuit.

Ov. ex Ponto, I. i. 68.

"Nec mirum est igitur,[1] si mens sua turbida facta
"De nive manantis more liquescit aquæ."

Tamen hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferebat. Et vix per duos annos moram fecerat in abbatia de Puntinni, cum Gwarino[2] abbate, et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, quibus commendatus fuerat in custodia ab Alexandro summo pontifice; ecce, rex Angliæ mandavit prædicto abbati de Pontinni, quod si ille ulterius retineret Cantuariensem archiepiscopum in domo sua, ipse fugaret ab Anglia omnes monachos sui ordinis. Unde factum est quod beatus Thomas sponte sua alienatus est a domo illa, ne causa illius tot domus religiosorum perirent. Transtulit ergo se ad beatum regem Francorum Lodowicum; a quo benigne susceptus missus est ad abbatiam Sanctæ Columbæ juxta Senonem civitatem.

Thomas stays two years at Pontigny.

Henry threatens the Cistercians,

and Thomas goes to S. Colombe at Sens.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Henricum regem Angliæ.[3]

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio "Henrico, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam "benedictionem. Etsi circa nos, et matrem tuam sacrosanc- "tam ecclesiam, filialis in te devotio videatur aliquatenus te- "puisse; paternum tamen affectum circa te, et regnum tuæ

The pope writes to king Henry.

[1] *mirum est igitur*] igitur mirum est, A.

[2] *Gwarino*] Gwarin de Girardo, abbot, 1166–1174.

[3] Giles, *S. T. C.*, iv. 115. Jaffé conjecturally places this letter in June 1165. *Reg. Pont.*, 705.

A.D. 1166. The pope writes to the king warning him not to interfere in holy things. (1165).

"gubernationi commissum, nullo tempore deseruimus. Tua "ergo serenitas, quod amici verbera potiora quam oscula "inimici existant, diligenter advertens, consideret studiosius, "et attendat, quod sicut clerici a viris sæcularibus vita et "habitu distinguuntur, ita et judicia clericorum a laicorum "judiciis diversa penitus comprobantur. Quare si ea, ordine "quo non decet, pervertas, et quæ Jesu Christi sunt tuæ po- "testati usurpas, novas leges, ad oppressionem ecclesiarum et "Christi pauperum, pro tuo beneplacito condas, consuetudines "etiam quas avitas vocas inducas, tu ipse proculdubio in ex- "tremo examine, quod effugere non poteris, modo consimili judi- "caberis; 'Et eadem mensura, qua mensus fueris, remetietur S. Matt. vii. "'tibi.' Verum ne commonitiones nostræ auribus excellentiæ 2. "tuæ tædiosæ vel asperæ aliquatenus videantur, scriptum re- "collige, quod 'filium quem corripit pater diligit;' pro certo Prov. iii. 12. "cognoscens quod quanto personam tuam ardentiori in Domino "caritate diligimus, et sincerissimæ tuæ devotionis insignia "nobis et ecclesiæ Dei multipliciter et magnifice olim exhi- "bita ad memoriam sæpius et studiosius revocamus, tanto hæc "tibi, cui[1] spiritualem et æternam salutem totis[2] cordis "affectibus exoptamus, libentius intimamus. Si enim te in "aliquo futurum judicium deterret, aut præmiorum in æterna "requie corona delectat, veram, quæ Deus est, justitiam co- "lere, jus suum unicuique tribuere, negotia ecclesiastica, et "præsertim criminalia quæ de læsione fidei vel juramenti "emergunt, causas quoque super rebus et possessionibus ec- "clesiarum, personis ecclesiasticis tractandas relinquere, reg- "num et sacerdotium non confundere, non adeo serenitatem "tuam deceret, nec etiam expediret. Si autem universa, quæ "in usus tuos per hujusmodi angarias de bonis ecclesiasticis "convertuntur, in refectione pauperum vel aliis operibus "pietatis expenderes, obsequium non magis Deo gratum effi- "ceres, quam si altari quolibet discooperto aliud cooperires, "aut si Petrum crucifigeres ut Paulum a mortis periculo "liberares. Recolere siquidem debes, et præ oculis ad hujus "rei exemplum habere, qualiter rex Saul, quia devicto Ama- "lech prædam contra Domini præceptum reservare volebat, "cum se ad excusationem sui hæc ad sacrificandum reservasse "proponeret, a Domino fuerit reprobatus, et alius eo vivo in "honorem et dignitatem regiam subrogatus. Quem utique "peccata populi regem effecerant, sed tamen a gubernatione "regni commissa propria destituerunt. Quomodo etiam rex

[1] *tibi, cui*] cogitationi tuæ, G. | [2] *totis*] votivis, G.

"Osias dum thurificare voluit, et sacerdotis officium sibi "usurpare, lepra digna ultione percussus fuisset, tuæ saluti "congruit ad animum revocare. Si vero successus tuos viri- "bus et potestati tuæ, et non Deo ascribas,[1] Ille proculdubio, "Qui te aliis præfecit, et magnum in orbe principem, ad "fidelium suorum gubernationem, non ad depressionem con- "stituit, talenta tibi commissa, gravi a te cum censura re- "quiret; et sicut de Roboam filio Salomonis legitur, qui pro "delicto patris a regno ejectus est, sic Deus commissum "paternum in hæredes transfundet. Tu ergo pravis sugges- "tionibus cujuslibet non adquiescas, nec his qui semper mala "susurrant aures inclines, sed quæ tuam salutem expediant "diligenter audias. Et ita ad honorem Dei et ecclesiæ tran- "quillitatem et pacem, ad quod solummodo regni es guberna- "tionem adeptus, idem regere, et, secundum quod Dominus "tibi administraverit, studeas utiliter gubernare,[2] ut regnum "temporale conservet, et post illud det tibi Deus sine fine "mansurum."

A.D. 1166. He solemnly warns him. (1165.)

Epistola Alexandri papæ, ad Gilbertum Lundoniensem episcopum, pro Thoma Cantuariensi archiepiscopo.[3]

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili "fratri Gileberto Lundoniensi episcopo, salutem et apostolicam "benedictionem. Quod circa ea quæ tuæ injunximus frater- "nitati, efficax studium et diligentiam impendisti, et carissi- "mum in Christo filium nostrum Henricum, illustrem regem "Angliæ, super incremento et exaltatione ecclesiæ, ac nostra, "fideliter sollicitare ac commonere curasti, gratum omnimodis "et acceptum habemus, et tibi exinde gratias uberrimas ex- "solventes, sollicitudinis tuæ prudentiam magnificis super hoc "in Domino laudibus commendamus. Quoniam vero eundem "regem tanquam filium carissimum et inclytum principem "arctiori caritate diligimus, idcirco per te et per venerabiles "fratres nostros, Rotomagensem[4] archiepiscopum et Here- "fordensem[5] episcopum, nec non per carissimam filiam

Letter of the pope to Gilbert Foliot, bishop of London. (1165.)

[1] *ascribas*] intentionem quoque et animum tuum ab ecclesiasticorum virorum et ecclesiarum oppressione non retrahas, add. G.

[2] *gubernare*] ut Ille per Quem reges regnant, et cui servire regnare est, tibi et hæredibus tuis regnum temporale conservet, et post illud tribuat sine fine mansurum, G.

[3] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iv. 99. This letter also clearly belongs to the year 1165.

[4] *Rotomagensem*] Rotrou de Beaumont.

[5] *Herefordensem*] Robert of Melun, 1163–1167.

A.D. 1166. He is glad to hear so good a report of the king.

"nostram in Christo, illustrem quondam Romanorum imperatricem, matrem ejus, sæpe ac sæpe ipsum sollicitandum duximus, et ad ecclesiæ devotionem multimodis provocandum. Gaudemus autem et exultamus in Domino super ea devotione ejusdem regis, quam tuis nobis litteris significasti.

He charges him to influence the king in favour of the church and archbishop.

"Cæterum quoniam eum volumus devotum ecclesiæ Dei et nobis, sicut ab ipso principio consuevit existere, rogamus fraternitatem tuam, monemus atque mandamus, quatenus ipsum sollicite ac diligenter sæpe et sæpius per te et alios commoneas, horteris modis omnibus,[1] et inducas, ut ad ejusdem ecclesiæ honorem pariter et exaltationem solito modo intendat, et causam ipsius strenue foveat, manuteneat atque defendat; ecclesias vero et ecclesiasticas personas diligat et honoret, et eorum jura conservet; venerabilem quoque fratrem nostrum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum in amorem et gratiam suam reducat. Nos enim si eam, quam incepit, beato Petro et nobis reverentiam exhibuerit et honorem, eum ferventi affectione diligemus, et ad honorem et exaltationem ipsius, et conservationem regni sibi commissi, modis omnibus, prout decuerit, intendemus. Malumus enim ipsum in patientia et mansuetudine vincere, quam eum aliquo modo gravare; quamdiu id poterimus sustinere.[2] Datum in Gradu Mercurii, undecimo kalendas Septembris."

Dated Aug. 22, 1165.

Epistola Gilberti Lundoniensis episcopi ad dominum papam, de responso regis super negotio Cantuariensis archiepiscopi.[3]

Letter of Gilbert Foliot to the pope. (1165.)

"Patri suo et domino summo pontifici Alexandro, frater Gilebertus, Lundoniensis ecclesiæ minister, debitum sinceræ caritatis, et humilis obedientiæ famulatum. Mandatum vestrum, pater in Christo carissime, debita veneratione sus-

---

[1] *omnibus*] prout decuerit, ins. G.

[2] *sustinere*] "De cætero probitatem tuam rogamus, ut ex quo denarium beati Petri integre colligeris, ad quod te volumus studium et diligentiam impendere, sicut per alia tibi scripta significavimus, ipsum dilecto filio nostro abbati Sancti Bertini per fidelem nuncium sub omni festinatione destinare studeas; et hoc quam citius poteris nobis significes." Add. Giles.

[3] Giles, *S.T.C.*, v. 238. Also belongs to the year 1165: it is the answer to the last, and in the editions of the letters contains some important variations from the text.

" cipientes, illico filium vestrum dominumque nostrum caris- A.D. 116(1165).
" simum, illustrem Anglorum regem, in ipsis jam Gualliæ[1] He has se(en) the king, and argue(d) with him.
" finibus agentem exercitum, adivimus: et adjuncto nobis
" venerabili fratre nostro Roberto Herefordensi episcopo, juxta
" vestri formam mandati diligenter et intente convenimus.
" Cui singula, quæ vestris nobis expressa sunt litteris, ante
" oculos ponentes, ipsum obsecrando, et quantum regiam de-
" cebat majestatem arguendo, constanter et instanter hortati
" sumus, ut de propositis sibi satisfaceret, et si a rationis
" tramite deviaverat, ad viam veritatis et justitiæ redire, ves-
" tra per nos revocatus admonitione, non tardaret; a patre pie
" commonitus a pravis actibus omnino desisteret; Deum puro
" corde diligeret; et matrem suam sanctam Romanam eccle-
" siam solita veneratione respiceret, nec eam visitare volentes
" inhiberet; appellationes ad eam factas non impediret; et
" patrem nostrum dominum Cantuariensem benigne revocans
" et reducens, in beati Petri et vestra reverentia firmus immo-
" bilisque persisteret, et pietatis intendens operibus ecclesias
" et ecclesiasticas personas tam regni quam terræ suæ non
" gravaret, nec per se nec per alium gravari permitteret; sed
" ipsas diligens regia protectione conservaret, ut Ille per Quem
Prov. viii. 15. " reges regnant temporale regnum sibi conservaret in terris,
" et æternum largiretur in cœlis. Alioquin nisi monitis salu-
" taribus adquiesceret, sanctitas vestra, quæ hucusque pati-
" enter sustinuit, ulterius in patientia sustinere non posset.
" Adhæc adjecimus timendum sibi fore, ne si errata non cor-
" rigeret, iram cito Dei Omnipotentis incurreret, ut nec reg-
" num ejus diu staret, nec suos prosperari permitteret; sed
" Qui humilem exaltaverat jam jam exaltatum ab ipso regni
" culmine durius allidendo dejiceret. Ipse vero correptionem The king received th(e) admonition graciously, but says that the pope has not treated him well.
" vestram multa gratiarum actione suscipiens, multa animi
" temperantia multaque modestia consequenter respondit ad
" singula: inprimis asserens, mentem suam a vobis se nulla-
" tenus avertisse, nec id unquam propositi mente concepisse,
" quin dum paternam sibi gratiam exhibueritis, vos ut patrem
" diligat, et sanctam Romanam ecclesiam ut matrem venere-
" tur et foveat, et sacris jussionibus vestris, salva sibi sua
" regnique sui dignitate, humiliter obtemperet et obediat.
" Quod si vos aliqua jamdiu reverentia non respexit, hanc
" hujus rei causam asserit, quod cum vobis in necessitate toto
" corde, tota mente, totis viribus astiterit, sibi postmodum per

[1] *Gualliæ*] Walliæ, Giles. See above, p. 240, where the expedition to Wales is described.

A.D. 1166. (1165).

He hopes for better things, and remains faithful.

"nuncios in necessitate recurrenti ad vos, digne pro meritis "sanctitas vestra non respondit; sed in omni fere petitione "sua se repulsam sustinuisse conqueritur, et erubescit. De "paterna tamen confisus gratia, quæ filium cum volet exau- "diet, vultus sperans et expectans lætiores, in beati Petri et "vestra, ut dictum est, fidelitate immobili constantia perse- "verat. Inde est, quod sanctitatem vestram visitare volentem "nullum impediet, sed nec hactenus, ut asserit, impedivit.

He claims the right of giving licence to appeal.

"In appellationibus, ex antiqua sui regni institutione, id sibi "vendicat honoris et oneris, ut ob civilem causam nullus cle- "ricorum regni sui ejusdem regni fines exeat, nisi, an ipsius "auctoritate et mandato jus suum obtinere queat, prius expe- "riendo cognoscat. Quod si nec sic obtinuerit, ad excellentiam "vestram, ipso in nullo reclamante, cum volet, quilibet ap- "pellabit. In quo si juri vestro vel honori præjudicatur in "aliquo, id se totius ecclesiæ regni sui consilio correcturum "in proximo, juvante Domino, pollicetur.

He does not understand that the emperor is excommunicate.

"Imperatorem illum, et si schismaticum noverit, a vobis "tamen excommunicatum esse usque hodie non rescivit. Quod "si denunciatione vestra rescierit, si fœdus illicitum cum ipso "aut aliquo alio quolibet iniit, et hoc, ecclesiæ regni sui judi- "cio simul et consilio, se correcturum promittit.

He did not expel the archbishop.

"Patrem nostrum dominum Cantuariensem suo se regno "nequaquam expulisse asserit. Unde sicut abscessit ultroneus, "sic ad ecclesiam suam, cum sibi sederit animo, plena pace "sua revertendi sibi liberum erit; dum tamen in satisfaciendo "sibi super his, unde conqueritur, regias sibi, et in quas ipse "juratus est, velit dignitates integre conservari.

He is ready to abide by the judgment of the English church.

"Si qua vero ecclesia vel ecclesiastica persona ab ipso vel "a suis se gravatam ostenderit, satisfactioni plenæ totius "ecclesiæ judicio paratus erit.

"Hæc a domino nostro rege in responsis accepimus, qui "utinam ad omnem voluntatem vestram uberius aliquid acce- "pissemus. Eadem vero sublimitati vestræ notificanda duxi- "mus, ut ex ipsius responsis advertat discretio vestra, quo "negotium hoc fine concludat. Causam namque suam domi- "nus rex plurimum sibi justificare videtur, cum in omnibus "quæ dicta sunt, ecclesiæ regni sui consilio simul et judicio "se pariturum, et patris nostri domini Cantuariensis reditum, "juxta quod dictum est, se nullatenus impediturum pollicetur.

The writer begs the pope not to proceed to extremities.

"Unde vestræ supplicandum æstimavimus excellentiæ, quatenus "illud præ oculis habentes, 'Calamum quassatum non conteret, Is. xlii. 3. "'et linum fumigans non extinguet,' zelum illum, qui ad "ulciscendam omnem, quæ ecclesiæ Dei irrogatur, injuriam, "laudabiliter igne Divini spiritus accensus est, si placet, ad

A.D. 1166. (1165.)

If an interdict is not imposed, there is hope that matters will heal in time.

"tempus intra fines modestiæ cohibeatis; ne vel interdicti "sententiam, vel ultimum illud præcisionis elogium profe- "rendo, ecclesias innumeras subverti misere toleratis, et tam "regem ipsum, quam innumeros cum eo populos, a vestra, "quod absit, obedientia irrevocabiliter avertatis. Bonum est "membrum capiti cohærere, vel saucium, quam a corpore "projici[1] jam præcisum. Redeunt ad sanitatem saucia, vix "corpori coalescunt jam præcisa; adducit desperationem "præcisio, cum sanet vulnus sæpissime caute medicantis "operatio.[2] Unde si placet, bonum est, ut sanando vulneri, "si quod est, ad præsens operam detis, quam ecclesiæ Dei "partem nobilissimam præcidendo, quæ turbata sunt hoc tem- "pore, longe supra quam possit exprimi, perturbetis.[3] Quid "enim si sermo vester nondum plene capit aut capitur. Num- "quid Divina desperanda est gratia quin tempore accepto

Is. lix. 1. "et[4] capiat et capiatur? numquid abbreviata est manus Do- "mini ut salvare nequeat? aut auris Ejus aggravata ut non

Ps. cxlvii. 15 "exaudiat? Currens ille sermo velociter, potenter[5] cum vult "immutat omnia, et dat sanctorum precibus etiam insperata. "Sanguis regius tunc scit[6] demum vinci, cum vicerit. Nec "erubescit[7] cedere cum superaverit. Mansuetudine leniendus[8] "est, monitis et patientia superandus. Quid enim si jacturam "quandam temporalium infert,[9] vel exhibita vel in tempus "exhibenda adhuc etiam patientia. Numquid non severitati "detrahendum[10] est cum strages imminet populorum? Num- "quid non in mare multa jactanda sunt, cum jam spondet "interitum confusio tetra maris et fluctuum?[11] Insipienter "attamen in caritate non ficta loquimur. Si hic rei finis ex- "titerit, ut amissis suis dominus Cantuariensis exilium juge "sustineat, et vestris, quod absit, mandatis ulterius Anglia "non obediat, fuisset satius patienter in tempus sustinuisse, "quam tanto zelo severitatis partibus institisse.[12] Quid enim "si plures e nobis ab obedientia vestra persecutio separare

He urges mild and gentle treatment.

[1] *projici*] sequestrari, G.

[2] *cum . . . operatio*] restituit sanitatem vulneri sæpe medicantis operatio, G.

[3] *Unde . . . perturbetis*] om. G.

[4] *quia . . . accepto et*] quin cito, quam volet, G.

[5] *potenter*] velociter, statim, G.

[6] *scit*] se permittit, G.

[7] *erubescit*] verecundatur, G.

[8] *leniendus*] tolerandus, G.

[9] *infert*] invehit, G.

[10] *Numquid . . detrahendum*] Non enim est dubium severitati detrahendum fore, G.

[11] *Numquid . . . fluctuum*] et cum tempestas ingruit in mare debere multa projici, ut ad portum valeat navis salva perduci, G.

[12] *partibus institisse*] deservisse, G.

A.D. 1166. (1165.) There is a danger of a schism.

"non poterit? Non deerit tamen, qui genu curvet ante Baal, "et de manu idoli pallium Cantuariæ, non habito religionis aut "justitiæ delectu, suscipiat. Nec deerunt, qui sedes nostras "occupantes, et cathedras insidentes, ipsi tota devotione "mentis obediant. Jam multi præmasticant ad talia, optantes "ut veniant scandala, et directa ponantur in prava. Unde non "propria, pater, plangimus aut ploramus incommoda: sed his "nisi malis occurreritis, fœdam ecclesiæ Dei subversionem "imminere cernentes, pertimescimus, ne citius ob vitæ tædium "optemus perisse diem, qua ad spectacula hujusmodi nati "sumus. Conservet incolumitatem vestram in longa tempora "Omnipotens Deus, in Christo, dilecte pater."[1]

Epistola beati Thomæ, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad Henricum regem Angliæ.[2]

Letter of the archbishop to the king.

"Reverentissimo domino suo Henrico, Dei gratia illustri "Anglorum regi, duci Normannorum et Aquitanorum, et "comiti Andegavorum, Thomas eadem gratia Cantuariensis "ecclesiæ humilis minister, salutem, et utinam per omnia "benefacere. Loqui de Deo liberæ mentis est et valde quietæ. "Inde est quod loquar ad dominum meum, et utinam ad omnes, "pacifice. Obsecro, mi domine, ut sufferatis cum animi pati- "entia modicum quid commonitionis, conferentis per gratiam

He begs for a patient hearing.

"Dei, quæ nunquam vacua est, ad animæ vestræ salutem, et 1 Cor. xv. 10.
"meæ liberationem. Angustiæ mihi sunt undique; tribula- "tio enim et angustiæ invenerunt me, inter duo gravissima "et timenda constitutum: et inter duo constituta gravissima, "timendum silentium, loquor, et commonitionem. Si autem "siluero, mors mihi est, nec effugiam manus Domini dicentis:
"'Si non annunciaveris delinquenti peccatum suum, et moria- Ezek. iii. 18.
"'tur in peccato suo, sanguinem ejus de manu tua requiram.' "Si commonuero, timeo ne non effugiam domini mei, quod "absit, indignationem: ne accidat mihi, quod sapiens ille "dixit: 'Cum is qui non placet ad intercedendum vel com- "'monendum accedit vel mittit, verendum est ne irati animus

---

[1] *Conservet . . . pater*] Instead of this ending, Dr. Giles's edition has, "De cætero super censu beati "Petri nemo nobis in regno vel de "modico respondisset, nisi dominus "rex mandatum super hoc in com- "mune dedisset. Ejus vero man- "dato, statuto antiquitus termino "colligetur, et sanctitati vestræ per "manum nostrum, juvante Domino "transmittetur."

[2] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iii. 363.

A.D. 1166.

He hardly dares to write.

" 'ad deteriora provocetur.' Quid ergo faciam? loquar, an " sileam? Utrobique certe periculum. Verumtamen, quoniam " tutius est incidere in hominis indignationem, quam in manus " Dei viventis, confisus de misericordia Altissimi, in Cujus

Prov. xxi. 1.

" manu corda sunt regum, et quo voluerit inclinabit ea, et " utinam in partem meliorem, loquar ad dominum meum, " quia semel cœpi. Multotiens enim bona parantur invitis, " maxime cum eorum potius utilitati consulitur quam volun- " tati. In terra vestra captiva tenetur filia Syon, sponsa Regis " magni oppressa a multis, afflicta ab his qui a tempore longo " oderunt eam, a quibus potius honoranda esset quam affli- " genda, maxime a vobis. Habita vobiscum recordatione bene-

He urges him to show gratitude to God.

" ficiorum singulorum, quæ vobis contulit Deus in initio regni " vestri, in medio, et fere usque modo; solvite eam, et per- " mittite conregnare Sponso suo, ut benefaciat vobis Deus, et " incipiat statim convalescere regnum vestrum, et auferatur " opprobrium de generatione vestra, fiatque summa pax in " diebus vestris. Credite mihi, dilectissime domine, serenis- " sime princeps, patiens enim retributor est Dominus, longa- " nimis expectator, sed ultor gravissimus. Audite me, et " benefacite. Sin autem, verendum est, quod absit, ne ac-

Ps. xlv. 3.

" cingatur gladio Suo super femur Suum potentissimus, et " veniat in manu valida cum militia multa liberare sponsam " Suam, non sine grandi plaga, de oppressione et servitute " tribulantis. Si vero me audieritis, quoniam necesse habet " Dominus in hoc instanti obsequium vestrum experiri, tan- " quam strenui militis sui, benefaciet vobis Deus, et addet " gloriam gloriæ vestræ in progeniem filiorum et filiarum ves- " trarum, usque in tempora longa. Alioquin vereor, quod

Otherwise he fears for him and his house.

" Deus avertat, ne non deficiat gladius de domo vestra,

2 Sam. xii. 10.

" donec veniat, Qui ulciscatur de plano Suam et Suorum inju- " riam, Altissimus; sicut nec de domo Salomonis, a quo, licet " eum Deus elegisset, et contulisset ei tantam sapientiam et " pacem, ut diceretur ab omnibus, 'Hic est filius sapientiæ " 'et pacis;' quoniam recessit a via Dei, et ambulavit in " iniquitate super iniquitatem, scidit Deus regnum suum, et " dedit illud servo suo; maxime quia non quæsivit subito post " delictum placere Dominum; sicut et David pater suus, qui " statim post offensam humiliavit se Domino, emendavit cul- " pam, petivit misericordiam, et obtinuit veniam. Utinam et " vos cum Dei gratia similiter faciatis. Hæc vobis ad præsens " scribo, cætera in ore latoris præsentium, viri religionis[1] et

---

[1] *viri religionis*] "Gerardus dis- "calceatus." Herb. Bosham; *S.T.C.*, vii., 223. Cf. Robertson's Becket, p. 180.

A.D. 1166. "magnæ opinionis, fidelis etiam, ut credimus, vestri, posuimus. Quibus quæso, si placet, fideliter credatis: potius tamen desidero cum gratia vestra benigno vestro uti colloquio. Bene valeat semel et semper dominus meus."

Epistola beati Thomæ ad Robertum Herefordensem episcopum.[1]

Letter of the archbishop to the bishop of Hereford.

"Thomas Dei gratia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ minister humilis, venerabili fratri Roberto,[2] eadem gratia Herefordensi episcopo, salutem, et per omnia benefacere. Si litteræ nostræ fraternitatis tuæ excitavere sollicitudinem, utinam nec affectu desidem reperissem, nec circa officii suscepti debitum effectum minus vigilem. Elegi abjectus esse, anathema pro omnibus Rom. ix. 3. vobis, opprobrium hominum et abjectio plebis, ne viderem Ps. xxii. 7. mala sanctorum, et dissimularem injuriam gentis nostræ: expectans si quis forte ex omnibus vobis zelans legem Dei, ecclesiæ libertatem affectans, exiret post me, et veniret post me, ut non daremus cornua peccatoribus. Et ecce tu, quem credebam mihi a Domino datum esse, ut mecum ædificares, evelleres, et plantares, propinas mihi stimulum in ruinam, solatium in desperationem, prædicans humiliationem, immo dejectionem, annuncians bonum, cum undique sit turbatio, in perniciem Dei[3] et clericorum: et cum deberes animi vacillantis firmare constantiam, sustinere mecum congressum ad defendendum patrimonium Crucifixi, ad reprimendos et expugnandos hostes ecclesiæ, instillare auribus meis, inspirare animo meo, ut obsecrarem instantius, arguerem arctius, increparem durius. Quod si me non audirent, exclamare certe debueras contra me, 'Exsurge, quare obdormis? 'Exsere gladium Beati Petri, vindica sanguinem servorum 'Christi, qui effusus est; injurias ecclesiæ, quæ in nobis et 'nostris fiunt tota die.' Exciditne a memoria tua quantis sim injuriis afflictus, quibus affectus contumeliis, cum in persona mea contra omnem auctoritatem, contra omnem juris formam, iterum judicaretur Christus ante tribunal præsidis?[4]

He is much disappointed by the bishop's advice.

[1] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iii. 273. Belongs to the Autumn of 1166, when Thomas had heard an exaggerated account of the king's difficulties; (cf. *S.T.C.*, iv. pp. 167, 186; Joh. Salisb., ep. 176;) when Merlin's prophecy was deemed to be fulfilled; that a bit was being forged for the king in Armorica.

[2] *Roberto*] of Melun.

[3] *Dei*] ecclesiæ, G.

[4] *præsidis*] principis, G.

A.D. 1166.

"Non revoco certe ad animum propriæ personæ injuriam etsi "ecclesiæ. Attende diligentius, altius in corde tuo repone, "quid ageretur ante exitum meum, quid in exitu, quid postea, "quid etiam agatur singulis diebus in terra illa circa eccle-"siam Dei et ejus ministros. Qua animi conscientia ista dis-"simulare potes tu, de quo sperabatur quod esses redempturus "Israel, liberaturus a servitute ecclesiam? Etiam nunc quia "tanto tempore tacuisti, doleo super te, fili mi primogenite,[1] "et timeo ne succedat tibi, qui tollat primogenita tua, et auferat "benedictionem primogeniti, quod absit, a te. Veruntamen "etsi hactenus siluisti, resume vires, fili carissime, clama, "ne cesses, exalta vocem tuam contra eos, immittite eis timo-"rem, incute contritionem, excute satisfactionem, ne ira Dei "descendat super eos, et tota gens pereat, vel, quod absit, "majores in gente. Ultio enim Divina jam in januis est. Hæc "tibi scribo, non ad confusionem tuam, sed ad cautelam, ut "fultus auctoritate Dei et nostra, de cætero valeas et velis ne-"cessitates officii tui fortius et validius exercere. Hoc unum "in summa te scire volo: per misericordiam Dei non extorque-"bitur a me ecclesiæ confusio. Præterea gratias tibi ago, "quod vel nunc visitasti me, et solatio tuo confortasti. Quid "plura? Unum est, quod sine multa animi mei amaritudine "sustinere non valeo. Fleo equidem super dilectissimo do-"mino meo rege. Timor enim et tremor venerunt super me, "et contexerunt me tenebræ, eo quod videam domino meo regi "tribulationem et angustiam imminere. Nec mirum. Com-"movit enim ecclesiam Dei, et conturbavit eam, ostendens "clero suo dura, et potans eam vino mœroris. Propterea dicit "ei Dominus: 'Ubi sunt nunc sapientes consiliarii tui, qui "'dederunt tibi consilium insipiens, qui dicebant, filius sa-"'pientum tu es, filius regum antiquorum, quorum consue-"'tudines observandæ in Anglia: quas qui non observaverit, "'non est amicus Cæsaris, hostis est coronæ, reus judicio.' "Sed certe magis est amicus crucis Christi, quoniam væ his, "qui condunt leges iniquas, et scribentes scripserunt injusti-"tias, ut opprimerent pauperes in judicio et vim facerent "causæ humilium populi Dei, ut essent ecclesiæ et viduæ "præda eorum, et clericorum aliorumque diriperent bona. "Quid facient in die visitationis, et calamitatis de longe veni-"entis? Ad cujus confugient auxilium, et derelinquent glorias "suas, ne incurventur sub judicio, et cadant cum interfectis? "Ubi sunt nunc sapientes ejus? procedant, annuntient ei, et "dicent quid cogitaverit Dominus exercituum super Angliam.

[Margin: He reproves the bishop as fearful; — S. Luke, xxiv. 21. — and urges him to take courage. — His great grief is for the king. — Isa. xix. 11.]

[1] *primogenite*] Robert was the first bishop consecrated by S. Thomas. The only other was Roger of Worcester.

A.D 1166.

The king's advisers have brought great calamity on England.

" Stulti facti sunt sapientes ejus, et emarcuerunt principes ejus, " deceperunt Angliam angulum populorum, Dominus immis- Isa. xix. 14. " cuit in medio ejus spiritum vertiginis. Errare fecerunt " Angliam in opere suo, sicut errat ebrius vomens tremensque, " et non erit Angliæ opus. Quis faciet caput aut caudam? " quia comederunt Jacob et locum ejus desolaverunt, et dixe- " runt, hæreditate possideamus sanctuarium Dei, exprobrando " sacerdotibus et principibus eorum, dicentes, Quo confugietis " e manibus nostris? aut in quo est vobis fiducia? Quare re- " cessistis, et obstitistis præceptis meis? O quam inanes cogita- " tiones istæ! quam pessimæ operationes in conspectu Domini, " Qui videt quam vanæ sunt! Ipse enim irridebit sic cogitan- " tem, sic operantem prospiciens, quod prope veniat dies ejus, " et jam in januis sit, et dicet: 'Ecce homines, qui non posue- Ps. lii. 7. " 'runt Deum adjutorem suum, sed speraverunt in multitudine " 'divitiarum suarum, et prævaluerunt in vanitate sua.' Sed " frustra hæc faciunt: non relinquit Dominus ecclesiam Suam, " clerum Suum sine defensore, sine ultione gravissima. Fundata " est enim supra firmam petram, Petra autem Ipse est Christus, " qui eam proprio sanguine Suo fundavit. Certe si ista non " emendaverint, non ferent ea impune, quoniam conculcaverunt " sancta sanctorum, domum Dei, sacerdotes ejus injuriis affi- " ciendo, verbisque probrosis. Hi sunt, quibus Dominus ipse " ait, 'Dixi, dii estis et filii Excelsi omnes.' Et alibi: 'Qui vos Ps. lxxxii. 6. " 'odit, me odit; et qui vos spernit, me spernit; qui tangit Zech. ii. 8. " 'vos, tangit pupillam oculi mei.' Revertantur ad cor; abji- " ciant mala ista a se: agant pœnitentiam cum summa humi- " litate. Alioquin verendum est, ne Dominus noster cito, " quod absit, veniat, adducens super eos et terram eorum " grandem retributionis ultionem et gravissimam.[1] Ecce veniet " Dominus noster et non tardabit: et salvabit nos Ipse, quoniam Hab. ii. 3. " nunquam derelinquet sperantes in Se. Propheta enim dicit, " 'Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem, et pasceris in divitiis Ps. xxxvii. 3. " 'Ejus.' Et alibi, 'Exspecta Dominum, viriliter age, et con- Ps. xxvii. 14. " 'fortetur cor tuum, et sustine Dominum, citoque liberaberis a " 'laqueo venantium, et a verbo aspero.' Et ut cætera omnia " debito fine concludam, quoniam ostendit nobis Dominus quæ " et quanta oporteat nos pati pro nomine Suo, et pro defen- " sione ecclesiæ, necesse habemus ut ores tu et tota ecclesia " tibi commissa instanter pro nobis: ut quod nostris meritis " non valemus, tua et sanctorum virorum intercessione, qui in " ditione tua sunt, sustinere valeamus, et ob id gratiam sempi- " ternam consequi mereamur. Vale et confortare; valeat et

God will not desert his church.

He asks for the prayers of the church.

[1] *retributionis . . gravissimam*] tribulationem et ultionem retributionis gravissimam, Savile, from C.

"tota Anglicana ecclesia, et confortetur in Domino, ut et nos "bene valeamus. A.D. 1166.

Chr. Mailr. 170. Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, post reditum suum de Gualliа transfretavit de Anglia in Normanniam; et Willelmus rex Scottorum secutus est eum. Eodem anno obiit comes Cospatricus[1] in Albania, et Waldevus filius ejus successit illi. The king goes to Normandy.

XIII^us. annus regis Henrici secundi. A.D. 1167.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LX°VII°., qui erat annus decimus tertius regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis; obiit Matildis quondam Romanorum imperatrix,[2] mater prædicti Henrici regis Angliæ, et sepulta est apud Rothomagum, in abbatia quæ dicitur Sancta Maria de Pratis. Eodem anno Fredericus, Romanorum imperator, Romam venit,[3] et Widonem de Crema, antipapam, schismaticum, vi et armata manu in sedem apostolicam intrusit. Quo recedente, statim pestis mortifera in populum ejus grassata est: et Reginaldus Coloniensis electus, totius schismatis caput, in Alpibus extinctus est: et ut ossa a carnibus disjungerentur, et Coloniæ deferrentur, totus in aqua coctus est. Death of the empress Matilda. Wido antipope. Chr. Mailr. 170. Reginald of Cologne dies.

Item: Epistola beati Thomæ, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad Alexandrum papam.[4]

"Amantissimo patri et domino Alexandro, Dei gratia summo "pontifici, Thomas Cantuariensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, "debitam et devotam obedientiam. Satis superque satis "sustinui, pater amantissime, correctionem regis Angliæ, ex-"pectans, nec ullum omnino patientiæ meæ fructum obtinui; "quin potius detrimentum, et exterminium auctoritatis et "libertatis ecclesiæ Dei, dum incaute sustineo, cumulavi. "Conveni eum multotiens per nuncios religiosos et idoneos, "et ad debitam satisfactionem frequenter invitavi. Litteris "etiam, quarum transcripta vobis misi, Divinam ei severita- Letter of the archbishop to the pope. (1166.)

---

[1] *Cospatricus*] Earl of Dunbar.
[2] Sept. 10.
[3] July 22, 1167. Jaffé, 832.
[4] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iii. 10. Written in June 1166.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

The king, in spite of prayers and arguments, persists in his course.

He has threatened the Cistercians.

"tem et ultionem, nisi resipisceret, intimavi.[1] Ipse vero magis "ac magis procedit[2] in deterius, conculcans et deprimens "ecclesiam Dei: sed et personam meam, et eos qui mecum "exulant, adeo persequens, ut etiam beneficia servorum Dei, "qui nobis Dei et vestri causa victualia provident, minis et "terroribus suis auferre conetur. Scripsit enim abbati Cis-"terciensi, quod sicut abbatias ordinis, quæ in ipsius potestate "sunt, diligit; ita nos a beneficio et familiaritate ordinis "faciat alienos. Quid multis? eousque sub patientia nostra, "tam ipsius regis quam officialium ejus profecit duritia,[3] "ut si multitudo virorum quantumlibet religiosorum rem "vobis, ut est, interpositis etiam juramentis, assereret, miror "si vel sic eorum assertioni credulitatem aliquam vestra "sanctitas adhiberet. Hæc igitur cum anxietate mentis[4] "attendens, et periculum tam regis quam vestrum conside-"rans, perniciosas illas, non tam consuetudines, quam pravi-"tates, quibus perturbatur et confunditur Anglicana ecclesia, "scriptum, et auctoritatem scripti, quo fuerant confirmatæ, "publice condemnavi, tam observatores quam exactores et "patronos earum; fautores etiam et consiliarios seu adju-"tores quicunque fuerint, sive clerici sive laici, generaliter "excommunicans;[5] et episcopos nostros a juramento, quo ad "earum observantiam violenter astricti fuerant, absolvens.[6] "Sunt autem hæc, quæ in scripto illo specialiter condemnavi: "'Quod non appelletur ad sedem apostolicam qualicunque de "'causa absque assensu regis. Quod non liceat episcopo "'coercere aliquem de perjurio vel fide læsa. Quod non "'liceat episcopo excommunicare aliquem qui tenet aliquid "'de rege in capite, vel terram ejus vel officialium suorum "'sub interdicto ponere absque licentia regis. Quod clerici "'vel viri religiosi trahantur ad sæcularia judicia. Quod laici, "'sive rex sive alii, tractent causas de ecclesiis vel decimis. "'Quod non liceat archiepiscopo vel episcopo exire de regno, "'et venire ad vocationem domini papæ, sine licentia regis;' "et alia in hunc modum. Nominatim autem excommunicavi "Johannem de Oxeneforde, qui communicavit schismatico et "excommunicato illi Reginaldo Coloniensi; quique, contra "mandatum domini papæ et nostrum, usurpavit sibi decana-"tum Salesbiriensis ecclesiæ, et in curia imperatoris pro

The archbishop has denounced the constitutions; released the bishops from their oath;

and excommunicated John of Oxford.

---

1 *intimavi*] intentavi, G.

2 *procedit*] proficit, G.

3 *duritia*] impietas, G.

4 *mentis*] cordis, G.

5 *excommunicans*] excommunicationi subjiciens. Scriptum etiam et auctoritatem scripti quo perversitates illæ fuerant confirmatæ, cassavi, add. G.

6 *absolvens*] relaxavi, G.

"schismate renovando,[1] præstitit juramentum. Similiter et Ricardum de Yvecestre denunciavimus et excommunicavimus, eo quod inciderit in eandem hæresim damnatam, communicando famosissimo schismatico illi Coloniensi; machinando et fabricando omnia mala cum schismaticis et Teutonicis illis, in perniciem ecclesiæ Dei, maxime ecclesiæ Romanæ, ex pactis contractis inter regem Angliæ et ipsos;[2] et Ricardum de Luci et Jocelinum de Balliol, qui regiæ tyrannidis fautores et hæreticarum illarum pravitatum fabricatores exstiterunt. Rannulfum etiam del Broc et Hugonem de Sancto Claro et Thomam filium Bernardi, qui possessiones et bona ecclesiæ Cantuariæ, absque licentia et consensu nostro, sibi usurpaverunt. Excommunicavimus etiam omnes, qui in possessiones et bona ecclesiæ Cantuariæ, manus contra voluntatem et assensum nostrum extendunt. Ipsum tamen regem nondum personaliter excommunicavimus, adhuc expectantes correctionem ejus: quem tamen excommunicare non differemus,[3] nisi celeriter resipuerit, et ex his quæ fecerit apprehenderit disciplinam. Ut ergo, beatissime pater, apostolicæ sedis auctoritas, et ecclesiæ Dei libertas, quæ in partibus nostris tota fere deperiit, utcunque valeat instaurari, necesse est, et modis omnibus expedit, ut quod a nobis gestum est, ratum omnimodis habeatis, et litteris vestris confirmetis. Valeat et vigeat sanctitas vestra."[4]

A.D. 1165. (1166.) He has excommunicated Richard of Ilchester, Richard de Luci, Jocelin de Bailleul, and others.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Henricum regem Anglorum.[5]

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio Henrico, illustri Anglorum regi, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quam paterne et quam benigne regiam sæpius excellentiam convenerimus, et per litteras ac nuncios frequentius exhortati fuerimus, ut venerabilem fratrem nostrum, Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, tibi reconci-

Letter of the pope to the king. (1168.)

---

[1] *pro schismate renovando*] quale ipse audistis, G.

[2] *ex . . . . ipsos*] quique præstitit juramentum de contrahendo matrimonio cum duce Saxonum, G.

[3] *Excommunicavimus . . . differemus*] Omnes inquam istos anathematis vinculo innodavimus. Verum in personam regis nondum sententiam dedimus, daturi forsitan per misericordiam Dei celerius, G.

[4] *et litteris . . . vestra*] om. G.

[5] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iv. 130. This letter is shown by its date given in Giles, "Datum Beneventi, undecimo "kalendas Junii," to belong to the year 1168. Cf. Jaffé, p. 716.

A.D. 1167. (1168.) He is truly grieved at the king's obduracy.

" liare deberes, et sibi ac suis ecclesias cum cæteris ablatis " restituere, sublimitatis tuæ prudentia nequaquam ignorat, " cum id toti fere Christianitati publicum et manifestum " existat. Unde quoniam in hoc hucusque proficere minime " potuimus, nec animi tui motum blandis et lenibus emol- " lire, tristes et dolentes efficimur. Et nos spe ac fiducia " nostra frustrari dolemus, præsertim cum te, sicut caris- " simum filium, sincerius in Domino diligamus: cui in hoc " grave periculum imminere videmus, et quoniam scriptum " est, 'Clama, ne cesses: quasi tuba exalta vocem tuam, Isa. lviii. 1.
" 'et annuncia populo Meo scelera eorum;' et alibi, 'Nisi " 'annunciaveris impio impietatem suam, sanguinem ipsius Ezek. iii. 18.
" 'de manu tua requiram,' et alias, per Jeremiam,[1] 'Piger " 'homo stercore boum lapidari jubetur.' Duritiam tuam, " sicut hactenus, contra justitiam et salutem nostram, non " duximus ulterius supportandam; nec præfato archiepiscopo " os de cætero aliqua ratione claudemus, quin officii sui " debitum libere prosequatur, et suam et ecclesiæ suæ inju- " riam ecclesiasticæ severitatis gladio ulciscatur. Quæ autem " in litteris istis, tam de his quam de aliis, minus conti- " nentur, dilecti filii nostri prior[2] de Monte Dei et frater " Bernardus de Corilo, viri siquidem plus Deum quam homi- " nes reverentes, serenitati tuæ latius viva voce proponent. " Quorum admonitioni Ille Cui servire regnare est, et in " Cujus manu corda regum consistunt, animum et volunta- " tem tuam inclinet, ut potius flecti velis, quam contra Deum " et salutem tuam in tantæ obstinationis proposito diutius " permanere. Quod si nos in illis nec sic audire volueris, " ea, quæ tibi ex parte nostra proposuerint, proculdubio ven- " tura poteris formidare."[3]

He sends the prior of Mont de Dieu and Bernard de la Coudre to the king.

Epistola beati Thomæ, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad Gilebertum Lundoniensem episcopum.[4]

Letter of the archbishop to the bishop of London. (1166.)

" Thomas Cantuariensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, Gilleberto " episcopo Lundoniensi, quod semel, hoc iterum, sic transire

---

[1] *Jeremiam*] Salomonem, G. The words are taken from Ecclesiasticus, xxii. 2.

[2] Simon.

[3] *formidare*] poteris Divinam ultionem in proximo formidare, add. Savile, from

[4] R. de Diceto, 542; Giles, *S.T.C.*, iii. 283. This letter was written in answer to the one that follows it, which was probably written by Foliot in the name of the suffragans. Both belong to 1166.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

The archbishop wonders at the behaviour of the bishop.

" per bona temporalia, ut non amittat æterna. Mirandum et
" vehementer stupendum est, virum prudentem, sacris litteris
" eruditum, præsertim religionem habitu præferentem, adeo
" manifeste, ne dicam irreverenter, et timore Dei post-
" posito, adversari veritati, justitiæ resistere, et ad omne fas
" nefasque confundendum, statum sanctæ ecclesiæ, quam Ipse
" fundavit Altissimus, velle evertere. Veritas est Qui dicit,
S. Matt. xvi. 18. " 'Portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam.' Non sani
" igitur capitis esse dinoscitur, qui intentat ei ruinam, et
" homini similis, montem magnum fune circumligatum ten-
" tanti dejicere. Sed nunquid ira vel odio deferbui, ut exacer-
" batus jaculari compellar hujusmodi verba in fratrem meum,
" et collegam, et coepiscopum meum? Absit. Sed de litteris
" tuis, quas per archidiaconum tuum[1] destinatas accepi, talia
" collegi; neque enim de spinis uvas, aut ficus de tribulis
S. Matt. vii. 16. " colligere potui. Ut clareat an ita sit, proponamus eas, et
" continentiam earum in lucem proferamus. Finis collatus
" principio, similitudinem scorpionis conformat. Illud blan-
" diens, ad nos ingreditur, ille pungens nos acerbe, silentium
" nobis imponere machinatur.[2] Quid enim aliud est primo
" recognoscere debitam nobis subjectionem, et subjectioni co-
" hærentem obedientiam promittere, demum ne obedire debeas
" ad appellationem convolare. 'Numquid apud me sunt, est,
2 Cor. i. 17. " 'et non?' dicit apostolus. Sed neque apud apostoli debe-
" rent esse discipulum. Necessario[3] acceperunt discipuli a
S. Luke, x. 19. " Domino potestatem calcandi super serpentes et scorpiones.
Ezek. ii. 6. " Habitat Ezechiel et hodie cum scorpionibus. Et illud vide
" quo sensu dixeris, 'ad appellationis remedium confugimus.'
" Christi sequelam te dicis, in hoc dicto secus inveniris. Om-
" nium enim malorum nostrorum efficax, immo efficacissimum
" remedium, commendavit nobis Christus obedientiam, non
" solum verbo, sed evidentissimo exemplo, factus obediens
Phil. ii. 8. " Patri Suo usque ad mortem. Et tu qua fronte appellas
" remedium obedientiæ impedimentum? Quod non reme-
" dium sed detrimentum rectius habet nominari. Sed et qua

He has received his letter, which is like a scorpion, with a sting in the tail.

He has the power to tread upon scorpions.

[1] *archidiaconum tuum*] The four archdeacons of the diocese of London at this time were Nicolas, of London; Richard Foliot, of Colchester; Robert Banaster, of Essex; and Ralph de Diceto, of Middlesex. Perhaps the last is the one meant; he certainly was employed in these negotiations on the king's side. See Joh. Salisb., ep. 184. It is significant that in his version of the letter he omits the mention of the archdeacon.

[2] *Veritas . . . machinatur*] om. R. de Diceto.

[3] *Necessario . . . . præsumis*] om. R.D.

A.D. 1167. (1166.) He accuses him of disobedience to the pope, whom he is trying to win over.

"fiducia hoc præsumis? Sperasne te habiturum defensorem ad "non obediendum illi, qui vindicandi in omnem inobedientiam "et officium accepit et præceptum? Male est hoc sperare de "eo, et in ipsum graviter offendere. Poterat te retardare ab "hujusmodi præsumptione, quas jam passus es, prima et "secunda repulsio. Viva quippe vox tua primum, et deinde "litteræ tuæ ad persuadendum compositæ expertæ sunt, "quam firmiter stet, quam sit vicarius Petri, quem non "precibus, non donis, nec commonitionibus,[1] vel promissis "movere potuisti. Sed tertio attentandus est, ut Domini sui "exemplo, tertia attentatione triumphum reportet. Porro[2] ut "nihil deesset gravaminis, defixisti terminum tuæ appellationi, "anni fere spatium. Nec misertus es nostri exilii, vel laboris "sanctæ ecclesiæ sponsæ Christi, quam Ipse Suo sanguine "adquisivit; et ut hæc omittam, non omittenda tamen, pro- "videre debueras, cui te favere dicis, domino nostro regi, "qui quamdiu sic aget in nos, vel in ecclesiam Christi, nec "ad bella procedere, vel in pace degere, sine periculo animæ "suæ poterit. Ad reliqua transeamus. Quædam commemoras "turbata esse in discessu et ex discessu nostro. Timeant "hujus perturbationis auctores et consiliarii, ne et ipsi tur- "bentur. Magnis me laudibus extollis, quasi de bono prin- "cipio meæ peregrinationis: et quidem sapientis est famam "non negligere; sed discreti est nulli magis de se quam sibi "credere. De injuriis insimulor quasi illatis domino regi "nostro. Sed quia designas nullam ex nomine, nec ego scio "cui respondere debeam. Quia ergo superficie tenus accusor, "superficie tenus in hac parte me excuso. Hoc tamen interim "accipe responsum: quia nullius conscius sum, nec prop- 1 Cor. iv. 4. "terea justificatus sum. De comminatorio miraris; quod nos "in eum emisimus.[2] Quis pater videt filium aberrare et tacet? "Quis virga non percutit, ne gladium incurrat? Desperat "pater de filio, quem comminatione non corripit, vel flagello. "Absit autem, ut tecum sentiamus dominum nostrum impa- "tientem correptionis ad exterminationem apostasiæ lapsurum. "Non enim Patris cœlestis plantatio eradicabitur. Navem S. Matt. xv. 13. "concutit sævissima tempestas. Clavum teneo, et ad somnum "me vocas? Congeris et statuis ante oculos nostros beneficia "nobis a domino nostro rege collata, et de exili commemoras ad "summa provectum? Ut autem huic aliquantis per respondeam, "in insipientia mea tamen; de quo exili putas? Si tempus,

He has shown no pity for the archbishop.

The archbishop is conscious of no offence against the king.

He has but done his duty.

[1] *commonitionibus*] comminationibus, G; communionibus, A.

[2] *Porro . . . emisimus*] om. R.D.

"quo me ministerio suo præstituit, respicias, archidiaconatus "Cantuariensis, præpositura Beverlaci, plurimæ ecclesiæ, "præbendæ nonnullæ, alia etiam non pauca, quæ nominis "mei erant possessio tunc temporis, adeo tenuem, ut dicis, "quantum ad ea quæ mundi sunt, contradicunt me fuisse. "Quod si ad generis mei radicem, et progenitores meos intende-"ris, cives quidem fuerunt Lundoniæ, in medio concivium "suorum habitantes sine querela, nec omnino infimi. Sed ut "aliquando mundi tenebris semotis judicemur a lumine veri-"tatis, quid gloriosius, nasci de mediocribus vel etiam infi-"mis, an de mundi magnatibus et honoratis? cum dicat apo-"stolus, 'Inhonestiora corporis nostri membra abundantiori "'circumdamus honore?' 'Stemmata quid faciunt,' ait gen-"tilis poeta. Quid habet dicere Christianus episcopus littera-"tus et religiosus? sed fortassis de exiguitatis meæ memoria, "notam confusionis mihi objicere voluisti: confundere autem "patrem quantum cedat in reatum ipse videris, ex præcepto "Domini, quod de honorando patre accepisti. Pro gratia vero "regis nobis commendanda, commemoratione beneficiorum ejus "non multum fuit laborandum. Testem enim Dominum in-"voco, nihil sub sole me gratiæ ipsius et saluti præponere, "tantum salva sint quæ Dei sunt et sanctæ ecclesiæ. Non "enim aliter feliciter regnare poterit, vel secure. Esto, quia "ita est, multa sunt plura, et ampliora, quam tua explicet "oratio, beneficia ejus erga me. Debuine pro his omnibus, "vel etiam si centuplicarentur,[1] ecclesiæ Dei libertatem ex-"ponere? Quanto minus pro famæ meæ, quæ sæpius a vero "deviat, conservatione. Si mitius in alios egi, in hoc nec "tibi nec alii parco, neque angelo, si descenderit de cœlo; "sed statim ut audivero talia commonentem, audiet ex me, "'Vade retro Satana: non sapis quæ Dei sunt.' Absit a me "ista dementia. Avertat a me Dominus amentiam istam, ut "aliquatenus persuadear aliquibus tergiversationibus inire com-"mercium de Christi corpore; unde ego Judæ venditori, et "dominus meus Judæis assimiletur emptoribus Christi. De "promotione vero mea, quam scribis factam matre domini "nostri dissuadente, regno reclamante, ecclesia Dei quoad "licuit suspirante, hæc tibi respondeo. Quod regni reclama-"tionem non audivimus, sed potius acclamationem; dissuasio "vero genitricis domini nostri, si fuit, usque ad publicum "non prodiit.[2] Potuit autem fieri, aliquas ecclesiasticas per-

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

He answers the charge of ingratitude by recounting his own history.

1 Cor. xii. 23.

Juvenal, viii. 1.

The king's kindnesses cannot make him desert the cause of the church.

S. Matt. xvi. 23.

He denies that his appointment was unpopular.

[1] *centuplicarentur*] centum duplicarentur, G.

[2] *confundere . . . prodiit*] om. R.D.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

Envy and and disappointment are the source of these charges.

" sonas ad eandem promotionem, ut solet, aspirantes, suspirasse, cum se sentirent ab ea, quam conceperant, spe decidere. Qui et hodie fortassis in ultionem sui casus, præsentis dissensionis auctores sunt, et consiliarii. 'Sed væ illi per 'quem scandalum venit.' Prætaxatis[1] vero obstaculis, et aliis si qua fuerunt, Divina prævaluit dispensatio, ut est hodie cernere. Exigor itaque ab Eo, Qui Ipsa est Justitia, nulli omnino Eum postponere, Qui me statuit in gradu isto Sua miseratione. Illud etiam quod ad justificandum dominum regem videris proposuisse, judicavi non prætereundum leviter, vel absque discussione. Et utinam a justitia non dissentiret, et nostra adversus eum minus justa appareret querela. Dicis ipsum esse ad satisfaciendum et semper fuisse paratum. Hoc te confidenter dicere, hoc te asseris prædicare. Sustine igitur paulisper, et ad interrogata responde.[1] Illud quod dicis, paratum esse ad satisfaciendum, —quo sensu intelligis? Illos quorum se Deus dicit patrem et judicem, orphanos, viduas, pupillos, innocentes, et omnino hujus quæ nos movet controversiæ ignaros, vides proscribi, et taces; clericos exterminari, et non reclamas; alios bonis suis spoliari, et contumeliis affici, et non contradicis; servientes meos in vincula conjici et teneri, et obmutescis; matris tuæ Cantuariensis ecclesiæ bona diripi, et non resistis; me patrem tuum gladios cervici meæ jam jam imminentes vix evasisse, et non doles. Sed, quod deterius est, cum persecutoribus meis, et in me Dei et ecclesiæ Ipsius, et hoc non in occulto, stare non erubescis. Estne hoc satisfacere, perpetrata mala non corrigere, et malis deteriora de die in diem adjicere? Sed fortassis illud in contrarium intelligis, ut sit satisfacere, voluntati impiorum deservire, secundum illud, 'Inebriabo sagittas meas sanguine.' Sed dicis mihi, 'Pater mi, de quibus me calumniaris? Ab'solvo me paucis. Tunicæ meæ timeo.' Verum est, fili mi, et nimis verum, quod respondes, et ideo gladium non habes. Quod enim scribis ipsum paratum stare judicio regni sui, quasi condigna satisfactio sit hæc; quis est in terra, vel etiam in cœlo, qui de Divina dispositione præsumat judicare. Humana judicentur: Divina penitus inconcussa[2] relinquantur. Quanto melius, frater mi, illi salubrius, tibi securius, intimare ei et persuadere omnibus modis elaborares voluntatem Dei de conservanda pace ecclesiæ Suæ; de non appetendis his quæ concessa non sunt ejus

S. Matt. xviii. 7.

Is the king indeed willing to give satisfaction?

You have taken your stand with the persecutors.

Deut. xxiii. 42.

Who is to be the judge of fitting satisfaction?

---

[1] *Prætaxatis . . . responde*] om. R.D.

[2] *inconcussa*] remaneant et, add. Savile.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

The archbishop defends his conduct in excommunicating John of Oxford.

" administrationi: de honorandis sacerdotibus Dei; nec qui " sunt attendat, sed Cujus servi sunt. In Salesberiensem " episcopum, et Johannem Oxenefordensem, non decanum ut " dicis, sed decanatus invasorem, me præjudicio abusum ca- " lumniaris. Sed meminisse debuisti quædam manifesta præ-
1 Tim. v. 24. " cedere ad judicium. Et motum te dicis, quidni? 'Ucalegon " 'trepidat paries cum proximus ardet.' Et utinam bene move- " aris ab eo, in quo non bene stetisti.[1] Sciat ergo et intelli- " gat, te intimante, dominus meus, quod Qui dominatur in " regno hominum, sed et angelorum, duas sub Se potestates " ordinavit, principes et sacerdotes; unam terrenam, alteram " spiritualem; unam ministrantem, alteram præeminentem; " unam cui potentiam concessit, alteram cui reverentiam ex- " hiberi voluit. Qui vero his vel illis de suo jure subtrahit,

He compares the temporal and spiritual powers.

Rom. xiii. 2. " Dei ordinationi resistit. Non indignetur itaque dominus " noster deferre illis, quibus omnium Summus deferre non de- " dignatur, deos appellans eos sæpius in sacris literis: sic
Ps. lxxxii. 6. " enim dicit, 'Ego dixi dii estis,' etc. Et iterum, 'Constitui
Exod. vii. 1. " 'te deum Pharaonis.' Et 'diis non detrahes:' id est, sacer-
Exod. xxii. 28. " dotibus. Et de eo qui juraturus erat, loquens per Moisen,
Exod. xxii. 8. " ait, 'Applica illum ad deos;' id est, ad sacerdotes.[2] Nec " præsumat dominus noster judices suos velle judicare. Ter- " renis enim potestatibus non sunt commissæ claves regni " cœlorum; sed sacerdotibus. Inde scriptum est, 'Labia " 'sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem requirent ex
Mal. ii. 7. " 'ore ejus, quia angelus Domini est.' Paulus etiam dicit,
1 Cor. vi. 3. " 'Nonne angelos judicabimus: quanto magis homines?'

Constantine refused to receive charges against bishops.

" Illud etiam te suggerente commemoretur domino nostro " dignum memoria et imitatione, quod in Ecclesiastica Historia " legimus de Constantino imperatore; cui cum oblatæ fuissent " scripto accusationes[3] contra episcopos, accusationis quidem " libellos acceptos, et accusatos convocans, in eorum conspectu " eosdem incendit: dicens, 'Vos dii estis, a vero Deo constituti. " 'Ite et inter vos causas vestras disponite, quia dignum non " 'est ut nos homines judicemus deos.' O magnum imperato- " rem! O discrete regnantem in terra! quæ aliena sunt non " usurpantem, et regnum æternum in cœlo promerentem! " Studeat itaque dominus noster tantum, tam discretum, tam " felicem imitari principem, cujus et memoria laudabilis fre- " quentatur in terris, et vita perpetua et gloriosa habetur in

---

[1] *In Salesberiensem . . . stetisti*] om. R.D.; fecisti, G.

[2] *Non indignetur . . . sacerdotes*] om. R.D.

[3] *accusationes*] actiones, G.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

"cœlis.[1] Alioquin timeat quod in Deuteronomio Dominus minatus est: dicens, 'Homo quicunque fecerit in superbia, 'ut non exaudiat sacerdotem, ante judicem morietur.' Ad hoc enim vocatus est, et in hoc ipsum temporalis regni pax et magnificentia, de qua nos commones, ministratur ei de cœlo. Alioquin non salvatur rex per multam virtutem suam, et si subdantur ei regna et inclinentur nationes. Sed hæc hactenus. Quoscunque autem prætaxatarum habuisti conscriptores litterarum, quod tibi responsum est noverint sibi esse responsum. De cætero fratres commoneo vos, rogo et obsecro, ut nos non separent schismata, nec obnubilent simultates; sed sit nobis in Domino cor unum et anima una, et audiamus Illum qui dicit, pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos. Non obliviscamur illum districtum Judicem, ante Cujus tribunal constitutos sola nos veritas judicabit, amoto timore et fiducia omnis terrenæ potestatis. Valeat in Domino fraternitas vestra."

Deut. xvii. 12.

This answer is to all in common, who joined in the bishop's letter.

Ps. xxxiii. 16.

Ecclus. iv. 33.

Epistola suffraganeorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum.[2]

(1166.) Letter of the suffragans to the archbishop.

"Venerabili patri et domino Thomæ, Dei gratia Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, suffraganei ejusdem ecclesiæ episcopi, et personæ per eorundem dioceses locis variis constitutæ, debitam subjectionem et obedientiam. Quæ vestro, pater, in longinqua discessu inopinata rei ipsius novitate turbata sunt, vestra sperabamus humilitate et prudentia in pacis pristinæ serenitatem, cooperante gratia, revocari. Erat quidem nobis solatio, quod post discessum vestrum, ad omnes fama divulgante pervenit, vos scilicet in transmarinis agentem nil altum sapere; vos in dominum nostrum regem aut regnum ejus nulla machinatione insurgere, sed sponte susceptum paupertatis onus cum modestia sustinere, lectioni et orationi insistere, præteritorumque jacturam temporum jejuniis, vigiliis, lacrymisque redimere, et spiritualibus occupatum studiis ad perfectum beatitudinis[3] virtutum incre-

They were glad to hear that he bore his exile patiently and piously.

---

[1] R. de Diceto omits the rest of the letter.

[2] Giles, *S.T.C.*, vi. 185. This letter, to which the preceding one was the answer, was written in 1166.

[3] *perfectum beatitudinis*] perfectionis apicem beatis, G.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

" mentis ascendere. Ad pacis bona reformanda vos studiis " hujusmodi gaudebamus insistere: ex quibus spes erat, vos " in cor domini regis nostri hanc posse gratiam desuper " evocare, ut vobis iram regia pietate remitteret, et illatas " in discessu et ex discessu vestro injurias, ad cor de cætero " non revocaret. Erat amicis vestris et benevolis ad ipsum " aliquis, dum hæc de vobis audirentur, accessus, et ob conci- " liandum vobis gratiam supplicantes benigne quemque sus- " tinuit. Jam vero quorundam relatione didicimus, quod ad " memoriam anxie revocamus, vos scilicet in eum commina- " torium emisisse, quo salutationem omittitis, quo non ad " obtentum gratiæ consilium precesve porrigitis, quo non " amicum quid sentitis aut scribitis, sed intentatis minis inter- " dictum aut præcisionis elogium in eum jam dicendum fore " multa severitate proponitis. Quod si quam dure dictum est " tam fuerit severe completum, quæ turbata sunt non jam " speramus ad pacem redigi, sed in perenne quoddam odium " et inexorabile pertimescimus inflammari. Rerum vero finem " prudentia sancta considerat, dans operam sollicite, ut quod " prudenter inchoat, bono quoque fine concludat. Advertat " itaque, si placet, discretio vestra quo tendat, an conatibus " hujusmodi finem queat obtinere quem optat. Nos quidem " his ausis a spe magna cecidimus, et qui pacis obtinendæ " spem quandoque concepimus, ab ipsis jam spei liminibus " gravi quadam desperatione repellimur. Et dum velut ex- " tracto gladio pugna conseritur, pro vobis supplicandi locus " utique non invenitur. Unde patri scribimus ex caritate con- " silium, ne labores laboribus, injurias superaddat injuriis; " sed omissis minis, patientiæ et humilitati inserviat. Causam " suam Divinæ clementiæ, domini sui gratiæ misericordi " committat, et sic agendo carbones ignis in multorum capita " coacervet et congerat.[1] Accenderetur hoc modo caritas, et " quod minæ non poterant, inspirante Domino bonorumque " consilio suadente, sola fortasse pietas obtineret. Bonum erat " de paupertate voluntaria gloriose laudari, quam de beneficii " ingratitudine ab omnibus in commune notari. Insedit alte " cunctorum mentibus, quam benignus vobis dominus rex " noster exstiterit, in quam vos gloriam ab exili provexerit, et " in familiarem gratiam tam læta vos mente susceperit, ut " dominationis suæ loca, quæ a Boreali oceano Pyreneum " usque porrecta sunt, adeo potestati vestræ cuncta subjecerit, " ut in his solum hos beatos reputaret opinio, qui in vestris " oculis poterant complacere. Et ne vestram gloriam mobi-

There was hope of peace.

But now they hear that the archbishop has threatened the king.

They beg him not to make bad worse.

Rom. xii. 20.

They remind him of the king's kindness to him.

[1] *coacervet et congerat*] coacervat et congregat, Savile from MSS.

A.D. 1167. (1166.) How he made him archbishop against the wish of his mother.

"litas posset mundana concutere, vos in his quæ Dei sunt "voluit immobiliter radicare; et dissuadente matre sua, regno "reclamante, ecclesia Dei, quoad licuit, suspirante et inge- "miscente, vos in eam qua præestis dignitatem modis omni- "bus studuit sublimare, sperans se de cætero regnare feli- "citer, et ope vestra et consilio summa securitate gaudere. "Si ergo securim accipit unde securitatem sperabat, quæ de "vobis erit in cunctorum ore narratio? Quæ retributionis "hactenus inauditæ[1] rememoratio? Parcatis ergo, si placet, "famæ vestræ, parcatis et gloriæ, et humilitate dominum "nostrum, filiumque vestrum caritate vincere studeatis. Ad "quod si nostra vos monita movere nequeunt, debet saltem "summi pontificis, sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ dilectio et "fidelitas inclinare. Vobis enim suaderi debet e facili, ne "quid attentare velitis, quod laboranti jamdiu matri vestræ "labores augeat; quove multorum inobedientiam deploranti "in eorum qui obediunt amissione dolor accrescat. Quid "enim si vestra, quod absit, exacerbatione et opera, domi- "nus noster, quem largiente Domino populi sequuntur et "regna, a domino papa recesserit? Ipsumque sibi fortassis "adversum vos solatia denegantem, sequi de cætero declina- "verit? Ipsum namque in hoc, quæ supplicationes, quæ "dona, quot quantave promissa sollicitant? In petra tamen "hucusque firmus perstitit et totum quod mundus offerre "potest victor alta mente calcavit. Unum nobis timori est, "ut quem oblatæ divitiæ, et totum quod in hominum gloria "pretiosum est, flectere nequiverunt, animi sui valeat indig- "natio sola subvertere. Quod si per vos acciderit, in thre- "nos totus ire poteritis, et lacrymarum fontem oculis vestris "de cætero negare nulla quidem ratione poteritis. Revoce- "tis itaque, si placet, sublimitati vestræ consilium, domino "quidem papæ, sanctæque Romanæ ecclesiæ, vobisque etiam, "si placet, advertere, modis omnibus, si processerit, ob- "futurum. Sed qui penes vos alta sapiunt, vos forte hac via "progredi non permittunt. Hortantur experiri quis sitis in "dominum nostrum regem, et in omnia quæ sua sunt potes- "tatem exercere qua præestis. Quæ nimirum potestas pec- "canti timenda est, satisfacere nolenti formidanda. Dominum "vero regem non quidem nunquam peccasse dicimus, sed "semper Domino paratum satisfacere confidenter dicimus et "prædicamus. Rex a Domino constitutus paci providet per "omnia subjectorum, et ut hanc conservet ecclesiis et com- "missis sibi populis, dignitates regibus ante se debitas et

They pray him not to increase the chance of a schism.

Jer. ix. 1.

He has the power of doing great harm to the pope.

The king is always to give satisfaction.

[1] *inauditæ*] remuneratio vel, ins. Savile.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

" exhibitas sibi vult et exigit exhiberi. In quo si inter ipsum
" et vos aliqua est oborta contentio, a summo super hoc pon-
" tifice paterna gratia per venerabiles fratres nostros Lundo-
" niensem et Herefordensem episcopos conventus et commo-
" nitus, non in cœlum os suum posuit, sed de omnibus in
" ecclesia vel ecclesiastica persona quæcunque se gravatam
" ostendet, se non alienum quærere, sed ecclesiæ regni sui
" pariturum judicio humiliter et mansuete respondit. Quod qui-
" dem et factis implere paratus est, et dulce reputat obsequium,
" cum monetur ut corrigat si quid offenderit in Dominum.
" Nec solum satisfacere, sed et, si jus exigat, in hoc satis
" dare paratus est. Igitur et satis dare satisque facere volen-
" tem, ecclesiæ se judicio in his quæ sunt ecclesiæ nec in
" modico subtrahentem, colla Christi jugo subdentem, quo
" jure, qua lege, quove canone, aut interdicto gravabitis, aut
" securi, quod absit, evangelica præcidetis? Non impetu qui-
" dem ferri, sed judicio prudenter regi laudabile est. Unde
" nostrum omnium una est in commune petitio, ne consilio
" præcipiti mactare pergatis et perdere, sed commissis ovi-
" bus, ut vitam, ut pacem, ut securitatem habeant, paterna
" studeatis gratia providere. Movet quidem omnes nos, quod
" in fratrem nostrum dominum Saresberiensem episcopum, et
" decanum ejus, præpostere, ut quidam æstimant, nuper actum
" audivimus. In quos suspensionis aut damnationis pœnam
" ante motam de culpa controversiam, calorem, ut videtur,
" iracundiæ, plusquam justitiæ secuti tramitem, intorsistis.
" Ordo judiciorum novus hic est, hucusque legibus et cano-
" nibus, ut speramus, incognitus, damnare primum, et de
" culpa postremo cognoscere. Quem ne in dominum nostrum
" regem et regnum ejus, nec in nos et commissas nobis
" ecclesias et parochias, in domini papæ damnum, sanctæque
" ecclesiæ Romanæ dedecus et detrimentum, vestræque con-
" fusionis augmentum non modicum, exercere tentetis et ex-
" tendere: remedium vobis appellationis opponimus, et qui
" contra metum gravaminum, in facie ecclesiæ, viva jamdu-
" dum voce ad dominum papam appellavimus, iterato jam
" nunc ad ipsum scripto etiam appellamus, et appellationi
" terminum diem Ascensionis Dominicæ designamus: quanta
" quidem possumus devotione supplicantes, ut inito salubriori
" consilio, vestris ac nostris laboribus expensisque parcatis,
" causamque vestram in hoc, ut remedium habere queat,
" ponere studeatis. Valere vos optamus in Domino, pater.

He has bee[n] admonishe[d] by the bishops of London an[d] Hereford.

They com-plain of his conduct towards th[e] bishop and dean of Salisbury.

They appe[al] to the pop[e] against th[e] next Ascen-sion Day.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

Epistola suffraganeorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ad Alexandrum[1] summum pontificem.[2]

Letter of the suffragans of Canterbury to the pope.

" Patri suo et domino, summo pontifici Alexandro, provin-" ciæ Cantuariensis episcopi, et personæ per eorundem dio-" ceses locis pluribus constitutæ, domino patrique debitum " caritatis et obedientiæ famulatum. Vestram, pater, memi-" nisse credimus excellentiam, vos devotum filium vestrum, " dominumque nostrum carissimum, illustremque regem An-" glorum, per venerabiles fratres nostros Lundoniensem et " Herefordensem episcopos directis jamdudum litteris conve-" nisse, et de corrigendis quibusdam, quæ sanctitati vestræ " in ipsius regno corrigenda videbantur, paterna gratia com-" monuisse. Qui mandatum vestrum debita veneratione susci-" piens, ut satis notum est, ad vestra quidem monita non " iratus intumuit, non elatus obedire contempsit; verum agens " gratias paternæ correptioni, ecclesiæ se statim summisit " examini: asserens de singulis quæ juxta vestri formam man-" dati sibi diligenter expressa fuerunt, ecclesiæ regni sui se " pariturum judicio, et quæ corrigenda decerneret, ipsius se " consilio laudabili quidem, et in principe digne commenda-" bili devotione correcturum. Ab hoc vero non recedit pro-" posito, nec mentem revocat a promisso. Sit qui sedeat, " qui cognoscat, et judicet: ipse Divini reverentia timoris, " non majestatem præferens, sed ut filius obediens judicio " sistere, legitimæque parere sententiæ, seque legibus alliga-" tum principem, præsto est in omnibus exhibere.[3] Unde " nec interdicto, nec minis nec maledictionum aculeis ad " satisfactionem urgere necesse est Divinarum se legum ex-" amini subdentem. Ejus enim opera nequaquam se luci " subtrahunt, nec occultari tenebris aliqua ratione deposcunt. " Rex namque fide Christianissimus in copula castimoniæ con-" jugalis honestissimus, pacis et justitiæ conservator et dila-" tator incomparabiliter strenuissimus, hoc votis agit totis, in " his fervet desideriis, ut de regno suo tollantur scandala, " cum spurcitiis suis eliminentur peccata, pax totum obtineat " atque justitia, et alta securitate et quiete placida sub ipso " gaudeant et refloreant universa. Qui cum pacem regni sui,

The king has been admonished by the bishops of London and Hereford.

He is ready to give due satisfaction.

The king is most chaste, just, and energetic in reform:

---

[1] *Alexandrum . . . . pontificem*] erased in A.

[2] *S.T.C.*, vi. 190. Written after the Vezelai excommunications, June 1166.

[3] *exhibere*] filius obediens, add. Savile from MSS.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

The bishops explain the origin of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop on clerical immunity.

"enormi insolentium quorundam clericorum excessu, non "mediocriter aliquando turbari cognosceret, clero debitam "exhibens reverentiam, eorundem excessus ad ecclesiæ judices "retulit episcopos, ut gladius gladio subveniret, et pacem "quam regebat et fovebat in populo, spiritualis potestas fun-"daret et solidaret in clero. Qua in re partis utriusque zelus "innituit: episcoporum in hoc stante judicio, ut homicidium, et "si quid ejusmodi est, exauctoratione sola puniretur in clero: "rege vero existimante pœnam hanc non condigne respon-"dere flagitio, nec stabiliendæ paci bene prospici, si lector "aut acolytus perimat [quen]quam præclara nitentem virum "religione vel dignitate,[1] ut sola jam dicti ordinis amissione "tutus existat. Clero itaque statuto cœlitus ordini deferente, "domino vero rege peccatum justo ceu sperat odio perse-"quente, et pacem altius radicare intendente, sancta quædam "est oborta contentio, quam excusat, ut credimus, apud Do-"minum simplex utriusque partis intentio. Hinc non domi-"nationis ambitu, non opprimendæ ecclesiasticæ libertatis "intuitu, sed solidandæ pacis affectu, eo progressum[2] est, ut "regni sui consuetudines et dignitates regibus ante se in regno "Angliæ a personis ecclesiasticis observatas et pacifice ac re-"verenter exhibitas dominus noster rex deduci vellet in me-"dium, et ne super his contentionis funis traheretur in "posterum, notitiæ publicæ delegari. Adjuratis itaque per "fidem, et per eam quæ in Deum spes est, majoribus natu "episcopis, aliisque regni majoribus, retro acti temporis insi-"nuato statu, dignitates requisitæ palam prolatæ sunt, et "summorum in regno virorum testimoniis propalatæ. Hæc "est domini nostri regis in ecclesiam Dei toto orbe declamata "crudelitas, hæc ab eo persecutio, hæc opera ejus, rumuscu-"lis[3] undique divulgata malignitas. In his tamen omnibus si "quid sive periculosum animæ, si quid ignominiosum ecclesiæ "continetur, id vestra monitus atque motus auctoritate, ob "reverentiam Christi, ob ecclesiæ sanctæ, quam sibi matrem "profitetur, honorificentiam, ob animæ suæ remedium, eccle-"siæ regni sui consilio se correcturum devotione sanctissima "jamdiu pollicitus est, et constantissime pollicetur. Et quidem "pacis optatum finem, nostra, pater, ut speramus, obtinuisset "jam postulatio, si non iras jam sopitas, et fere prorsus ex-"tinctas, patris nostri domini Cantuariensis de novo suscitas-

The constitutions of Clarendon.

The king promises to remedy what is unjust in them.

---

[1] *quam . . . dignitate*] quenquam, G.

[2] *eo progressum*] eam progressus, Savile from MSS.

[3] *rumusculis*] perversorum rumusculis, G.; ivimus vel, A.; inter nos vel, C.

A.D. 1167. (1166.)

The archbishop has attacked the king in a most cruel letter.

"set exacerbatio. Verum hic, de cujus patientia pacem, de "cujus modestia redintegrationem hucusque gratiæ sperabamus; ipsum quem monitis emollire, quem meritis et mansuetudine superare debuerat, per tristes et terribiles litteras, "devotionem patris aut pontificis patientiam minime redolentes, "cum[1] in pacis perturbatores exercitum nuper ageret, dure "satis et irreverenter aggressus est; in ipsum excommunicationis sententiam, in regnum ejus interdicti pœnam acerrime "comminando: cujus si sic remuneratur humilitas, quid in "contumacem statuetur? Si sic æstimatur obediendi prompta "devotio, in obstinatam perversitatem quonam modo vindicabitur? Minis quoque gravibus superaddita sunt graviora.

He has excommunicated his advisers,

"Quosdam namque fideles et familiares domini regis, primarios regni proceres, regiis specialiter assistentes secretis, in "quorum manu consilia regis et regni negotia diriguntur, non "citatos, non defensos, non ut aiunt culpæ sibi conscios, non "convictos aut confessos, excommunicationis innodavit sententia, et excommunicatos publice denunciavit.

and suspended the bishop of Salisbury.

Adjecit "etiam, ut venerabilem fratrem nostrum Saresberiensem episcopum, absentem et indefensum, non confessum aut convictum, sacerdotali prius et episcopali suspenderet officio, "quam suspensionis ejus causa comprovincialium aut aliquorum etiam fuisset arbitrio comprobata. Si hic itaque judiciorum ordo circa regem, circa regnum, tam præpostere, ne "dicamus, inordinate processerit, quidnam consequi posse "putabimus? Dies enim mali sunt, et occasionem habentes "malignandi quamplurimam, nisi ut tenor pacis et gratiæ, "quo regnum et sacerdotium usque modo cohærent, abrumpatur, et nos cum commisso nobis clero in dispersionem abeamus "exilii, aut a vestra, quod absit, fidelitate recedentes, ad schismatis malum in abyssum iniquitatis et inobedientiæ provolvamur.

Such measures are ruinous to both church and state.

Compendiosissima quippe via hæc est ad omne "religionis dispendium, ad cleri pariter populique subversionem et interitum. Unde ne apostolatus vestri tempore tam "misere subvertatur ecclesia; ne dominus noster rex et servientes ei populi a vestra, quod absit, avertantur obedientia; "ne totum quod privatorum consilio machinatur, possit in nos "domini Cantuariensis iracundia; adversus eum et ipsius mandata, domino nostro regi aut regno ejus, nobis, aut commissis nobis ecclesiis gravamen aliquod importantia;

The bishops appeal to the pope.

ad "sublimitatem vestram voce et scripto appellavimus, et appellationi terminum diem Ascensionis Dominicæ designavi-

[1] *cum*] The Vezelai excommunications were published during the rebellion of Britany and before the capture of Fougeres.

"mus: eligentes apud vos in omne quod sanctitati vestræ A.D. 1167.
"placuerit humiliari, quam ad sublimes animi ipsius motus, "nostris non id exigentibus meritis, de die in diem tædiosis-"sime prægravari. Conservet incolumitatem vestram ecclesiæ "suæ in longa tempora profuturam Omnipotens Dominus, in "Christo dilecte pater."

Eodem anno obiit Robertus de Chennei episcopus Lincolniensis, sexto idus Januarii. Eodem anno Almaricus rex Jerusalem cepit Babyloniam et fecit eam sibi tributariam. Death of the bishop of Lincoln.

XIIII. annus Henrici regis IIdi.

Anno gratiæ M°C°LX°VIII°., qui erat annus decimus A.D. 1168.
quartus regni regis Henrici, filii Matildis imperatricis, Ricardus comes de Striguil, magno congregato exercitu, invasit Hyberniam, et maximam illius partem subjugavit sibi, auxiliante ei Milone de Coggeham, viro bellicoso: et facta concordia cum rege Diviliniæ, filiam illius in uxorem duxit cum regno Diviliniæ. Eodem Chr. Mailr. 170. anno obiit Wido Cremensis, secundus antipapa[1] cui successit Johannes abbas de Strume, qui appellatus est papa Calixtus. Eodem anno[2] obiit Robertus comes Leicestriæ, summus Angliæ justitiarius. Richard, earl of Strigul, invades Ireland. Death of the antipope Wido, and the earl of Leicester.

Epistola beati Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi ad Gillebertum Lundoniensem episcopum de sentcntia in eum prolata.[3]

"Thomas Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et aposto-"licæ sedis legatus, Gileberto Lundoniensi episcopo, utinam Letter of the archbishop to Gilbert Foliot.

---

[1] *antipapa*] Here Chron. Mailros proceeds, "et quidam tertius antipapa, cujus nomen ignoratur, qui et "ignorans ignorabitur, elevatus est." A passage which clearly proves its own early date, and that the Melrose chronicle was not copied from Hoveden. Wido died Sept. 20, 1168.

[2] *Eodem anno*] Cf. Joh. Salisb., ep. 238; Ann. Waver. *ad ann.*

[3] R. de Diceto, 549; *S.T.C.*, iii. 133. This letter is placed by Ralph de Diceto in the year 1169: but it may be earlier. Cf. Gervase c. 1403; Joh. Salisb., ep. 228; Herb. Bos. *S.T.C.*, vii. 252.

A.D. 1168.

His patience is exhausted, and he has excommunicated him.

"vero fratri, declinare a malo, et facere bonum. Excessus "vestros, dum licuit, supportavimus: et utinam mansuetudo "patientiæ nostræ, quæ nobis ultra modum damnosa exstitit, "in totius ecclesiæ perniciem non redundet. Sed quia patientia nostra semper abusi estis, et neque dominum papam "nec nos in verbo salutis vestræ voluistis audire, sed ob"duratio vestra in deteriora semper excrevit, vos, urgente "necessitate officii, et ratione juris persuadente, ex justis et "manifestis causis anathematis sententia percellentes excom"municavimus, et a corpore Christi, quod est ecclesia, donec "condigne satisfaciatis, amputavimus. Præcipimus ergo in "virtute obedientiæ, in periculo salutis, dignitatis et ordinis, "quatenus prout ecclesiæ forma præscribit, ab omnium com"munione fidelium abstineatis; ne vestra participatio Domi"nicum contaminet gregem ad ruinam, qui vestra doctrina "erudiendus et exemplis informandus erat ad vitam."

Epistola beati Thomæ ad capitulum Lundoniensis ecclesiæ ad vitandos excommunicatos.[1]

Letter of the archbishop to the chapter of S. Paul's.

"Thomas Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et apostolicæ sedis legatus decano, archidiacono et clero Lundoniensis ecclesiæ, salutem, et a communione excommunicatorum "fideliter abstinere. Vestram non debet latere prudentiam, "quod fere totus Latinus orbis agnovit, quam inique sumpta "opportunitate, ex causa schismatis generalis, Gilebertus "Lundoniensis episcopus, frater noster, utinam verus, in causa "ecclesiæ versatus sit, et pacem ejus studuerit perturbare. "Supportavimus enim in multa patientia hactenus, qua ille "semper abutens, jugis inobedientiæ crimen multiplicatis "excessibus incorrigibiliter cumulavit. Nos ergo, quibus ultra "dissimulare non licuit, cum urgente necessitate officii, et "ratione juris persuadente, publice excommunicavimus; et "vobis præcipimus, in virtute obedientiæ, et in periculo or"dinis et salutis, ut a communione ejus, sicut Christi fideles "decet, prorsus abstineatis.[2] Similiter et alios sub eadem "interminatione præcipimus evitari, quorum nomina inferius "scripta sunt. Simili quoque sententia, Deo auctore, eos qui

He has excommunicated their bishop.

---

[1] *S.T.C.*, iii. 298; R. de Dic., 549. Written at the same time with the last.

[2] *abstineatis*] Here R. de Diceto finishes the letter.

"a nobis solemniter citati sunt, nisi interim satisfecerint, "condemnabimus in die Ascensionis; scilicet Gaufridum Cantuariensem archidiaconum, et Robertum vicarium ejus, "Ricardum de Yvecestre, Ricardum de Luci, Willelmum "Giffard, Adam de Cheringes, et eos qui ex mandato regis, "vel propria temeritate, nostra vel clericorum nostrorum "occupaverunt bona, et eos qui ope vel consilio domini "regis animum adversus libertatem ecclesiæ, et innocentum "proscriptionem et depopulationem instigasse noscuntur, et "qui nuncios domini papæ et nostros, ne prosequantur ecclesiæ necessitates, impediunt. Non turbetur cor vestrum "in his, neque formidet, quia contra tergiversationes malignantium et appellationum subterfugia, Deo propitio, sedis "apostolicæ munimine tuti sumus. Hæc sunt nomina excommunicatorum: Jocelinus Saresbiriensis episcopus; comes "Hugo,[1] Randulfus de Broc, Thomas filius Bernardi, Robertus "de Broc, clericus, Hugo de Sancto Claro, Letardus clericus "de Norflita, Nigellus de Saccavilla,[2] Ricardus frater Willelmi de Hastinges, qui ecclesiam nostram de Monocotona[3] "occupavit. Valete."

A.D. 1168.

He intends to excommunicate more on Ascension Day.

S. John, xiv. 27.

Names of the excommunicated.

Epistola beati Thomæ, Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, ad Robertum Herefordensem episcopum.[4]

"Thomas Dei gratia Cantuariensis ecclesiæ humilis minister, venerabili fratri Roberto, eadem gratia Herefordensi "episcopo, salutem, et perseverantem in justitia et matris "ecclesiæ defensione constantiam.[5] Ad sanctorum gloriam "et reproborum damnationem necesse est scandala provenire: ut tribulationibus probentur electi, qui[6] per patien-

Letter of the archbishop to the bishop of Hereford.

---

[1] Bigot, earl of Norfolk.

[2] *Nigellus de Saccavilla*] Keeper of the king's seal. W. Fitz Stephen, *S.T.C.*, i. 278.

[3] *Monocotona*] Novo Cotona, Savile, from C.; Manech., Giles.—Monkton.

[4] This letter appears in Dr. Giles's collection as addressed to Henry bishop of Winchester, but it may very possibly be a circular, and addressed to him as the chief bishop of the province during Foliot's disgrace. According to the authorities, the bishop of Hereford, Robert of Melun, died Feb. 27, 1167, at least a year before the date of this letter; and there is a marked contrast in the style of it, with that of the other letters to the same bishop. It is to be found in Giles, *S.T.C.*, iii. 339. See also W. Fitz-Stephen, *S.T.C.*, i. 255.

[5] *Thomas . . . constantiam*] om. G.

[6] *qui*] probati, ins. G.

A.D. 1163. He hears that the bishop of London denies that his see is subject to Canterbury.

"tiam coronam adquirunt sibi, et aliis proficiunt per exemplum. Sed væ illi per quam scandalum venit. Quia ergo Lundoniensis episcopus non parcit a scandalis, et inter cætera patentis malitiæ opera, postquam Sathanæ traditus est, etiam contra matrem suam et vestram, sanctam Cantuariensem ecclesiam, tam impudenti audacia et parricidali impietate calcaneum erexit, ut dicere ausus sit, se ei, ex quo translatus est, nullam debere subjectionem, aut obedientiam exhibere. Et ad cumulum damnationis suæ adjecit, quod cathedram archiepiscopalem ad ecclesiam Lundoniensem transferri faciet. Fraternitatem ergo vestram, de qua plene confidimus, quanta possumus affectione rogamus, quatenus pro matre vestra defensionis clypeum opponatis filio Belial, qui præ cæteris allophylis, tanquam alter Goliath de Geth, solus auctore Domino, de castris incircumcisorum progredi non erubuit, nec timuit universitatem filiorum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ ad certamen provocare, dum matris eorum sanguinem sitit, et catholicæ pacis deserit unitatem. Scripserat domino papæ pro fratre nostro Eboracensi archiepiscopo, sollicitans eum etiam attestatione mendaci et mendosa, ut eum pateretur crucem deferre per provinciam nostram, nescio quid emolumenti sibi suspicans eventurum, si odio personæ nostræ ecclesiam, cui ex professione fidem et obedientiam debet, quocunque læsisset modo. Sed Christus, qui Cantuariensem ecclesiam a prima fundatione inter turbines varios et magnas multasque procellas rexit et fovit, misericorditer operatus est, ut in pleno consistorio per testes omni exceptione majores revelaretur falsitas et iniquitas ejus. Deo autem in primis gratias agimus, deinde vobis et cæteris fratribus nostris, qui vos, ut oportuit, ex quo eum constitit anathemate condemnatum, ab illius participatione vos suspendistis, et tam illum quam cæteros excommunicatos nostros, per episcopatum vestrum edicto publico jussistis evitari. Claruit hic fides vestra, constantia virtutis effulsit, quæ publicæ potestatis et officialium minas æque ut blanditias mandatis Dei censuit postponendas. Liberastis conscientias vestras, famam servastis, dum tam verbo veritatis quam fortitudinis exemplo docuistis, quod Deo potius quam hominibus oportet obedire. Certum itaque habeat sinceritas, quando quidem tanta caritas Dei per Spiritum Sanctum diffusa in cordibus vestris testimonio clari operis processit in publicum, servili timore depulso et expulso, quod Deus cito Satanam conteret sub pedibus vestris, et de certamine proventum educet gloriosum. Et quidem tanto citius et gloriosius, quanto ferventius et constantius in incepta

S. Matt. xviii. 7.

He begs the bishop to take the part of the mother church.

The bishop of London has also written to get the pope's leave for the archbishop of York to carry his cross in the province: but in vain.

The archbishop rejoices to hear that his sentence of excommunication is observed.

Rom. xvi. 20.

" perseverabitis[1] veritate. Unde vos oramus et obsecramus in " caritate Dei, et obtestamur per fidem, per obedientiam, per " sinceritatis affectionem, quam matri vestræ Cantuariensi " ecclesiæ debetis; quatenus ad tuendam dignitatem et jura " Cantuariensis ecclesiæ, cui professionem exhibuistis, contra " præfatum episcopum exsurgatis in auxilium nobis, et domino " papæ scribatis et curiæ testimonium veritatis, quale filios " pro matre ecclesia reddere decet. Nam qui illud subtra- " heret in articulo tantæ præsumptionis, proculdubio infidelis " habendus esset, et infideli deterior, in quem jus exigeret " usque ad internecionem omnes fideles irruere. Nec tamen " res ista quicquam potest habere periculi, cum veritas per- " spicua sit, et, ut dici solet, lippis et tonsoribus patens. Sed " quia maledictus est qui gladium revocat a cruore, et pesti- " lens flagellandus[2] est, ut erudiatur sapiens ad salutem, se " ipsum legis subjicit maledicto quicunque parricidæ cum la- " pide non occurrit et gladio. Videtur namque præstare con- " sensum, qui cum possit non arguit aut impedit talia com- " mittentem. Et ne a nobis districtius exigatur, si eorum qui " ecclesiam persequuntur, et quos ut pœnitentiam agerent[3] in " multa patientia jam fere toto quinquennio supportavimus, " magnas et manifestas ulterius dissimulaverimus culpas, fra- " ternitati vestræ denunciamus nos publice excommunicasse, " Gaufridum Cantuariensem archidiaconum, et Robertum vica- " rium ejus, Ricardum de Ivecestre, Willelmum Giffard, co- " mitem Hugonem,[4] Ricardum de Luci, Adam de Cheringes, " et item eos qui officia vel beneficia ecclesiastica, contra sa- " crorum canonum institutionem, de manu laica acceperunt, vel " ea usurpaverunt propria auctoritate; similiter et illos qui " domini papæ nuncios et nostros, ne ecclesiæ necessitates pro- " sequantur, impediunt: vobis ergo auctoritate domini papæ " et nostra mandamus, quatenus tales eos habeatis, et in epi- " scopatu vestro haberi faciatis, quales haberi debere solemni- " ter excommunicatos sacrorum canonum disciplina præscribit. " Valeat semper in Domino[5] vestra fraternitas; et nos, et " causam Dei, quæ in manibus nostris est, sanctorum oratio- " nibus commendare meminerit."

A.D. 1168. He begs the bishops generally to apply to the pope on behalf of mother church.

Tim. v. 8.

Jer. xlviii. 10.

He declares that he has excommunicated several others.

Eodem anno Gwido de Leszinnam interfecit Patricium comitem Saresbiriensem redeuntem in peregrina-

Earl Patrick of Salisbury slain by

[1] *perseverabitis*] percepta, A. B. C.
[2] *flagellandus*] flagendus, A. B.
[3] *agerent*] om. A. B.
[4] *Hugonem*] Bigot, earl of Norfolk.
[5] *in Domino*] om. A. B.

A.D. 1168. Guy of Lusignan.

tione a Sancto Jacobo. Unde Henricus rex Angliæ plurimum iratus expulit eum de Pictavia. Qui accepta cruce peregre profectus est Jerosolimam, et ibi remansit in obsequio Baldewini leprosi regis Jerusalem, et propter probitatem illius a rege et principibus regni plurimum dilectus est et honoratus.

De genealogia regum Latinorum qui dominabantur in sancta civitate Jerusalem usque ad tempora Saladini.[1]

History of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

Ut autem sciatur origo regum Latinorum, qui dominabantur in sancta civitate Jerusalem, usque ad tempora Saladini, pauca repetamus, quæ superius gesta sunt. Itaque sciendum est, quod post captionem Antiochiæ, devicto Curberant a Roberto duce Normannorum, capta est a Christianis civitas Jerusalem, erepta de manibus paganorum, anno gratiæ millesimo nonagesimo nono: et per electionem universorum exercitus Godefridus dux Lothariensis, filius Eustacii senioris comitis Boloniæ, electus est in regem sanctæ civitatis Jerusalem. Sed coronari noluit: dicens se nunquam ibi gestaturum coronam auream, ubi Christus spineam portavit coronam. Quo defuncto sine prole, Baldewinus frater ejus successit ei in regnum, et coronatus est rex. Iste fuit primus Latinorum rex coronatus in sancta civitate Jerusalem. Nam ante illud tempus, quamdiu fuerat in manu Christianorum, fuerunt ibi reges Græci. Defuncto autem Baldewino rege, Baldewinus filius ejus[2] successit ei in regno, et coronatus est. Qui unicam genuit filiam sibi in regno successuram. Quo defuncto, principes regni miserunt pro Fulcone, fratre[3] Gau-

Godfrey of Bouillon. Baldwin I. Baldwin II.

Benedict i. 329. Benedict i. 330. Benedict i. 330.

[1] This sketch of the history of the kingdom of Jerusalem is derived from the chronicle known under the name of Benedictus Abbas, i. 330, 342; a good deal altered in the editing.

[2] *filius ejus*] Baldwin II. was cousin of Baldwin I. The mistake is repeated from B.P., i. 330.

[3] *fratre*] patre, properly: but the mistake is repeated from B.P., i. 330, and has, in fact, occurred above,

fridi comitis Andegaviæ, et dederunt illi prædictam filiam regis Baldewini in uxorem cum regno Jerosolimitano, et coronati sunt. Fulco itaque rex genuit ex uxore sua filia regis Baldewini duos filios; quorum primogenitus dicebatur Baldewinus, et alter Amauri. Baldewinus successit Fulconi patri suo in regnum, et coronatus est. Quo decedente sine prole, Amauri frater ejus successit ei in regnum, et coronatus est. Iste Amauri cepit Babiloniam, et fecit illam sibi tributariam. Iste Amauri regnavit undecim annis, et genuit Baldewinum leprosum, et duas filias; quarum primogenita vocabatur Sibilla, et altera Milisent.[1] Baldewinus leprosus successit Amauri patri suo in regnum, et coronatus est, qui regnavit duodecim annis, et uxorem ducere noluit. In diebus autem illius operatus est Deus pro illo in terra Jerosolimitana multa mirabilia. Nam licet ipse leprosus esset, multitudo tamen paganorum sæpius ab eo confecta est et demolita. Iste Baldewinus leprosus consilio principum suorum misit pro Willelmo le Marchis de Munferat, et dedit ei in uxorem Sibillam sororem suam cum comitatu Joppen. Iste vero Willelmus le Marchis genuit ex Sibilla uxore sua filium unum dictum Baldewinum, quem Baldewinus leprosus constituit sibi hæredem, et deposuit seipsum a regno, et tradidit illud Baldewino puero nepoti suo, et fecit eum inde coronari. Et paulo post obiit Willelmus li Marchis, pater Baldewini pueri jam regis, et Sibilla uxor ejus mater regis pueri, nupsit prædicto Widoni de Leszinnan; et paulo post obiit Baldewinus rex leprosus, et Baldewinus puer nepos ejus regnavit pro illo duobus annis et dimidium anni. Gwido autem de Leszinan, comes Joppen, dedit Amfrido del Turun Milisent sororem uxoris suæ in conjugem.

A.D. 1168. History of Palestine. Fulk of Anjou. Baldwin III. Amalric I. Baldwin IV. Benedict i. 331. Baldwin V. Marriage of Guy of Lusignan.

p. 186. Millicent was, moreover, married before her father's death, and was not an only daughter, her sister being married to Bohemond II. of Antioch.

[1] *Milisent*] Really Isabella or Elizabeth. B.P. does not give the name.

XVus. annus regni regis Henrici II.

A.D. 1169. Death of Nigel bishop of Ely and Godric of Finchale.

Anno gratiæ MºCºLXºIXº., qui erat annus decimus quintus regni regis Henrici filii Matildis imperatricis, obiit Nigellus Eliensis episcopus; et venerabilis heremita et monachus sanctus Godricus de Finchale migravit ad Dominum.[1] Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ, timens quod[2] Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus in personam ipsius excommunicationis sententiam, et in regnum ejus proferret interdictum, appellavit pro se et regno suo ad præsentiam summi pontificis; et missis ad eum legatis, petiit mitti in Angliam a latere suo unum vel duos legatos, ad cognoscendam causam quæ vertebatur inter ipsum et Thomam Cantuariensem archiepiscopum, et ad eam determinandam ad honorem Dei et sanctæ ecclesiæ; et ut prædicti, quos Cantuariensis archiepiscopus excommunicaverat, interim absolverentur. Unde dominus papa in hac forma scripsit.

The king requests a legate.

Epistola Alexandri papæ ad Henricum regem Anglorum.[3]

(A.D. 1166.) Letter of Alexander III. to the king.

"Alexander episcopus, servus servorum Dei, illustri Anglorum regi Henrico, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. "Magnificentiæ tuæ nuntios, scilicet dilectos filios nostros "Johannem Cumin[4] et Radulfum de Tamewrde,[5] nobis et "ecclesiæ Dei devotos, et regiæ sublimitati (sicut credimus) "per omnia fidelissimos, et litteras quas nobis per eosdem "excellentia tua transmisit, tanto benigniori mente suscepimus,

[1] *Venerabilis . . . Dominum*] Rubricated in margin, A.

[2] *quod*] beatus, ins. C.

[3] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iv. 136. This letter was written Dec. 20, 1166. Jaffé, 710. The legates promised are William of Pavia and Otto, and the whole transaction belongs to the year 1167.

[4] *John Cumin*] a judge of the Curia Regis, afterwards archbishop of Dublin.

[5] *Radulfum de Tamewrde*] see John Salisb., Ep. 184.

"et tanto eos majori gratia prævenimus et honore, quanto "plenius scivimus ipsos a magnifico principe, et rege Chris- "tianissimo fuisse transmissos: cui utique omnem, quam cum "Deo possumus, gloriam cupimus et honorem, et ad cujus "incrementum modis omnibus quibus honeste poterimus, nos "et fratres nostri ac tota ecclesia quanto devotissimæ sinceritatis "tuæ affectum in majori sumus necessitate experti, "tanto ardentius intendimus aspirare. Non enim tuæ devo- "tionis insignia nobis tempore tam opportuno exhibita, a nos- "tra in posterum memoria, ulla poterit ratione divelli, vel in "conspectu ecclesiæ aliqua desuetudine inumbrari. Petitiones "quoque tuas, quas nobis per jam dictos nuncios tuos misisti, "in quibus cum Deo et honestate nostra potuimus, sicut iidem "magnificentiæ tuæ nuncii viva voce plenius enarrabunt, cu- "ravimus executioni mandare. Personas siquidem de latere "nostro, juxta quod rogasti, licet nobis gravissimum ac diffi- "cillimum hoc tempore maxime videatur aliquos a nobis emit- "tere, cum fratrum nostrorum, et eorum præsertim quos tu "desideras, præsentia et consilio opus habeamus, illius tamen "recolendæ ac magnificæ devotionis tuæ, ut diximus, non im- "memores existentes, ad sublimitatis tuæ præsentiam duximus "destinandas cum plenitudine potestatis, ecclesiasticas causas, "quæ inter te et venerabilem fratrem nostrum archiepiscopum "Cantuariensem hinc inde vertuntur, et illam quæ inter eun- "dem archiepiscopum et episcopos regni tui super appellatione "ad nos facta movetur, nec non alias causas terræ quas no- "verint expedire, cognoscendi judicandi quoque, et prout sibi "Dominus administraverit, canonice terminandi. Eidem quo- "que archiepiscopo ne te aut tuos, seu regnum gubernationi "tuæ commissum, donec causæ illæ debitum sortiantur effec- "tum, in aliquo gravare vel turbare aut inquietare attentet, "omnimodis inhibemus. Verum si præfatus archiepiscopus in "te, aut regnum tuum, vel personas regni interim aliquam "sententiam tulerit, nos eam irritam esse, et non te tenere "censemus. Ad indictionem[1] autem hujus rei, et argumentum "nostræ voluntatis, litteras præsentes, si articulus ingruerit "necessitatis ostendas. Alioquin serenitatem tuam rogamus, "et attentius commonemus, ut litteras ipsas, aut earum teno- "rem, a nullo sciri permittas, sed eas habeas omnino secretas. "Illos autem familiares et consiliarios tuos, quos jam dictus "archiepiscopus sententiæ excommunicationis subjecit, personæ "de latere nostro transmissæ, Domino auctore, absolvent. Si

A.D. 1169. (1166.) The pope professes his good will to Henry.

He will consider the request for a legate, but there are difficulties at present.

He forbids the archbishop to trouble the king, and annuls any sentence against him.

This communication is to be private.

---

[1] *indictionem*] indicium, G.

A.D. 1169. (1166.)

"autem aliquis illorum interim metu mortis laboraverit, præ-"stito secundum ecclesiæ consuetudinem juramento, quod "nostro si convaluerit debeat parere mandato, ipsum ab ali-"quo episcopo, vel religioso et discreto viro, absolvi con-"cedimus."[1]

The legates come into Normandy.

Venientibus itaque in Normanniam præfatis domini papæ legatis, quidam Cantuariensis ecclesiæ suffraganei in hæc verba scripserunt.

(1167.) Address of English bishops to the legates.

"Medicinæ[2] potius est quam querelæ. Nam peccatis exi-"gentibus, inter malleum et incudem posita sancta mater "ecclesia, et nisi Divina super eam respiciat miseratio, "ictum mallei est sensura. Crebrescente enim nequitia "schismaticorum, pro fidei suæ defensione, et amore justi-"tiæ, pater patrum exulat a patria; ne ad propriam sedem "liber ei pateat regressus prohibet Pharaonis animus indu-"ratus. Accedit ad hoc, quod Cantuariensis ecclesia, tam in "spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, miserabiliter imminui-"tur. Quæ tanquam navis mari proprio rectore destituta "fluctuat, et ventis exponitur, dum ejus pastor infra nationis "suæ terminos regia potestate remanere prohibetur. Qui suo "et suæ ecclesiæ, nostro etiam sapiens periculo, pœnarum et "laborum secum nos exposuit acerbitati: non considerans "quoniam blandiri oportet non detrahere potestati. Qui nobis, "licet hujus laboribus totis affectibus compatiamur, ingratus "existit. Et nos cum in eadem[3] simus damnatione prosequi "non desistit. Inter ipsum siquidem et serenissimum regem "Anglorum quædam controversia versabatur. De utriusque "voluntate dies præfigitur, ut in ea justitia mediante illorum "controversia terminetur. Ad eandem diem ex præcepto "regio archiepiscopi, episcopi, et cæteri clericorum[4] prælati "convocantur, ut quanto generalior esset concilii celebratio, "tanto manifestior fieret fraudis et malitiæ denudatio. Con-"stituta die catholici principis aspectui se præsentat regni "turbator et ecclesiæ, qui de suorum meritorum qualitate non "securus, Dominicæ crucis se armat signaculo, tanquam ad

They state their own case against the archbishop.

---

[1] *concedimus*] The letter ends, "Porro fratribus nostris, quos illuc "mittimus, infra instantem Domini "Nativitatem eundi præceptum de-"dimus; qui auctore Domino in "mense Januario iter, sicut credi-"mus, aggrediuntur. Dat. Later., "xiii. kal. Jan." Giles.

[2] *Medicinæ*] Giles, *S.T.C.*, iv. 256.

[3] *eadem*] propter eum, ins. G.

[4] *clericorum*] ecclesiarum, G.

A.D. 1169. (1167.)

His provoking conduct at Northampton.

"tyranni præsentiam accessurus. Nec tamen inde[1] regia "majestas offenditur. Sed causæ suæ judicium episcoporum "fidei committit, ut sic ab omni suspicione liberetur. Resta- "bat ergo ut episcopi causam judicio terminarent, ut sic "dissidentes in gratiam fœderarent, et dissensionis eorum "materiam sepelirent. Occurrit tamen ille, et prohibet ne "de ipso coram rege sententia proferatur, ut sic gravius ad "iracundiam regius animus accendatur. Cujus excessus "facit quantitas, ut ipse auctor cuilibet[2] se debeat exponere "ultioni, erubescens pœnam meritam deprecari, qui principem "potentissimum in tempore persecutionis ecclesiæ[3] offendere "non horruit. Cujus offensio malleum persecutionis augmen- "tavit. Melius erat sibi, ut felicitati suæ frænos imponeret, "ne dum ad rerum cacumen præsumptuose pervenire nititur, "præsumptionis suæ merito ad inferiora detrudatur. Et si "eum non moverent ecclesiæ detrimenta, debebant eum saltem "revocare, ne contra regem ageret, a rege sibi exhibita, tam "in divitiis quam honoribus incrementa. At obviat adversa- "rius, et objicit, quoniam ipsum coram rege stare judicio esset "apostolicæ sedis dignitatis diminutio: ac si nesciat quod si "in illo judicio aliquantulum ecclesiæ dignitati derogaretur, "dissimulandum tamen erat pro tempore, ut pax ecclesiæ "redderetur. Objicit iterum, patris sibi nomen ascribens, "quod arrogantiam videtur redolere, quod filii in patris "damnationem minime debuerant convenire. Sed si pater "esset, inprimis[4] superbiam filiorum humilitas temperaret, ne "post patrem in filiis patris odium parentaret. Liquet ita- "que ex prædictis, patres sanctissimi, quod adversarii nostri "irrita[5] debet languescere occasio,[6] qui sola odii malig- "nitate impetebat, nullius rationis patrocinio fultus, et "quoniam nobis omnium ecclesiarum sollicitudo noscitur "imminere."[7]

His presumption and ingratitude.

He does not behave like a father.

---

[1] *Nec tamen inde*] Non modo, G.

[2] *cujuslibet*] cuilibet, G.

[3] *ecclesiæ*] contra commoda ecclesiæ, G.

[4] *Sed . . . imprimis*] Sed necessarium erat, ut patris, G.

[5] *irrita*] et inefficax, add. G.

[6] *occasio*] accusatio, G.

[7] *imminere*] The letter is obviously imperfect. The rest of the sentence is supplied in Dr. Giles's edition. "Necessarium est vos circa "statum Cantuariensis ecclesiæ "cautelam et diligentiam adhibere, "ne eadem ecclesiæ per sui pastoris "excessus cogatur naufragium susti- "nere."

A.D. 1169.

Interview of Thomas with the legates, Nov. 18. (1167.)

Cum igitur[1] Thomas Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et nonnulli de coexulibus suis, in octavis beati Martini inter Gisortium et Trie ad colloquium legatorum accederent; legati multa proposuerunt ipsi archiepiscopo, de caritate domini papæ, de sollicitudine ecclesiæ Romanæ, quam attentius circa eum huc usque gesserat, de laboribus ipsorum et itineris sui periculis, de magnitudine regis Angliæ et de necessitate ecclesiæ, de malitia temporis, de amore et beneficiis quibus rex Angliæ prævenerat eum, et de honore quem rex ei semper exhibuit. Adjecerunt etiam querelas et injurias, quibus rex Angliæ se ab ipso læsum esse conquestus est; imponens ei etiam inter cætera, quod ei excitaverat guerram regis Francorum: quærentes consilium, quomodo tantam indignationem placare possent, quia sine multa humilitate, et moderatione, et exhibitione honoris, noverant tantis periculis remedium adhiberi non posse. Cantuariensis autem, in omni humilitate et mansuetudine spiritus, post gratiarum actionem domino papæ et illis debitam, respondit at singula, rationibus veris et probabilibus, querelas regis evacuans, et injurias ecclesiæ et damna intolerabilia patenter exponens. Et quia humilitatem et delationem honoris ab eo exigebant, respondit se libentissime omnem humilitatem exhibiturum, et honorem reverentiæ quantumcunque posset, salvo honore Dei et libertate ecclesiæ, et honestate suæ personæ, et possessionibus ecclesiarum; et si eis videretur aliquid adjiciendum aut demendum aut immutandum, rogavit ut ei consilium darent; habens adquiescendi propositum, salva conditione professionis et ordinis. Illis autem dicentibus, se non venisse ut ei, sed ut eum consulerent, et reconciliationis temperarent viam, item quæsitum est ab archiepiscopo, an in præsentia legatorum vellet promittere observantiam consuetudinum, quibus prædecessorum suorum tempore reges usi sunt, et sic sopitis omnibus querelis redire in gratiam regis, et redire in[2] sedem suam, et administrationem, et pacem sibi et suis. Ad hæc archiepiscopus respondit, nullum prædecessorum suorum sub aliquo regum ad hanc pro-

Joh. Salisb. ep. ccxxvii.

Arguments of the legates.

Thomas answers them.

He professes humility: and asks advice.

They ask him to recognize the customs.

[1] *Cum igitur*] The following details are drawn from a letter of John of Salisbury to John of Poictiers; and may be compared with the report of the interview drawn up nearly in the same words, and doubtless by the same author, in *S.T.C.*, ii. 248, and *Anecdota Bedæ, &c.*, p. 89. Joh. Salisb., ep. 227.

[2] *redire in*] recipere, Joh. S.; repetere, *S.T.C.*, ii. 250.

Joh. Salisb. ep. ccxxvii.

fessionem fuisse arctatum. Neque se, Deo auctore, promissurum unquam ut observet consuetudines quæ legi Dei patenter adversantur, sedis apostolicæ convellunt privilegium, ecclesiæ perimunt libertatem ; quas dominus papa Senonis in illorum et multorum præsentia condemnavit, et ipse postea domini papæ secutus auctoritatem quasdam earum cum observatoribus suis subjecit anathemati, sicut in multis conciliis catholica ecclesia fecisse dignoscitur. Tunc interrogatus est, an si non confirmationem, saltem dissimulationem et tolerantiam vellet repromittere, aut non facta altrinsecus aliqua mentione consuetudinum recipere sedem suam, et pacem. Respondit archiepiscopus, quod gentis nostræ proverbium est, quod taciturnus prætendit speciem [1] confitentis. Et cum rex sibi videatur esse in possessione consuetudinum, et ad eas observandas injuste et violenter cogat ecclesiam, si sic taciturnitate impetrata cessaret concussio,[2] auctoritate legatorum maxime interveniente, statim sibi et aliis videretur obtinuisse in causa ista. Adjecit etiam se malle exulare, perpetuo proscribi, et, si Deus ita disposuit, pro justitiæ defensione mori, quam in salutis suæ dispendium et præjudicium ecclesiæ libertatis hanc ineat pacem. Deus enim est, qui in tali causa tacere prohibet sacerdotes, quibus dissimulantibus gehennam præparavit, ubi nulla dissimulatio erit pœnæ. Lectus est et libellus illarum abominationum, et quæsitum a cardinalibus, an a Christianis liceat talia observari, nedum a pastoribus dissimulari. Progressi sunt ad aliam quæstionem, sciscitantes an eorum vellet stare judicio super his quæ vertuntur inter ipsum et regem. Ille autem se de causæ sinceritate confidere respondit. Et cum ipse et sui, qui a multo tempore destituti sunt, plene fuerint ad omnia restituti, habita ratione causarum et rerum et temporis, juri libenter pariturum, et se non posse nec velle declinare quin ubi et quando et quomodo debebit, subeat judicium ejus vel illorum, cujus vel quorum judicio dominus papa debere stare decreverit. Interim se et suos ad litigandum urgeri non posse, nec paupertatem suam ad hoc sufficere, cui etiam victualia desunt, nisi Christianissimi regis Francorum vivat [3] expensis. Noluit enim prima facie declinare judicium, et si aliquem eorum jure optimo posset habere suspectum, ne causam regis justificare videretur, nec se liti immergere antequam sit ad omnia restitutus, ut possit causam sufficienter instruere.

A.D. 1169. (1167.) He refuses.

They ask whether he will consent to temporize a little. He refuses.

The constitutions are read.

The legates inquire whether he will receive their arbitration. He will do so if first replaced in his see.

---

[1] *speciem*] spiritum, Joh. S.
[2] *concussio*] concursio, Joh. S.
[3] *vivat*] juvatur, Savile from C.

A.D. 1169. Lewis VII. invades Normandy and takes Andely.

[1] Lodowicus rex Francorum, magno congregato exercitu, intravit Normanniam, et combussit Andely, villam Rotrodi Rotomagensis archiepiscopi, non resistente Henrico rege Angliæ, in vindictam Calvi Montis, nobilis castelli regis Franciæ, quod prædictus rex Angliæ anno præcedenti combusserat per Walenses suos.

Henry takes Fumel?

Eodem anno Henricus rex Angliæ cepit per vim fortissimum castellum quod dicebatur Fumel,[2] et illud[3] demolitus est.

[1] *Lodowicus*] Ea tempestate, pref. Savile from C.

[2] *Fumel*] So in all the MSS. Savile, however, reads Finuel, and the *Recueil des Historiens* has Fanuel. Fumel is in Lower Perigord close to the border of Quercy.

[3] *illud*] The following paragraph, from the *Imagines Historiarum* of Ralph de Diceto, is inserted by Savile in this place: "Item eodem anno "ex quo reges in Minore Britannia "desierunt præesse, duo comites in "iisdem locis principari cœperunt. "Sed quoniam 'omnis potestas im-"'patiens' semper 'consortis erit,' "sese variis dissensionibus afflix-"erunt. Conanus tandem jure suc-"cessorio nactus comitatum utrum-"que, dum in fata concederet ex "sorore regis Scottorum filiam "reliquit hæredem. Quam rex "Anglorum filio suo Gaufrido ux-"orem accipiens, et in pace passim "per Britanniam statuenda studio-"sus existens, clerum terræ illius "sibi conciliavit et populum." R. Dic. 548. The passage is not found at all in A.; it is fastened on a slip in B.; incorporated into the text by Savile.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed by GEORGE E. EYRE and WILLIAM SPOTTISWOODE,
Printers to the Queen's most Excellent Majesty.
For Her Majesty's Stationery Office.
[.—750.—5 68.]